

Haydn's "bloody harmonious war": A Pictorial Souvenir of Battles with Publishers, "Professionals," and Pleyel in London, 1788–1792*

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Abstract: Haydn's "bloody harmonious war" is the composer's punning description of the rivalry in London between the concert organization for which he worked, headed by the violinist Salomon, and the 'Professional Concert', whose star attraction in 1792 was Haydn's former pupil, the composer Pleyel. Haydn's vocabulary, mixing metaphors musical and combative, reflects how newspapers projected this phony war. Pleyel was linked to Wilson Braddyll, England's leading advocate for pugilism. One report even suggested that only by resorting to the law might the conflict be resolved. Haydn and Pleyel really did find themselves in court, called as deponents in a lawsuit between their publishers begun in 1788. Although interpretation of this case has hitherto focussed on Haydn's supposed misappropriation of compositions by Pleyel, evidence presented here for the first time shows that the latter was equally culpable, having made unauthorized use of several compositions by his erstwhile teacher. The root of the case, however, lay in establishing ownership of publication and other rights, which Haydn effectively always turned to his personal advantage to the perceived detriment of others. As a souvenir marking the end of the whole episode, the triumphant reception of his compositions in the 1792 season, Haydn acquired a print for his collection, its subject referencing the "war's" principal themes and personalities.

Keywords: Haydn, Pleyel, pugilism, copyright, Braddyll

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1. *The Boxing Match: A print from Haydn's collection*

The Boxing Match between Richard Humphreys & Daniel Mendoza, at Odiham in Hampshire, on the 9th of January, 1788 is the title of a stipple print engraved by Joseph Grozer (cca. 1755–1798) after a drawing by J. Einsle.¹ Grozer jointly published the print with William Dickinson (c. 1746–1823), proprietor of a print shop in New Bond Street in London on 16 May 1788 (see *Plate 1*).

At first glance a musical context for understanding this image, a depiction of a bareknuckle contest between two celebrated pugilists of the late eighteenth century, looks implausible. But the discovery that an impression of this print belonged to Joseph Haydn – it features in the inventory of the composer's material goods drawn up in preparation for sale following his death in Vienna in 1809 – raises questions about the composer's interest in what was then a quintessentially English sporting obsession.²

Although Haydn made two extended visits to England in the early 1790s, neither journals nor correspondence of the period suggest any concern on his part with boxing. Haydn is unlikely to have known about pugilism before arriving on English soil and was not in England when the match depicted took place.

So when did Haydn acquire this image? And why did he keep it?

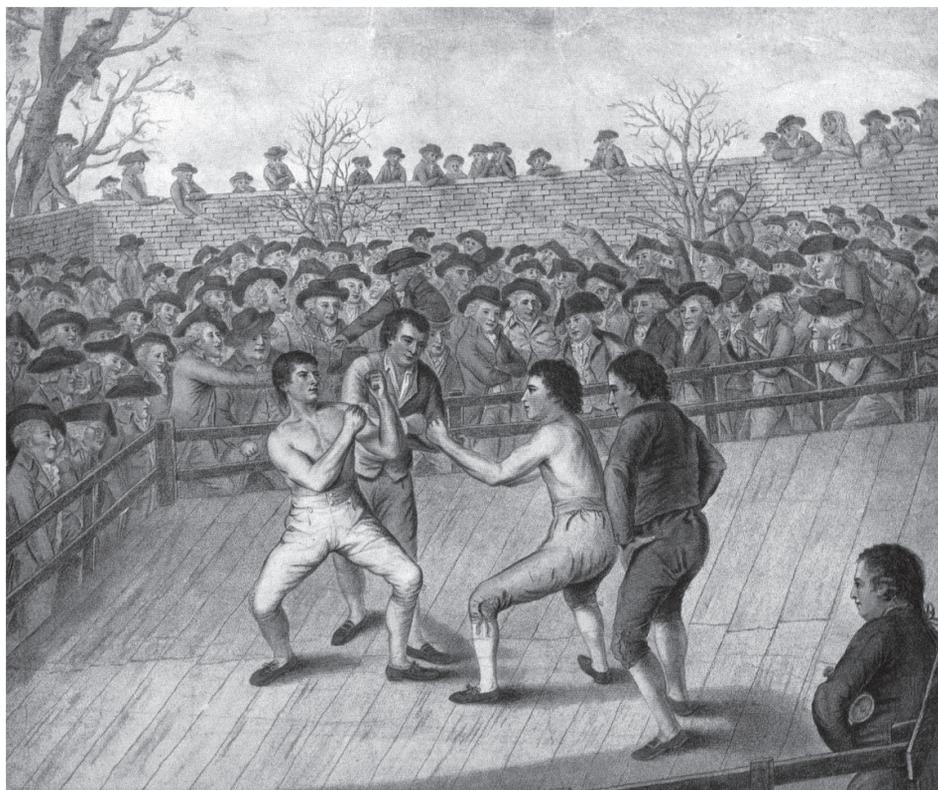
2. Musical combat: Generalissimo Salomon confronts “the Professionals”

During his first visit to London, between January 1791 and June 1792, Haydn had every opportunity to visit Dickinson's shop, where the prints he published were sold. During the course of 1791, perhaps in connection with his appointment as print seller to the Prince of Wales, Dickinson moved his establishment to superior premises on the same street, a fashionable destination for consumers during the

1. There is no standard literature relating to this print, though its title appears on listings of prints in older books concerned with sporting art: e.g. Ralph Nevill, *Old Sporting Prints, Connoisseur*, extra number 5 (1908), 70; Frank Siltzer, *The Story of British Sporting Prints* (London: Hutchinson, 1925), 361. It is reproduced without comment in Dennis Brailsford, *Bareknuckles: A Social History of Prize-Fighting* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1988), 69. Two impressions in the Jewish Museum London (inv. nos AR 1836 and AR 1837) have been studied in researching this article. Names of the artists and publication date are recorded on the print itself. Grozer was a leading engraver of pictures after Reynolds and other portrait painters. Einsle, who resided in Soho, exhibited eight miniature portraits at the Royal Academy between 1785 and 1800. Like Grozer, full details of his career and oeuvre have yet to be established.

2. For a transcription of the inventory of Haydn's print collection see H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, 5 vols (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976–1980), vol. 5, 392–393, 403. “The Boxing Match nach Einsle von Grozer” is no. 37 on this inventory. Extant impressions of the print show that it was issued in versions both coloured and uncoloured. Since Haydn's impression is today untraced, there is no way of determining which version he acquired. For boxing as a distinctly English obsession, see the account written at the time by Henry Lemoine, *Manhood: Or the Art and Practice of English Boxing* (London: the editor [1788?]).

PLATE 1 Joseph Grozer after J. Einsle, *The Boxing Match between Richard Humphreys & Daniel Mendoza, at Odiham in Hampshire, on the 9th of January, 1788* (published by J. Grozer and W. Dickinson, 16 May 1788).
Stipple engraving, 62×64.5 cm. Jewish Museum London, inv. no. AR 1836



1780s. Both shops were located short distances from the Hanover Square Rooms, the venue for Haydn's concerts.

The inventory of Haydn's collection shows that the composer owned not just *The Boxing Match* but several other prints published by Dickinson, including *The Resurrection of a Pious Family* (see Plate 2), an engraving by Haydn's friend Francesco Bartolozzi, published on 1 February 1790.³ In this case, the original painting, by the popular artist Matthew Peters, remained in Dickinson's posses-

3. For this print in Haydn's collection, see Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 5, 393, no. 44. For Haydn's friendship with Bartolozzi, see Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar: Music, the Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn, c.1750 to c.1810* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 213–215. For the design and the print reproducing it, see Victoria Manners, *Matthew William Peters, R.A.: His Life and Work* (London: The Connoisseur, 1913), 57, 63–64, plate III. During his second visit to London Haydn acquired a proof of another print by the same artists (*The Deathbed of the Just*), issued by another publisher (Macklin): Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 5, 393, no. 45.

sion until auctioned in April 1793 following his bankruptcy.⁴ Before this, Dickinson exhibited the painting in his establishment as a device to attract customers to purchase his reproductions of it.⁵ Perhaps this is what tempted Haydn. The composer's choice may also have been underpinned by comments of a reviewer for a German periodical of the time, signaling it as "one of the most beautiful and ingenious of the larger pieces that both artists have produced."⁶ Whatever lay behind Haydn's acquisition of this print, the evidence points to it having taken place during the course of the composer's first London visit. By the time of the composer's second visit, Dickinson was no longer in business. Purchasing items like Grozer's *Boxing Match* and Bartolozzi's *Resurrection* would have been less convenient.

Dates of publication inscribed on surviving impressions of other Dickinson prints collected by Haydn – all reproducing humorous drawings – provide a closer indication when the composer probably acquired them.⁷ A pair entitled *Comic Readings* and *Tragic Readings* published on 25 February 1791 may have been acquired later that year.⁸ However, the evidence of all four remaining prints, each reproducing a design by the amateur caricaturist Henry Bunbury, suggests this is unlikely. Three were published on 1 May 1792 and one on 11 June following.⁹ Since it was the practice of print sellers to display their latest publications in their shop windows, Haydn probably noted these images towards the end of his first visit to London when he would have been contemplating souvenirs to take back with him to Vienna. Exceptionally, he chose to frame, glaze and display no fewer than five of his Dickinson prints, including *Comic Readings* and *Tragic Readings*, later using them to decorate the walls of the home in Gumpendorf he purchased in 1793.¹⁰ Although Haydn kept *The Boxing Match* in a portfolio with the bulk of his print collection – its subject

4. "A catalogue of the extensive and valuable stock of copper plates, with the impressions, (some of which are unpublished) the property of Mr. William Dickinson, late of Bond Street, engraver and print seller: comprising a small collection of modern paintings, among which are the two original pictures, of the Resurrection of a Pious Family, and the Spirit of a Child, by the Rev. Mr. Peters ... which will be sold by auction (by order of the assignees) by Mr. Christie, at his Great Room (late Royal Academy) Pall-Mall, on Friday, February 14th, 1794 ..." (London: Christies, 1794). According to advertisements for the sale, Dickinson's pictures by Peters were part of the attraction.

5. Advertisements placed by Dickinson in 1788 show that he displayed Peters' painting of *The Resurrection of a Pious Family* in his store in anticipation of the print of it being published. *The World*, 25 April and 15 May 1788.

6. Untitled review of recent English prints in *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, 44/1 (Leipzig: Dyck, 1791), 330. A longer complementary review appeared in the *Museum für Künstler und für Kunstliebhaber*, ed. Johann Georg Meusel, 17 (Mannheim: Schwan, 1792), 349–350.

7. Thomas Tolley, "Caricatures by Henry William Bunbury in the Collection of Joseph Haydn," in *The Land of Opportunity: Joseph Haydn and Britain*, ed. Richard Chesser and David Wyn Jones (London: British Library, 2013), 22–58.

8. Thomas Tolley, "Comic Readings and Tragic Readings: Haydn's Observations on London Audience Responses in 1791," *Studia Musicologica* 51/1–2 (March 2010), 153–178.

9. *A Smoking Club*, *Patience in a Punt* and *Patience in a Punt* [no.2] were published by Dickinson on 1 May 1792. *Bethnal Green. Hie away Juno!* was published on 11 June 1792. For these prints in Haydn's collection, see Tolley, "Caricatures by Henry William Bunbury in the Collection of Joseph Haydn," 26–37.

10. For documentary evidence concerning the display of these prints, see Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 5, 393, nos 55, 60. For the purchase of the home Haydn displayed them in, see Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 3, 220–221.

matter perhaps deemed unsuitable for most visitors – the evidence suggests that *The Boxing Match* was probably acquired at the same time as Haydn's other Dickinson prints, that is between publication of the most recent of them on 11 June 1792 and his departure for the Continent early the following month.

A few days earlier, the last concert of Haydn's series, on 6 June, marked the end of a hugely successful season for the composer. At its outset, however, Haydn anticipated the ensuing concerts with some trepidation. The series to which he contributed was pitted against another, the two competing for popular esteem, a combat of a kind arguably reflected for Haydn in *The Boxing Match*. The composer describes the situation he faced in a letter written in January 1792:

At present I am working for Salomon's concerts, and I am making every effort to do my best, because our rivals, the Professional Concert, have had my pupil Pleyel from Strasbourg come here to conduct their concerts. So now a bloody harmonious war [*einen blutig Harmonischen Krieg*] will commence between master and pupil. The newspapers are full of it ...¹¹

"Salomon's Concert" took its name from the violinist and impresario Johann Peter Salomon. It was Salomon who famously travelled to Vienna late in 1790 with the purpose of bringing Haydn to England. Haydn not only composed for Salomon's Concert but also directed the band in his own music. For this, Haydn's second London concert series, launched on 17 February, the composer provided no fewer than four new symphonies (Hob. I: 93, 94, 97, 98), as well as two further major compositions.¹²

The "Professional Concert" led by the violinist Wilhelm Cramer, which Haydn terms "our rivals," had as its star attraction in the 1792 season the composer Ignace Pleyel. Measured by the volume of his recent publications and their critical reception, Pleyel enjoyed a reputation across Europe second only to Haydn's when he was contracted to London.¹³ By early 1791 there were those in London who regarded Pleyel as "a more popular composer [than Haydn] – from his more frequent introduction of air into his harmonies, and the general smoothness and elegance of his melodies."¹⁴

11. Letter to Marianna von Genzinger, dated London, 17 January 1792. Translation adapted from *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1959), 128. For the original text, see *Joseph Haydn: Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Dénes Bartha (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 274.

12. The two other new compositions of this season were the *Sinfonie Concertante* (Hob. I: 105) and a vocal 'Madrigal' entitled *The Storm* (Hob. XXIVa: 8). For documentation of all Haydn's new compositions of the 1792 seasons and details of first performances, see Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 3, 490–499.

13. For an assessment of Pleyel's reputation during the period in question, see Rita Benton, *Ignace Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1977), ix. In 1792 Pleyel's music was acknowledged as "universally loved" in Germany, France, and Italy: Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler. Zweyter Theil* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1792), 160–161.

14. *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 5 February 1791.

The invitation Pleyel received to work with the Professional Concert may therefore be understood as an attempt, one that was ultimately unsuccessful, to convince London concert-goers that the younger composer had supplanted Haydn as the leading composer of the moment, thereby regaining prestige for the Professional Concert that had dissipated to Salomon's series during the 1791 season, Haydn's first in London. As one newspaper saw it when Pleyel's appointment was announced, the presence in London of two such eminent composers could only be to the public's advantage:

The celebrated Pleyel is engaged as composer to the Professional Concert ... in the same manner as Haydn is to preside at Salomon's Concert. There will now be a trial of great professional skill between the directors of those two Concerts, and the public is likely to be much gratified by these rival exertions.¹⁵

Before long the choice of language used in notices assessing the state of affairs struck a more combative note. On 5 January 1792 the *Public Advertiser* referred to the two composers being "pitted against each other" and "supporters of each" as "violent partizans."¹⁶

Rivalry between the two concert organisations held within it potential for a contest at several levels. From one point of view the leading personalities, Haydn and Pleyel, presented a contest between age and youth. As London audiences were aware, Pleyel was a former pupil of Haydn, having studied with the older composer for five years from 1772 when Pleyel was aged fifteen and his teacher forty.¹⁷ Haydn's correspondence in early 1792 repeatedly alludes to the pressure he felt, obliged to compete openly with a younger composer, one whose compositional skills had been largely honed during the period he lived with Haydn in the 1770s.¹⁸ Although Haydn admired Pleyel's music, contemporaries reveal that

15. *The Times*, 1 December 1791.

16. Quoted in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 3, 121.

17. For documented assessments of Pleyel as Haydn's pupil, see: Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, 360–380; Armin Raab, "Schüler, Konkurrent, Verfolger: Ignaz Pleyel und Joseph Haydn," in *Der beliebteste, der gespielteste und genossenste Tonkünstler: Studien zum Werk Ignaz Pleyels*, ed. Klaus Aringer and Ulrike Aringer-Grau (Hildesheim: Olms, 2011), 299–313. Knowledge in London of Pleyel having been Haydn's pupil is evident in comments made by newspapers: e.g. *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 5 February 1791 and *Morning Herald*, 22 February 1792.

18. Letter of 14 January 1792 to Luigia Polzelli: "... I have a lot to do, especially now, when the Professional Concert has had my pupil Pleyel brought over to face me as a rival; but I'm not afraid, because last year I made a great impression on the English and hope therefore to win their approval this year too." Letter of 2 March 1792 to Marianna von Genzinger: "My labours have been augmented by the arrival of my pupil Pleyel, whom the Professional Concert has brought here. He arrived here with a lot of new compositions, but they had been composed long ago; he therefore promised to present a new work every evening." Translations from *The Collected Correspondence*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon, 126, 132. Original texts in *Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Dénes Bartha, 271–272, 280–281.

he rated it less highly than his own or than Mozart's.¹⁹ What early in 1792 caused Haydn momentary concern was the impression fashioned by rivals of him as "a worn-out old man," the sense that youth instinctively had an advantage over age and experience, whatever the respective merits.²⁰

Pleyel reached London on 23 December 1791. The arrival of "the celebrated composer" drew a press announcement: "The musical world were all in motion upon this interesting event, and a deputation of performers waited on him [Pleyel] to testify the general respect of the body [the Professionals]."²¹ The following day Haydn dined with his former pupil, and a week later they attended the opera together. Haydn provided no comment on these occasions beyond recording them in his journal.²² In 1805, however, he was more forthcoming in recalling the episode to Dies, his biographer:

After Pleyel's arrival Haydn could clearly see by his behaviour that he had in his pupil an opponent who wished to contend with him for the prize. ... [Haydn] thought he noticed that his former pupil behaved toward him with a certain reserve and even failed to seek out his company so frequently as before.[.]²³

Although Dies is vague about what precisely happened next – Haydn's memory became increasingly hazy in later years – its aftermath is clear enough:

I can assert with certainty that Pleyel finally came across the scent of the intrigue, recognized the injustice done to his teacher, and took the occasion of a banquet ... to ask for Haydn's forgiveness. I will impart to my readers verbatim the few quiet words with which Haydn closed [the subject]: "I gladly forgave my pupil, and since then we have been friends again as before."²⁴

For the 1792 season Pleyel also composed four new symphonies (Ben. 150A, 151, 152, 155), as well as two new *Sinfonies Concertantes* (Ben. 113, 114), all specifically for London.²⁵ Pleyel had been sent information about orchestral forces

19. John Taylor, *Records of My Life* (London: Edward Bull, 1832), vol 1, 275–276; Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari, *Aneddoti piacevoli e interessanti occorsi nella vita di Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari, da Roveredo* (London: Ferrari, 1832), vol. 2, 49.

20. Haydn used the term "a worn-out old man" about himself in describing this episode to his biographer. Cf. Albert Christoph Dies: *Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn* (Vienna: Camesina, 1810), 88 (visit of 9 December 1805); trans. from *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits. A translation with introduction and notes by Vernon Gotwals* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 128. For the consequences of Haydn's obsession with age and youth, see Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar*, 176–179.

21. *Morning Chronicle*, 28 December 1791.

22. *Joseph Haydn: Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Dénes Bartha, 501, 510.

23. Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 88–89; trans. Gotwals, *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits*, 128.

24. Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 89; trans. Gotwals, *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits*, 128–129.

25. The symphonies Pleyel composed for London were considered lost by the time of Pleyel's death in 1831. Although Rita Benton's thematic catalogue of Pleyel's compositions does not identify Pleyel's London

available and their strengths, which he took into account.²⁶ He also brought with him for performance at the Professional Concert a set of recent string quartets, the only one of nine sets composed before 1792 then still unknown in London (Ben. 359–364).²⁷ These six quartets enabled Pleyel to fulfil his contract for twelve compositions seemingly written exclusively for London.²⁸ Haydn, however, was well aware that some of Pleyel's 'new' compositions were not what was claimed, the quartets having been composed previously.²⁹

While Haydn did not attempt to compose the number of new compositions promised by Pleyel, Pleyel's pledge certainly gave rise to an expectation that this is what the older composer needed to match in order to demonstrate continuing compositional vitality, countering ageist propaganda disseminated by rivals.³⁰ Haydn therefore aped Pleyel's apparent deception with his own, giving the impression of composing twelve new pieces by highlighting older compositions hitherto unpublished, reworked for London.³¹

Complaining in a letter to his friend Marianna von Genzinger about the toll the effort was taking on his health, Haydn mentions the obligation he felt under to respond to Pleyel's promise to present a new work at each of his concerts: "I realized at once that a lot of people were dead set against me, and so I announced publicly that I would likewise produce 12 different new pieces."³² An account by the London correspondent of the *Journal des Moden* from February 1792 shows

symphonies, she apparently recognized belatedly three of those in question: David M. Guion, *The Trombone: Its History and Music, 1697–1811* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988), 269–271. One of the symphonies was identified by Simon McVeigh: "The Professional Concert and Rival Subscription Series in London, 1783–1793," *The Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 22 (1989), 1–135, here: 103. All the symphonies in question and their manuscript sources were identified and discussed by Arthur Searle: "Pleyel's 'London' symphonies," *Early Music* 36/2 (May 2008), 231–244.

26. This may be deduced from comments recorded by the diarist and composer John Marsh. Cf. *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752–1828)*, ed. Brian Robins (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press), 513.

27. Newspaper advertisements for the Professional's Concert show that six manuscript string quartets by Pleyel were performed during the season. Although no source identifies these quartets, it is reasonably clear that they were the latest he had written, first advertised for publication by Artaria in Vienna in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 7 January 1792. Pleyel is not known to have composed any further string quartets until a set of three appeared in 1803 as Op. 9: Ben. 365–7 (3604). Information relating to the concert series in which both Pleyel and Haydn participated in 1792 drawn from newspapers and related sources is helpfully summarised by McVeigh in "The Professional Concert," 103–114.

28. No contract survives, but its main feature, twelve new pieces, was repeatedly mentioned in newspaper advertisements.

29. Cf. Haydn's letter to Maria Anna von Genzinger of 2 March 1792 in *Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Dénes Bartha, 280.

30. In correspondence Haydn states that he publicly announced that he "would likewise produce 12 different new pieces." Letter of 2 March 1792 in *Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Dénes Bartha, 280; trans. from *The Collected Correspondence*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon, 132.

31. Haydn's concerts included versions of unpublished 'notturmi' originally composed for the King of Naples, rescored for London, as well as a recent unpublished keyboard trio. For details, see McVeigh, "The Professional Concert," 112–113.

32. Letter of 2 March 1792 in *Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Dénes Bartha, 280; trans. in *The Collected Correspondence*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon, 132.

how Haydn's response to the challenge set by Pleyel's Concert entered the public domain. After reporting that Pleyel had "undertaken to compose 12 new symphonies" for Cramer's organization – an inaccuracy perhaps founded on misinformation circulated by the Professional Concert – the report turned to the older composer: "Hayden [*sic*] likewise has composed twelve new pieces" for "Salomon's Opposition-Concert" [*Oppositions-Concert*].³³ As though providing credibility for this assertion, the same correspondent stressed the older composer's integrity: "Hayden is a man of excellent character, a most agreeable companion, and is not the least conceited about his considerable musical earnings."³⁴ Although unreported, many followers of London concert life at this time would have been aware that aspects of Pleyel's personality contrasted with perceptions of the older composer. Haydn himself reports that "Pleyel's presumption [in challenging his former teacher] is sharply criticized."³⁵ More significantly, an independent, well informed source reports that when Pleyel first arrived in London, having already agreed the substantial fee of £1,000, he "could not be satisfied but by an increase of terms!!!"³⁶ In December 1791 the Professionals were in no position to refuse this ultimatum. Those aware of Pleyel's unscrupulousness surely juxtaposed it with Haydn's conduct in refusing to defect to the Professionals despite their significantly increased offer over what his agreement with Salomon offered him.³⁷

Haydn's remark that "The newspapers are full of it" commenting on his supposed rivalry with Pleyel was no exaggeration. His description of the situation as "a bloody harmonious war," a metaphor consciously fusing musical and combative elements, reflects precisely how newspapers projected this rivalry. When the Pantheon, a venue associated with the Professionals, burnt down at the end of January 1792 one newspaper, mindful of the strong emotions "roused by the magic of HAYDN," commented:

if we are to have war, let us have war with wit in it. If it were confined to a sportive display of talents no one would be angry, however keen the conflict.³⁸

33. The correspondent's article is dated London, 16 January 1792: *Journal des Moden*, February 1792, 104–106, here: 105.

34. *Journal des Moden*, February 1792, 105.

35. Letter of 2 March 1792 in *Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Dénes Bartha, 280; trans. in *The Collected Correspondence*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon, 132.

36. W. T. Parke, *Musical Memoirs; Comprising an Account of the General State of Music in England, From the First Commemoration of Handel in 1784, to the Year 1830*, (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1830), vol. 1, 151. A separate source indicates Pleyel's final fee was £1,200, suggesting he negotiated an increase of 20%: [François-Joseph] Fétis, "Notice sur Ignace Pleyel," *Revue Musicale* 11 (1831), 344–347, here: 346.

37. According to Haydn, he was offered in excess of 150 guineas over the fee agreed with Salomon to defect to the Professionals: Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 87.

38. *Morning Chronicle*, 31 January 1792, quoted in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 3, 128.

The "war" saw Salomon as a "Generalissimo," a mock-heroic title denoting the highest possible rank for a foreign military figure, one that only gained popular currency in Britain in the later 1780s.³⁹ This coincided with a predilection in London for music recreating battles.⁴⁰ The most popular example was Ignazio Raimondi's "grand musical piece called *La Bataille*" introduced to the British capital in 1785.⁴¹ A report of one performance, a benefit concert for Raimondi that coincided with preparations for the opening of Cramer's and Salomon's rival series in 1792, noted that the audience included 'the two great *heroes* of the ensuing musical campaign, we mean Messrs. HAYDN and PLEYEL, sitting together all the evening, not [on this occasion] as contending rivals, but Chiefs associating in the same pursuit.'⁴² Raimondi's piece portrays various stages of battle, including "the flow or hurried march of armies, the tumult and confusion of a battle, the irregular movements and mournful noise of a defeat, ... a deliberation of Field Officers, ... [and] the debates in a Council of War," culminating in "Victory".⁴³ Following a performance in 1789, one critic urged audiences not to take Raimondi's "Council of War" too seriously: "The violin proposes a measure, as Generalissimo, the flute seconds the motion, the horn pursues the argument, the bassoon grunts an objection, and the double bass growls a reply!!"⁴⁴

Raimondi thus prepared the scene for the outbreak of phony musical hostilities in 1792. On the very day that Pleyel made his debut in London, the *Morning Herald* carried a notice detailing Salomon's preliminaries for battle:

Generalissimo Salomon is daily adding such reinforcements to his musical army, that the ensuing campaign will be a hot one!⁴⁵

This newspaper intentionally promoted the "war" by juxtaposing contrasting announcements supporting the two sides. The same page printed two notices concerning Pleyel's opening concert. One was a puff, advocating "the merit of the

39. Judging from the appearance of the word 'generalissimo' in British eighteenth-century newspapers.

40. For comment, see Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 116.

41. For Raimondi's battle piece, composed in 1777, see: *L'Esprit des journaux, françois et étrangers*, 5 (1777), 308. The piece is known today from *Bataille, Arrangé Pour le Clavacin ou Piano Forte Avec Accompagnement d'un Violon & Violoncelle Composé Par Mr. J. Raimondi* (Berlin: J.J. Hummel). This arrangement was advertised in London in 1791: e.g. *The World*, 3 March 1791.

42. *Morning Herald*, 3 February 1792, quoted in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 3, 130. The work was often advertised on programmes as included "by particular desire".

43. *Morning Star*, 8 June 1789.

44. *Morning Star*, 8 June 1789. A critic humorously mocked Raimondi's *Battle-piece* after hearing a performance in 1785: "eight Generals are said to be described by eight instruments. In respect to the *Wind* instruments, we admit they will apply to such of our Staff Officers who have given proof of their ability in *puffing*!" *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, 21 May 1785.

45. *Morning Herald*, 13 February 1792. The notice was repeated a day later: *Public Advertiser*, 14 February 1792.

Symphony which is to introduce [Pleyel] to this fashionable Assembly".⁴⁶ The writer alerted readers to the expectation that this "*chef d'oeuvre*" (evidently heard at a rehearsal) would be honoured by the presence of the musical Duchess of York, who as the newest recruit to the royal family was then its most topical member.⁴⁷ The second announcement advocating Pleyel's concert, another puff, shows the lengths to which publicists were prepared to go to unnerve the opposition:

PLEYEL, according to report, seems to be conscious of the high reputation his talents have raised in this country; and if zeal and industry in the fullest exertions of his fine imagination can keep up his character, he is in little danger of losing his present consequence. Some new symphonies which have been heard in the private circles are mentioned with the warmest panegyric.⁴⁸

Haydn's opponents thus systematically sought to undermine any advantage he had gained from the year when he had already established himself in London, especially his merit and good character. Pleyel's advocates presented him as the composer of the moment, the favourite of the elite. When it came to the opening concert in Pleyel's season, however, the Duchess of York, the highest-ranking woman to subscribe to the series, chose on the evening to attend another musical entertainment, her absence made conspicuous by a sofa especially prepared for her necessarily left vacant. As musical Londoners were aware, both Pleyel and Haydn had previously dedicated separate sets of string quartets to the Duchess's father, the King of Prussia.⁴⁹ Her decision to ignore Pleyel's first performance, though her anticipated attendance had been made public, provided an early indication which side was likely to emerge triumphant.

3. A legal conflict: Haydn and Pleyel in court

Not long into the 'campaign', one entertaining report implied that the conflict was heading for legal action:

The NOTES of Haydn and Pleyel are likely to produce some discords in the Courts. Lord Kenyon though no very considerable musical Amateur will probably be the umpire.⁵⁰

46. *Morning Herald*, 13 February 1792.

47. Princess Frederica Charlotte of Prussia married Prince Frederick, Duke of York, second son of George III, on 29 September 1791.

48. *Morning Herald*, 13 February, 1792.

49. Prussian quartets: Haydn, Hob. III: 44–49; Pleyel, Ben. 331–342.

50. *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, January 12 1792.

Kenyon (1732–1802), a former Attorney General, became Lord Chief Justice, head of the judiciary in England in 1788. His reputation as a zealous disciplinarian attracted the attention of satirists. A caricature entitled *Discipline à la Kenyon* (Plate 3) provides a useful insight into public perceptions of Kenyon's moral indignation.⁵¹ Kenyon, in full judicial dress, mercilessly flogs the back of a stout woman tied to the back of a cart bearing a placard proclaiming "Faro's Daughter's [sic] Beware".

Faro (i.e. Pharo, a name borrowed from the ancient rulers of Egypt) was a banking game played with cards that became fashionable during the 1780s, one of the few quasi-respectable outlets for elite women predisposed towards gambling.⁵²

PLATE 3 James Gillray, *Discipline à la Kenyon*
(published by Hannah Humphrey, 25 March 1797).

Coloured etching, 26.4×36.6 cm. London, British Museum, museum no. 1868,0808.6611



51. BM Sat. 9079 (published 25 March 1797). Prints in the British Museum are here referenced through entries in the standard catalogue covering the period in question: Frederic George Stephens and Mary Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, 7 vols (London: British Museum, 1935–1954) abbreviated to BM Sat. followed by the entry number.

52. Gillian Russell, "Faro's Daughters": Female Gamblers, Politics, and the Discourse of Finance in 1790s Britain," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33 (2000), 481–504.

The ruinous and addictive nature of the game led Kenyon to threaten “Faro ladies” whose excesses led to illegality with the pillory, thereby showing that those convicted of illicit gambling could expect the same punishment irrespective of class or sex. What brings this dubious pastime into the orbit of Haydn and Pleyel is that faro was presented as a valid alternative to concert going. The very same page of the newspaper that provocatively juxtaposed Pleyel’s “zeal and industry” with Salomon’s musical “reinforcements” informed its readers, with generous application of metaphors military and heroic, that

the whole musical world seems to be in motion at this period; and though it certainly meets with a very formidable competitor in PHARO and his host, yet it maintains a hardy conflict, and is likely to retire from the field with profit, as well as honour.⁵³

As a senior judge, at least two cases directly concerning music really did come before Kenyon, both testing matters of copyright legislation. Although he admitted “incompetency in the strongest degree” in musical matters, Kenyon’s interpretation of the law set important precedents, often quoted in subsequent cases. He extended a principal established in a celebrated copyright case initiated by the composer Johann Christian Bach (ruled on in 1777) that music like any other form of writing was covered by the existing law of copyright, thus entitling composers to rights over their published compositions for a set period of fourteen years, potentially renewable for a further period of the same duration.⁵⁴ In a British context this and subsequent rulings on copyright had important implications for composers like Haydn and Pleyel.

Kenyon’s first musical judgment, in 1788, was in a lawsuit brought by the composer Stephen Storace, who wanted to protect his rights to an aria written for performance in another composer’s opera. The theatre’s publishers Longman & Broderip had, Storace claimed, published the aria without his permission.⁵⁵ As legal reports record, Lord Kenyon determined in Storace’s favour: “the statute vests the property in the author; and that no ... private regulation [i.e. customary practice] could interfere with the public right.”⁵⁶ In a second, later musical

53. *Morning Herald*, 13 February 1792.

54. For J. C. Bach’s role in determining musical copyright in England, see John Small, “J.C. Bach goes to Law,” *Musical Times* 126 (1985), 526–529. For documented surveys of music copyright and associated issues in eighteenth-century Britain (with extensive bibliography), see: David Hunter, “Music Copyright in Britain to 1800,” *Music & Letters* 67 (1986), 269–282; John Small, “The Development of Musical Copyright,” in *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, ed. Michael Kassler (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 233–385.

55. For an account of this case, which was followed by an unsuccessful countersuit from the publishers, see Curtis Price, Judith Milhous, and Robert D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, vol. 1, *The King’s Theatre, Haymarket, 1778–1791* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 35, 337, 389–393. Cf. Jenny Nex, “Longman & Broderip” in *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 9–93, here: 27.

56. This judgment, though not legally binding, was widely followed thereafter and often cited. For examples, see: W. M. Medland & Charles Weobly, *A Collection of Remarkable and Interesting Criminal Trials*,

case, fiercely contended by interested parties, Kenyon ruled that the singer Madam Mara as creator of a particular musical adaptation of a duet by Paisiello held the copyright to it, not the theatre where it was first sung, nor their copyists, nor their publishers, nor even Paisiello, thus overturning long-established theatrical conventions in London.⁵⁷

When Haydn was in London, he was closely associated with many participants in these cases. Having befriended Storace in Vienna many years earlier, it seems likely that Haydn was informed of Kenyon's judgment in the earlier case when he renewed his friendship with Storace in London.⁵⁸ The author of the newspaper paragraph connecting Kenyon with Haydn and Pleyel, suggesting they would all end up in court, was probably aware of this legal case and its potential ramifications for new compositions, such as those planned for both rival concert series. He would also have known that both composers were directly involved in another lawsuit actually in progress during the period when their respective concert series vied with each other.

Haydn and Pleyel really did find themselves in court in London, both called as deponents in a case initiated in January 1788 (the same month Storace brought his case) between two of their publishers, who disputed rights to several instrumental compositions Haydn had sent to London earlier in the 1780s. Hitherto scholarly interpretation of this case, which appears never to have been formally settled and was presumably resolved out-of-court, has focused on Haydn's supposed misappropriation of compositions actually by Pleyel.⁵⁹ Documentation of the proceedings, however, shows that this was initiated as another copyright case, initially brought to resolve infringements of rights claimed by one side then counterclaimed by the other, which only incidentally revealed that two of the 'Haydn' compositions contested were really by Pleyel.

Actions at Law, and Other Legal Decisions (London: John Badcock, 1804), vol. 2, 228–229; *The English Law Reports*, 178 vols (Edinburgh, 1900–1932), vol. 170, 1069 (Kenyon's judgment is here quoted in a report of another case, *Clementi v. Goulding*, of 1809).

57. Judith Milhous, Gabriella Dideriksen, and Robert D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, vol. 2. *The Pantheon Opera and Its Aftermath, 1789–1795* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 455–460.

58. For an account of Haydn's relations with Storace, see E. Kerr Borthwick, "Latin Quotations in Haydn's London Notebooks," *Music & Letters* 71 (1990), 505–510.

59. Alan Tyson, "Haydn and Two Stolen Trios," *The Music Review* 22 (1961), 21–27; Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, 378–380, vol. 3, 119–120; Rita Benton, "A Resumé of the Haydn-Pleyel 'Trio Controversy' and Some Added Additions," *Haydn-Studien* 4 (1978), 114–117; Nancy A. Mace, "Haydn and the London Music Sellers: *Forster v Longman & Broderip*," *Music & Letters* 77 (1996), 527–541; Roger S. Fisher, "'Say it ain't so, Joe': Haydn, Pleyel and Copyright in Music in the Late 18th Century," *Intellectual Property Law Journal* 23 (December 2010), 1–35; Naomi Waltham-Smith, *Music and Belonging between Revolution and Restoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 1–2. Fisher argues that Haydn, "under the common law of apprenticeship," was the "legal owner" of Pleyel's two trios, assuming that Pleyel composed them when he was Haydn's pupil. This argument has no bearing since it is clear Pleyel composed the works in question long after completing his "apprenticeship" with Haydn.

The case advanced slowly until 1791 when Haydn's presence in London provided opportunities for the composer to be called twice in person as a witness, once for either side in the case.⁶⁰ In his testimony, for which Salomon acted as interpreter, Haydn not only admitted that he had sold "licences", i.e. copyright, of some of the pieces in question to more than one commercial institution in London (potentially a serious stain against his good character), he also voluntarily disclosed that two keyboard trios (called sonatas) were not his but Pleyel's. For reasons that remain undisclosed in Haydn's testimony he had sent these to London, together with an equivalent composition of his own giving the original publisher, William Forster, the impression that they belonged together. There is no doubt Haydn encouraged this misreading since he wrote his own name on the manuscript copies of Pleyel's compositions sent to London.⁶¹ As such the three trios were published as Haydn's Op. 40. Haydn's word under oath in 1791 is therefore the very first conclusive evidence that anyone in London knew that two of the disputed compositions were not in fact by Haydn, the case itself being brought to determine matters of copyright, not of authorship.

It was shortly after Haydn's admission about Pleyel's authorship that the Professional Concert set about negotiating with Pleyel to bring him to London, an early foray in Haydn's "bloody harmonious war." The Professionals seized this opportunity to discredit Haydn, who had refused to defect to them from Salomon's rival concert organization. Not only might Pleyel be pitted against his former teacher, but Haydn's admission was evidence of malpractice, casting the pupil as victim.

On 16 February 1792 Pleyel duly appeared in court as a witness with Cramer acting as his interpreter.⁶² Under oath Pleyel said little injurious to Haydn beyond confirming what Haydn had already admitted, that he, Pleyel, was the author of two of the disputed compositions. To this he added information that about five years previously (around 1787) he had given Longman & Broderip permission to publish the "said Sonatas" though "without any consideration [payment] whatever" for them.⁶³ Evidence presented elsewhere in the case suggests caution is needed in interpreting this last statement. Longman & Broderip published all three sonatas under Haydn's name. One of their engravers testified that this edition was copied directly from Forster's and therefore had nothing directly to do with Pleyel. The engraver affirmed that Broderip told him that this piracy was permissible because in the case of another set of sonatas (trios) Forster had pirated their edition.⁶⁴

60. Haydn was called as a witness on 14 April and 5 July 1791: Mace, "Haydn and the London Music Sellers," 534–535, 537–538.

61. "di me Giuseppe Haydn". See Tyson, "Haydn and Two Stolen Trios," 21.

62. Mace, "Haydn and the London Music Sellers," 539.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*, 531.

4. Musical theft

The notion that Haydn somehow behaved dishonourably towards Pleyel stealing the work of his pupil, which once dominated scholarship on the case, is never implied in the English sources. This reading of events only surfaces in an account of Haydn's life published in Paris in 1810, the year following the composer's death.⁶⁵

According to Nicolas-Étienne Framery, Pleyel sent Haydn two trios as "homage of acknowledgement" [*hommage de la reconnaissance*] long after completing studies with his former teacher.⁶⁶ The account specifically mentions that the trios were composed in Strasbourg, "as everyone in the town knew".⁶⁷

The idea that Pleyel sent his former master a musical token of esteem on settling in Strasbourg is plausible. This was where in 1783 Pleyel found his first permanent position, deputy to Franz Xaver Richter the elderly Kapellmeister at the cathedral, a post Pleyel would have been proud to signal to his former teacher.⁶⁸ The style of the two trios – more mature than Pleyel's earliest published compositions written in the years after leaving Haydn, though less developed than his first official set of trios, those dedicated to the Queen Charlotte published in 1788 (Ben. 431–436) – suggests that they are unlikely to have been written long before Haydn sent them to London, which the documentation Forster assembled for the legal case claimed was in 1784.⁶⁹ Framery's report that Pleyel voluntarily sent copies of his works to someone who touched his life is confirmed by documentation concerning yet another set of his trios, those published in 1790 (Ben. 437–439). Betsey Wynne, the dedicatee of this set, was about eleven years old when Pleyel wrote them for her. Her diary reveals Pleyel as her musical teacher during the later 1780s when her family lived near Strasbourg. Late in 1789, however, the Wynnes moved to the Veneto. Betsey's diary entry for 7 October 1790 records how:

This evening a parcel arrived which was some sonatas [trios] which Mr Pleyel had composed and dedicated to me. They are very pretty but very difficult.⁷⁰

Already by February 1790 Betsey had established a reputation for refined musical performance in Venice, one admirer noting her remarkable touch and how her father, a well-known amateur, accompanied her on the violin "in sonatas by Pleyel and Haydn".⁷¹ As Betsey's teacher, it was evidently Pleyel who intro-

65. [Nicolas-Étienne] Framery, *Notice sur Joseph Haydn* (Paris: Barba, 1810).

66. Framery, *Notice* 33.

67. *Ibid.*

68. The date of the appointment is taken from Pleyel's obituary: Fétis, "Notice sur Ignace Pleyel," 346.

69. William Sandys and Simon Andrew Forster, *The History of Violin* (London: Reeves, 1864), 304–305.

70. *The Wynne Diaries*, ed. Anne Fremantle, vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), 42.

71. *Marquis de Bombelles, Journal, Tome III, 1789–1792*, ed. Jean Grassion and Frans Durif (Geneva: Droz, 1993), 59 (entry for 2 February 1790). For the musical enthusiasms of Betsey's father, see the entry on "Herr Wynne" in *Journal zu Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur* 14 (1787), 88.

duced father and daughter to works suitable for family performance from Haydn's oeuvre as well as from his own. This suggests that Pleyel conceived his own early 'sonatas' (that is trios, perhaps performed by the Wynnes without the cello part) in relation to equivalent compositions by Haydn, a hint that there was more to the relationship between the two composers' trios than came to light in the court records in London.⁷²

After recounting how Pleyel sent his pair of trios to Haydn, Framery's 1810 account continues with Haydn being approached to compose a set of three trios for London as quickly as possible in return for an irresistible fee. Preoccupied with other work, he made up the set using the two by Pleyel, "which he had no scruple passing off as his own, persuaded that M. Pleyel would never make further use of them."⁷³ Haydn's supposed deception, according to Framery, was discovered after agents for Longman & Broderip, visiting Pleyel in Strasbourg, wished to purchase the sonatas for publication:

"No", said the composer, "I composed them for my master, and the thanks he gave me for them is the only price I expect in return." "Allow at least," said Longman, "that for your glory they are published under your name." He insisted so firmly that M. Pleyel consented to this, far from imagining that Haydn had disposed of them for his own advantage.

Framery explains that when the two editions appeared at about the same time, Forster, "astonished that Longman's firm had dared to publish under Pleyel's name two sonatas stemming from Haydn himself," launched an action against his rivals that was only resolved when Haydn told the truth in court and made up for the offence by writing further trios for both publishers.

Since the main source for Framery's text was almost certainly Pleyel, who in 1795 moved to Paris where Framery was active as a composer and writer on music, it is unsurprising that this version of events is exceptionally favourable to Pleyel, while casting Haydn in a poor light. Following Haydn's death in 1809, the chances of discovery in manipulating facts for personal advantage were minimal. But where facts can be checked, their distortion is often apparent. Thus Framery's account rests in part on the notion that Longman & Broderip published under Pleyel's name the trios supposedly purloined by Haydn. But in fact no such edition is documented or has been located. The surviving edition of these compositions issued by Longman & Broderip, as indicated previously, published them under Haydn's name, pirated from Forster's edition. Pleyel's curious admission in court

72. Concert programmes organised by Pleyel in Strasbourg between 1785 and 1791 show that he invariably juxtaposed one of his own compositions with one by Haydn. Details were published in the *Feuille hebdomadaire de la Ville de Strasbourg*.

73. Framery, *Notice*, 32.

in 1792 that he had given Longman & Broderip permission to publish his compositions in question about 1787, though without payment, therefore does not stand up to close scrutiny. This was presumably a falsehood necessary to protect the interests of Longman & Broderip, whose firm in the meantime had become the leading publisher of Pleyel's music in Britain. Pleyel was certainly in communication with Broderip before coming to England. An independent source refers to Broderip's advice to the Strasbourg composer about composing for a London audience.⁷⁴ Examples of authentic editions of Pleyel's music published by Longman & Broderip include the set of trios dedicated to the Queen and those dedicated to Betsey Wynne. This suggests that it was actually Pleyel who perjured himself in his testimony though in retelling the story years later the deceit was extended further to imply that the fault lay elsewhere.

Further reinterpretation of events is evident elsewhere in Framery's text. One pertinent example is Framery's account of Pleyel, when living in Haydn's house, having a clandestine reproduction made of one of his master's operas, *Armida*, after Haydn refused Pleyel's request for a personal copy of the score.⁷⁵ When Haydn's house burnt down – a documented event of 1776 – Framery asserts that Haydn was devastated, losing to the flames his autograph of the opera, which he believed was its sole record. In this context, Pleyel's unauthorised copy rescuing the opera from oblivion wins for him Haydn's eternal gratitude.⁷⁶ Since *Armida* was composed in 1783, long after the fire in question, this detail of Framery's story is certainly false. While it is possible that the narrative relates to another opera, the key element of the story in the present context is Pleyel's unsanctioned copying of Haydn's music, an act of 'theft' presented as entirely forgivable because it saves the opera. Indeed, the inference of the story is that the real fault lay with Haydn for preventing his pupil copying the opera in the first place.

It seems that in 1810, in recounting his years of study with Haydn to Framery, Pleyel cast himself in quasi-heroic terms – he even credited himself with restoring Haydn's house following the fire. Pleyel's death in 1831, however, provided an opportunity for a less partial account of the time he spent with Haydn in the 1770s to emerge. An obituary published in a leading musical periodical of the time focuses yet again on Pleyel helping himself to his master's compositions without permission. The episode recounts how several Haydn compositions disappeared from his home, assumed by Haydn at the time to have been stolen by Pleyel, "who alone had access to Haydn's house."⁷⁷ Pleyel protested his innocence, so Haydn's

74. Cf. *The John Marsh Journals*, 513.

75. Framery, *Notice*, 24–31.

76. Framery even states that Haydn's patron, Prince Eszterházy, commissioned Pleyel – then aged nineteen – to reconstruct Haydn's house exactly as it had been before the fire

77. Fétis, "Notice sur Ignace Pleyel," 345; trans. from "Memoir of Ignatius Pleyel," *Harmonicon*, 10 (1832), 25.

suspicion was never proven. In time the two were reconciled though the works in question (a set of quartets) were never retrieved.⁷⁸

While no source for this narrative is given, its appearance only after Pleyel's death suggests the possibility that Pleyel himself may have confided it to someone trustworthy who was only free to disclose it after Pleyel's death. Had evidence really existed demonstrating that Pleyel appropriated his master's compositions, this might have had a bearing on the case in which Haydn and Pleyel appeared in court in London. Such evidence was in fact published in London less than two years before Haydn's arrival there, though in a form no one, except Pleyel and Haydn, is likely to have comprehended.

5. A forgotten Pleyel duet and Haydn's appropriated sonatas

In January 1789 several newspapers printed a call for subscribers to a publication of new compositions, headed "PLEYEL'S SONATAS":

J. COOPER presents his Respects to the Musical World, and informs them, that on the 28th of February next he shall publish (dedicated, by permission, to the Right Honourable LADY DUNCANNON) FIVE easy and familiar SONATAS for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte; with an Accompaniment for the Violin, and a Duet for Two Performers on One Instrument. Composed by Pleyel.⁷⁹

Harriet Lady Duncannon was one of London society's most notable women. A devoted younger sister of the celebrated Duchess of Devonshire, both siblings exemplify the shared addiction of many elite women at this time for the competing pastimes of faro and music.⁸⁰ Their joint obsessions were sufficiently well known for the two sisters to be caricatured in each other's company amusing themselves either at the gaming table or performing music.⁸¹ Between them they ran up outrageous gambling debts (one of many misdemeanours) while maintaining a front of respectability through attendance at the opera and patronage of prominent musicians.⁸²

78. *Ibid.*

79. *The World*, 29 January 1789 (and several other newspapers thereafter).

80. For accounts of both women and their concern for both music and faro, see Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire* (London: HarperCollins, 1998), 74, 183, 193.

81. Rowlandson caricatured sisters as participants in musical and gaming activities in 1790 and 1791 respectively: see, for example, John Hayes, *Rowlandson: Watercolours and Drawings* (London: Phaidon, 1972), 138–139, 151, nos 75, 87.

82. The Duchess and her husband were patrons of the opera director Joseph Mazzinghi and the violinist and composer Felice Giardini, who dedicated sets of chamber music to them (Op. 21, 25): Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, 26, 58, 183, 342.

As befits a publication dedicated to a noted member of the nobility, Cooper's edition of the sonatas in question proved very splendid on publication. It features an elaborate title page (*Plate 4*) with a unique medallion portrait of Pleyel apparently based on life (a rarity at this date), a decorative cartouche showing a cupid with musical instruments designed and engraved by a local artist, a separate dedication page praising the musical gifts of Lady Harriet, and an impressive list of subscribers.⁸³ The effect was so striking that a contemporary reviewer complemented Cooper on the excellence of the publication's appearance.⁸⁴ The same critic also enthused about the finer features of Pleyel's style identified in each of the sonatas, though the concluding duet he deemed "tedious" on account of its "too great length."

The duet in Cooper's publication dedicated to Lady Duncannon does not appear in Rita Benton's standard catalogue of Pleyel's works published in 1977. There can be no doubt, however, that it is a composition by Pleyel, typical of his work in the 1780s. Pleasantly undemanding on the ear, like many Pleyel compositions of this period, it offers an anodyne counterpart of the popular style Haydn developed in early works specifically intended for publication, that is those written around 1780, understandably leaving a "tedious" impression on some listeners.⁸⁵ It seems that Benton, the leading Pleyel scholar in modern times, did not investigate Cooper's publication closely because she was aware twentieth-century scholarship had previously revealed that none of the preceding compositions in the volume originated with Pleyel. All five sonatas are actually early compositions either by Haydn or assigned to him long before Pleyel became his pupil.⁸⁶ Benton therefore reasonably assumed the same applied to the duet, discounting it from Pleyel's oeuvre without further investigation.

Cooper's edition of the 'Pleyel' sonatas in question is actually the first print of each of them, all of which had been advertised as compositions by Haydn in the 1760s.⁸⁷ No autograph survives for any one of them. However, manuscript copies and Leipzig copyists' catalogues clearly identify their composer as Haydn.⁸⁸

83. Although portraits of Pleyel had decorated earlier publications by the composer, the one used by Cooper, though recognisably the same person, clearly derives from a separate source. Since it appears to be unique, this provides an indication of Cooper's direct association with Pleyel.

84. "ART. LVI" in *The Analytical Review, or History of Literature, Domestic and Foreign* 3 (1789), 362–363.

85. Charles Burney, commenting on Pleyel's popularity in 1789, noted his essential stylistic dependence on Haydn: *General History of Music*, vol. 4 (London: the author, 1789), 591.

86. The sonatas are Hob. XVI: 5, 10, 12, 13, and 14. Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, vol. 1 (Mainz: Schott, 1957), 738, 741–745.

87. For this and what follows, see Georg Feder, "Kritischer Bericht," in *Joseph Haydn Werke* XVIII/1, *Klaviersonaten, I. Folge* (Munich: Henle, 2007), 10–52 (with full assessment of manuscript and early printed sources).

88. Hob. XVI: 5 appears in Breitkopf's 1763 catalogue (Part IV), 6: "Divertimento di Gius. HAYDEN, per il Cemb. Solo". Hob. XVI: 10, 12, 13, and 14 appear in Breitkopf's 1767 catalogue (Supplement II) as four of the items in: "V. Soli del Sigr. HAYDEN, a Cemb. Solo". In preparation for Breitkopf and Härtel's edition of Haydn's compositions, Haydn was shown the compositions in question in 1803 and apparently confirmed his

PLATE 4 *Five Easy and Familiar Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte, with an Accompaniment for the Violin, and a Duet for Two Performers on One Instrument, Composed by Pleyel*
 Title page (London: J[ames] Cooper, [1789]). Cambridge, King's College, Rowe Music Library



While this offers no definitive proof that the sonatas are all by Haydn, musicologists are generally agreed on the basis of stylistic analysis that some if not all of the sonatas provide good examples of his early writing for keyboard – some may date from the early 1750s.⁸⁹ More importantly, this evidence shows that the sonatas were associated with Haydn long before 1772 when Pleyel, aged just fifteen and obviously too young to have had anything to do with these sonatas when first composed, became Haydn's pupil. Lodged in the older composer's house for five years, there are grounds for speculating that the youthful Pleyel had access to these early compositions by or associated with his teacher, originally composed for solo keyboard. Although Haydn's pedagogical methods have yet to be studied systematically, it seems plausible to suggest that he found a use for such early compositions in teaching pupils: the youthful Pleyel would have furnished them with a complementary part for an accompanying violin, a student exercise so successfully undertaken that he kept it.

By criteria set out by Lord Kenyon Pleyel had rights to his own arrangements of compositions by his teacher, permitting him to publish them under his own name. It appears Pleyel sold them as such to Cooper. However, Haydn and others are likely to have held a contrary opinion. Assuming, as the context and early sources indicate, Pleyel added the accompaniments when under instruction from Haydn, traditions long established throughout Europe would have upheld the master's rights not only to his own compositions, but also to any arrangement of them made by a pupil during a period of training.⁹⁰

No documentation survives recording the understanding between Pleyel and Cooper; but evidence that something once existed is Cooper's sale in 1792, apparently to avoid financial ruin, of what advertisements call "The Valuable COPYRIGHT with the ENGRAVED PLATES" of a series of compositions Cooper had published earlier, including a set of "DUETS by PLEYEL".⁹¹ Pleyel evidently sold rights to a number of compositions to Cooper. However, these particular duets,

authorship of all of them except for Hob. XVI: 13, about which he was ambivalent: Günter Thomas, "Griesingers Briefe über Haydn. Aus seiner Korrespondenz mit Breitkopf & Härtel," *Haydn-Studien* 1/2 (1966), 49–113, here: 92–93. Haydn's authorship of Hob. XVI: 14 is seemingly confirmed by the fact that its incipit appears in his own catalogue of his compositions (the *Entwurf Katalog*), begun about 1765.

89. All five sonatas appear in two modern critical editions of Haydn sonatas, though with notes of caution concerning attribution: *Wiener Urtext Edition*, Joseph Haydn, *Sämtliche Klaviersonaten*, vol 1a, ed. Christa Landon (Mainz: Schott, '1966), xvi, xx (for comments on authenticity and dating); *Joseph Haydn Werke*, XVIII/1, *Klaviersonaten*, 1. Folge, ed. Georg Feder (Munich: Henle, 1970). For further assessments of the authenticity of these sonatas, see especially: László Somfai, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Joseph Haydn* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 153–155; Scott Fruehwald, *Authenticity Problems in Joseph Haydn's Early Instrumental Works* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1988), 87–88. Fruehwald concludes that all the sonatas in question are by Haydn with the exception of Hob. XVI: 5, considered "spurious."

90. For the argument that masters were entitled to the use of their pupils' compositions written during 'apprenticeships', see Fisher, "Say it ain't so, Joe," 1–35.

91. This advertisement, headed "TO MUSIC SELLERS AND PUBLISHERS, &c. By Mr. WHITE [the auctioneer]," was placed in several newspapers, including *The Times*, 25 July, 1792. The duets were for violin and cello, and two violins, and designated "For the use of AMATEURS."

published as “BEAUTIES OF PLEYEL: Six favourite Duetts” (Ben. 501–506), were the only ones Cooper was prepared to part with in 1792. Whereas the ‘Haydn’ sonatas Pleyel apparently kept after leaving Haydn only appeared in print in London, where Pleyel probably calculated his dubious practice of selling early compositions essentially by his teacher was unlikely to be discovered, Pleyel’s genuine duets published by Cooper were issued by leading publishers in several countries early in 1788.⁹² It was common practice at this time for a composer to sell rights to compositions to publishers in different countries with independent judicial systems in order to maximize earnings. Near simultaneous publication was important in order to avoid a publisher in one country pirating the opus in question from a foreign publication before the authorized issue had appeared in the same country, something that no law could prevent, any copyright legislation being then on a national, not international basis.

This kind of piracy was hard to forestall. As dealers in music Longman & Broderip had an arrangement with the Viennese firm of Artaria to sell each other’s publications, which the London firm often took advantage of at the earliest opportunity.⁹³ Sometimes, when an imported composition looked as though it had exceptional commercial prospects Longman & Broderip issued their own version of it (less expensive than importing further copies), registering it at Stationer’s Hall, and claiming the copyright had been sold to them, which Artaria’s receipt appeared to demonstrate, a situation Haydn knew about by November 1787.⁹⁴ This is probably what happened in the case of Pleyel’s duets (Ben. 501-6) published by Cooper. Longman & Broderip registered this very set of duets at Stationer’s Hall on 4 February 1788, just two days after Artaria advertised it in the *Wiener Zeitung*, thus rendering Cooper’s purchase of what seems to have been genuine rights considerably less lucrative. Part of the problem here was that Austria had no law of copyright at this time, despite an attempt made to introduce one in 1784.⁹⁵ In selling music to countries with more developed copyright legislation, Artaria was only concerned about stipulating copyright when it directly affected them. Austrian publishers and composers felt no compunction about ignoring the regulation of other countries.

92. Benton, *Ignace Pleyel*, 235–237.

93. For an insight into this practice, see David Wyn Jones, “From Artaria to Longman & Broderip: Mozart’s Music on Sale in London,” in *Studies in Music History: Presented to H. C. Robbins Landon on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Otto Biba and David Wyn Jones (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 105–114. The practice is also revealed in the documentation of the case between Forster and Longman & Broderip. For comment, see Mace, “Haydn and the London Music Sellers,” 530.

94. See Haydn’s letter to Artaria of 27 Nov 1787 in *Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. D. Bartha, 182–183; trans. in *The Collected Correspondence*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon, 72–73.

95. An attempt made by Haydn’s friend Gottfried van Swieten to introduce a law of copyright in Austria was rejected by the Emperor: Leslie Bodi, *Tauwetter in Wien. Zur Prosa der österreichischen Aufklärung, 1781–1795* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1977), 129.

The malpractice of laying pretense to ownership of copyright supposedly purchased from a foreign publisher is documented in the proceedings of the lawsuit at which Haydn and Pleyel gave evidence.⁹⁶ The complainant in this case, the firm of Forster, which for a time enjoyed a privileged relationship with the composer such that it may be considered Haydn's authorized London publisher throughout the early 1780s, pointed out that Artaria could not have considered themselves to have sold any rights they held to Longman & Broderip, the defendants in the case, because Artaria continued to publish the works in question: copyright could not be extended beyond the original licensee without it being relinquished.⁹⁷ This is one argument that Forster maintained in seeking to prove that only his firm had exclusive rights in Great Britain to a particular set of trios, purchased directly from Haydn, for which they had a receipt signed by the composer, something no one could refute. But as the proceedings reveal, it was not entirely clear how meaningful this was. It had to be acknowledged:

... the said Joseph Haydn had made it a practice to sell his property or Copy-right in his said several Musical Compositions many times over or grant the liberty of publishing the same to different persons in this Kingdom and abroad so as to make it difficult to fix the absolute and exclusive right and property thereof exclusively in any particular person[.]⁹⁸

While Haydn and Pleyel, as former master and pupil, seem likely to have come to some kind of understanding early in 1792, turning a blind eye to each other's misdemeanours and permitting each the use of certain works by the other, leading to authorial confusion among publishers, Haydn's practice of selling his works several times over, even within the same country, seemingly flouting copyright regulation in return for financial gain, proved yet more problematic for London publishers. It was this that was at the heart of the dispute between Forster and Longman & Broderip.

6. "Haydn's Defence"

By early 1788, Haydn's dubious practice had been detected in London. It was so blatant and widely known that it was satirized in the press. On 31 January of that year, only days before Forster launched proceedings against Longman and Broderip, *The Times* printed the following notice, headed "A SPECIMEN OF FOREIGN INGENUITY":

96. Mace, "Haydn and the London Music Sellers," 536.

97. Ibid.

98. Quoted from *ibid.*, 530, note 16 (transcribing National Archives document E112/1746/4924).

Haydn, the celebrated German composer, sold a Set of Symphonies to Fo[r]ster. He sold the same set to a music seller in Paris [Sieber]. The Gentlemen of the Professional Concert sent to him some time since, for a new set, for their Concert at Hanover Square, which arrived by express from Vienna, on Monday last, at Mr. Cramer's house. ... It produced not a new set of symphonies, but the identical set which the ingenious composer had sold twice before; and which Messrs. Longman and Broderip had also purchased and dedicated to [...] the PRINCE OF WALES.

A great part of the conversation at the Opera on Tuesday night was the ingenious trick put upon the lovers of harmony lately by Haydn.

His conduct has proved that his forte is not confined alone to the musical art.⁹⁹

Elsewhere on the same page, a second notice teased further meanings from the situation, playing on the word “movement” in its musical sense and also as a form of tactical manoeuvre:

Haydn has played a *crescendo* [sic] movement lately, which, according to English notions, appears rather singular; – he began in a *low key*, and proceeded [sic] climacterically till he reached that of *flagitioso* [disgracefully]. Cramer said he did not understand the movement. Fo[r]ster said it was quite *nouvelle* in England. The Members of the Processional Concert exclaimed [“]Our friends are disappointed![“]

The notice continues in the same vein, touching on the supposed views of Longman & Broderip and again how Haydn’s “movement” dominated conversation at the opera, an indication that elite society was obsessed by such matters. Before long *The World*, a newspaper that catered for the well-to-do, developed the story further:

Haydn is certainly a great composer; but he often copies himself. – In some pieces lately sent to the Professional [Concert] Committee, and to Longman [& Broderip] and Napier [one of the Professionals, also a publisher], they were in many passages nearly the same.¹⁰⁰

Here the wording plays on the delight of aficionados in Haydn’s musical originality and on the notion that he never repeated musical ideas between composi-

99. *The Times*, 31 Jan 1788. Part of this notice is quoted in McVeigh, ‘The Professional Concert’, 64.

100. *The World and Fashionable Advertiser*, 25 February 1788. For this notice and many others of this period that appeared in London newspapers putting into the public domain a notion of Haydn’s devious business dealings, see: Cecil B. Oldman, ‘Haydn’s Quarrel with the ‘Professionals’ in 1788,’ in *Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Richard Baum and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968), 459–465; Christopher Roscoe, ‘Haydn and London in the 1780’s’ *Music & Letters* 49 (1968), 203–212.

tions.¹⁰¹ The notice, however, primarily refers to the Professionals' discovery that music Haydn sent them for performance at their concerts, to which they thought they had acquired exclusive rights, was precisely the same as that already in the hands of London publishers. Behind the scenes there was clearly a huge rumpus, followed in the press through a lengthy series of accusations against Haydn and what purport to be, and probably were (at least in part) the composer's statements justifying his actions communicated via the Viennese composer Joseph Diettenhofer, then resident in London.

At the end of March 1788, for example, *The World* published a notice headed "HAYDN'S DEFENCE," dated Vienna 28 February 1788, which includes the statement:

Mr Haydn sent three Symphonies to that Committee [the Professionals], but having intrusted [*sic*] a Copy thereof to a Music Seller at Vienna [i.e. Artaria], it was clandestinely transmitted to a Music Shop [Longman & Broderip's] in London, by which means it was published without the author's consent.¹⁰²

Longman & Broderip registered the symphonies in question (Hob. I: 82–84) at Stationers' Hall on 2 January 1788, a fortnight after Artaria announced them in Vienna, an instance of their efficient, though legally suspect business arrangement, one that Haydn had perhaps not originally foreseen though of which he was certainly aware by this date.¹⁰³ On 20 February Longman & Broderip exploited Symphony No. 82 further by registering copyright of an arrangement of it for keyboard and violin by Muzio Clementi. Since Clementi was a performer at the opening concert of the Professionals' series in 1788, on 11 February, the likelihood is that the "new" symphony by Haydn performed on that occasion was No. 82, the one Clementi arranged.

Although "Haydn's Defence" of 28 February was probably essentially true, it was also disingenuous: correspondence from August 1787 shows that Haydn anticipated sending the whole set to which the symphonies in question belonged (Hob. I: 82–87) to Forster, his regular London publisher.¹⁰⁴ On 3 December 1787 Forster's firm recorded receiving all "six Overtures," that is the Paris Symphonies

101. For discussions of originality as a topos in appreciation of Haydn's music during this period, see: Elaine Sisman, "Haydn, Shakespeare, and the Rules of Originality," in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 3–56; Thomas Bauman, "Becoming Original: Haydn and the Cult of Genius," *Musical Quarterly* 87 (2004), 333–357; Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "Originality as Market-Value: Remarks on the Fantasia in C Hob. XVII: 4 and Haydn as Musical Entrepreneur," *Studia Musicologica* 51/3–4 (September 2010), 303–316.

102. *The World*, 29 March 1788, reprinted in *The Morning Herald*, 1 April 1788.

103. For Artaria's announcement see: *Wiener Zeitung*, 19 December 1787. For Haydn's knowledge of the situation, see his letters of 27 November 1787 and 28 February 1788 in *Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. D. Bartha, 182, 189.

104. Letter from Haydn to Forster of 20 September 1787 in *Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Dénes Bartha, 178.

(originally commissioned for performance in the French capital).¹⁰⁵ Five days later a newspaper reported that,

a new set of symphonies by Haydn ... were performed at Carlton-house [the residence of the Prince of Wales] on Wednesday morning [5 December], and in point of original and striking harmony and ingenious modulations they are said to be superior to any of the former productions of that great master. They are in manuscript, and we understand are intended for the Hanover-Square Concert, the managers having concluded an engagement with Haydn for furnishing six new pieces for the season.¹⁰⁶

Since Longman & Broderip published their edition of Symphonies Nos 82–84 with a dedication to the Prince of Wales (registered at Stationers' Hall on 2 January 1788), it is likely these were the symphonies performed for the Prince on 5 December (assuming the report was accurate). They were perhaps made available to the Prince prior to publication since Longman & Broderip's firm was the official suppliers of music to the Prince. If so, members of the Professional Concert who performed in the Prince's band accurately predicted that these were the same works Haydn dispatched for performance in their concert series.¹⁰⁷

By this stage in his career it is clear Haydn operated on the basis of selling his music in England once for the purpose of performance – anticipating the later notion of “performance rights” – and again separately for publication. But legislation governing copyright in England in the later eighteenth century did not recognize rights for performance. The matter was actually tested in court in 1793, the year between Haydn's two visits to London when Lord Kenyon ruled that “The statute for the protection of copyright only extends to prohibit ... publication ... by any other than the author or his lawful assignees”; but in the case of performance there was “no publication,” so the Act did not apply.¹⁰⁸

Unlike Longman & Broderip's edition of the Paris Symphonies, published in two sets of three, Forster published them individually, numbering them 10 to 15 in a continuation of a series of Haydn symphonies launched in 1781. As Forster's elegant title pages explain, each of the symphonies was “Performed at the Professional and other Public Concerts.” Although the precise dates Forster issued these publications cannot be exactly determined, it is clear the firm used the success of

105. Sandys and Forster, *The History of Violin*, 310–311. For the circumstances of the earliest performances of these symphonies, see Warwick Lister, “The First Performance of Haydn's ‘Paris’ Symphonies,” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 1 (2004), 289–300.

106. *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 8 December 1787.

107. Cf. McVeigh, “The Professional Concert,” 64, note 8.

108. See Small, “The Development of Musical Copyright,” 382. The case Kenyon ruled on in 1793 related to performance of a play. But since it had been established by this date that the same Statute covered music, his ruling also applied to concerts.

the music in performance as a factor in making their publications more desirable, which is conceivably what Haydn intended. This probably extends an earlier practice. The ambiguity that lay over the status of this arrangement in legal terms – Kenyon had then yet to give his ruling – was perhaps what led to the exclusion of these symphonies from the case brought by Forster against Longman & Broderip. This placed the emphasis on testing pieces for domestic consumption, which were probably potentially more lucrative.

Following publication of "Haydn's defence," Longman & Broderip recognized a need to protect their business arrangement with Artaria. The firm counterattacked in print the assertion that their dealings did not have the composer's "consent." Quoting verbatim "Haydn's defence" cited above, Longman & Broderip went on to explain:

...we think it incumbent in us to contradict so false and scandalous a paragraph, the said Symphonies being wrote purposely for Messrs. Artaria and Co. [untrue, as Longman & Broderip was probably aware by this date, the symphonies having been composed to fulfil a commission from Paris] and in order to remove every doubt of the matter, Mr Haydn's original receipt in full for the Copy-right of the said Symphonies, and also Messrs. Artaria's receipt to us for the sole right of printing and publishing the same in London, may be seen at No. 13, in the Haymarket.¹⁰⁹

Whatever they claimed was Haydn's personal receipt put on public display in London in 1788, it is most unlikely to have been what they said it was. How could they have purchased copyright from the composer and rights from his Viennese publisher separately?

Immediately above Longman & Broderip's notice there appeared another one submitted by the Professional Concert.¹¹⁰ This likewise vehemently refuted any notion Haydn had not made undertakings to them. The Professionals supported their position by putting on public view not only "the original contract of Signior [*sic*] Haydn" with them, but also both sides of their entire correspondence "to prove the falsity and malice" of "Haydn's Defence".¹¹¹ Sadly, none of this correspondence is known today. It is clear, however, that the Professionals did not invent it. Such copious documentation could hardly have been fabricated convincingly.

After months of newspaper attack and counterattack, suggesting dubious practices on all sides, the conflict between Haydn and two of London's musical establishments culminated in a fittingly satirical diatribe on the whole affair, headed once again "HAYDN'S DEFENCE":

109. *The World*, 3 April 1788; *Morning Herald*, April 4 1788.

110. The arrangement is found in several newspapers.

111. *Morning Herald*, 4 April 1788.

BELLA, HORRIDA BELLA! [Wars, grim wars]

The ShriII Trumpet has sounded, all the Fiddle Sticks are raised, the bass viols grunt, the flageolet squeaks, nothing but wounds, bloodshed, and slaughter will ensure. The Musical Committee ... have armed themselves, under the pure banners of their own virtue and integrity. HAYDN, the great Vienna HAYDN prepares, not for flight it seems, but to meet his heroic Opponents: ... London will be the scene of dire action! Hospitals are preparing for the wounded, young Surgeons are gaping for dislocations, fractures, fiddle stick wounds, and operations; new recruits are enlisting to gain immortal honour by discordant deeds. Heaven send, that during the bloody Musical Conflict, the French or Spanish may not invade our British territories, and annihilate English liberty!¹¹²

Here is Haydn's "bloody harmonious war," waged in 1788, long before he even set foot on English soil. One measure of how the public took notice of the campaign against Haydn and of his "defence" is a performance of a Haydn "overture" in a subscription concert on the very evening this notice first appeared. Inserted into the programme immediately after the Haydn symphony was a reading of "Malefort's Defence of himself, from Massinger; by desire of several subscribers." Malefort, a villain, gives this well-known speech of justification in the Jacobean conspiratorial tragedy *The Unnatural Combat*.¹¹³ Evidently many in the audience relished this textual gloss on Haydn's music. Printed alongside "HAYDN'S DEFENCE" in one newspaper appears a long concluding instalment in this phase of the campaign, purporting to represent Haydn's final position. It ends with an accurate prediction of a phase to come:

There is some reason to hope, that Mr. Haydn will visit London, and compose for another Concert [i.e. Salomon's], when without doubt, he will fully defend himself, support the character of an honourable man, as well as the greatest composer in music.¹¹⁴

7. Pugilism and music

"Bella, horrida bella" is a quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid*, frequently referenced in eighteenth-century England to satirize political punch-ups.¹¹⁵ It also turns up in the context of the English craze for pugilism, then at the height of its popular-

112. *The World*, 15 April 1788; *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 16 April 1788.

113. The concert, held in "Free-Mason's Hall," was advertised in *The World*, 15 April 1788. *The Unnatural Combat* was first published in 1639. A new edition of Philip Massinger's plays appeared in 1779.

114. *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 16 April 1788.

115. Virgil *Aeneid*, VI, 86. For examples of the use of the phrase in English visual satire, see BM Sat. 3071 (1749), 6813 (1785), 7139 (1787), 9430 (1799).

ity. The words appear as a motto on the versos of medals commemorating noted opponents who fought in 1789. One example is of the champion boxer Thomas Johnson (*Plate 5*).¹¹⁶ According to accounts of the celebrated boxing match held at Odiham on 9 January 1788, the occasion represented in the print owned by Haydn, Johnson was a participant in this event. As Richard Humphrey's second, Johnson may be identified as the figure in the ring with his arms folded, standing behind Humphreys who raises both fists in a characteristic pose associated with him (see *Plate 1*).

PLATE 5 Boxing Match medal. Obverse: bust of Thomas Johnson. Reverse: inscribed "Bella! Horrida bella! Science and Intrepidity 1789"
Bronze, diameter 3.4 cm. London, British Museum, museum no. MG.1160



This match, at which Humphreys defeated his opponent Daniel Mendoza, was held in rural Hampshire to escape censure by the authorities – the activity was essentially illegal – and facilitate attendance by punters drawn from both London and Bath, attracted as much by an opportunity to gamble as by the match itself. Among spectators mentioned in contemporary reports who may be identified in the print Haydn acquired are the Prince of Wales (shown amidst several companions immediately behind Mendoza and his second) and some of the Prince's cronies, including Charles James Fox, the Whig leader, and George Hanger, soldier and eccentric. As favourite targets of caricaturists, the likeness of all these men was well known to the public. Another eyewitness, shown on the far left of the print

116. Richard Dalton and S.H. Hamer, *The Provincial Token-Coinage of the Eighteenth Century Illustrated* (London: Seaby, 1910), 360; Reginald A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Montague Guest Collection of Badges, Tokens and Passes: Presented in 1907 to the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities* (London: British Museum, 1930), nos 1160, 1161.

beside the ring, is Edward Topham, founder and editor of *The World*, the newspaper chiefly responsible for drawing public attention to Haydn's questionable practice of selling the same rights to his compositions to separate organizations. One of the other prints Haydn purchased from Dickinson, *Tragic Readings*, also features a representation of Topham, a favourite target of caricaturists, an indication that when Haydn was in London Topham was a figure of interest for the composer.¹¹⁷

The Boxing Match, the only sporting print in Haydn's extensive collection, was probably based on visual evidence of the event itself – contemporary accounts, for example, mention that the meadow where the match took place was surrounded by a stonewall, clearly shown in the print.¹¹⁸ The print was published in London over four months after the occasion portrayed. But the intense level of public interest in the event ensured that numerous representations of the match became available, ranging from inexpensive prints published as quickly as possible after the match to satisfy public curiosity (e.g. *Plate 6*) to scenes decorating commemorative tableware.¹¹⁹ The match also directly inspired several caricatures of the period.¹²⁰ Preparations for the fight and its repercussions – the necessity for a rematch was vigorously debated – filled newspaper columns for several months concurrently with reporting the case against Haydn and his “defence.” Indeed, the two stories ran so closely together that aspects of them were often published side-by-side. The interested public was thus encouraged to understand the progress of the composer's struggle in light of the boxing contest, its preparations and aftermath.

Six days before the fight, for example, *The World* printed an advertisement placed by Longman & Broderip announcing immediate publication of the three symphonies by Haydn that caused so much controversy (Op. 51: Hob. I: 82–84), showing a conspicuous dedication to the Prince of Wales, perhaps an opportunistic ruse to deflect awkward questions about the publisher's rights to these compositions.¹²¹ A band led by Cramer gave the first official performance of all three symphonies at a concert for the Anacreontic Society on 2 January, at which their association with the Prince of Wales was made public.¹²² Juxtaposed above

117. Thomas Tolley, “*Comic Readings and Tragic Readings*” 173–176.

118. The London press featured several extended accounts of the match. For mention of the wall, see *The World*, 10 January 1788. For a modern account of the bout, anticipated as more memorable than that “between Achilles and Hector”, see Adam Chill, *Bare-Knuckle Britons and Fighting Irish: Boxing, Race, Religions and Nationality in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2017), 40–41.

119. For examples of prints, see British Museum, inv. nos: 1896,1118.109 (undated [1788]), 1949,0411.5269 (published by S.W. Fores, 3 Picadilly, 11 January 1788). The Jewish Museum London has an extensive collection of ephemera relating to the match, including a jug decorated with its depiction (inv. no. JM 686), and a mug (inv. No. JM 685).

120. E.g. BM Sat. 7269 (13 February 1788), 7359 (29 July 1788); 7426 (16 February 1788).

121. *The World*, 3 January 1788.

122. A review of this concert identifies the symphonies in question as those dedicated to the Prince of Wales published as Op. 51 (i.e. Nos 82–84): *The Times*, 4 January 1788. For this concert and the series to which it belonged, see Simon McVeigh, “Trial by Dining Club: The Instrumental Music of Haydn, Clementi and Mozart at London's Anacreontic Society,” in *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*, ed. Bennett Zon (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 105–138.

PLATE 6 *The Famous Battle between Richard Humphreys & Daniel Mendoza, Fought at Odiham in Hampshire January 9th 1788* (published by S.W. Fores, 11 January 1788). Hand-coloured etching, 24.8×39.8 cm. London, British Museum, museum no. 1949,0411.5269

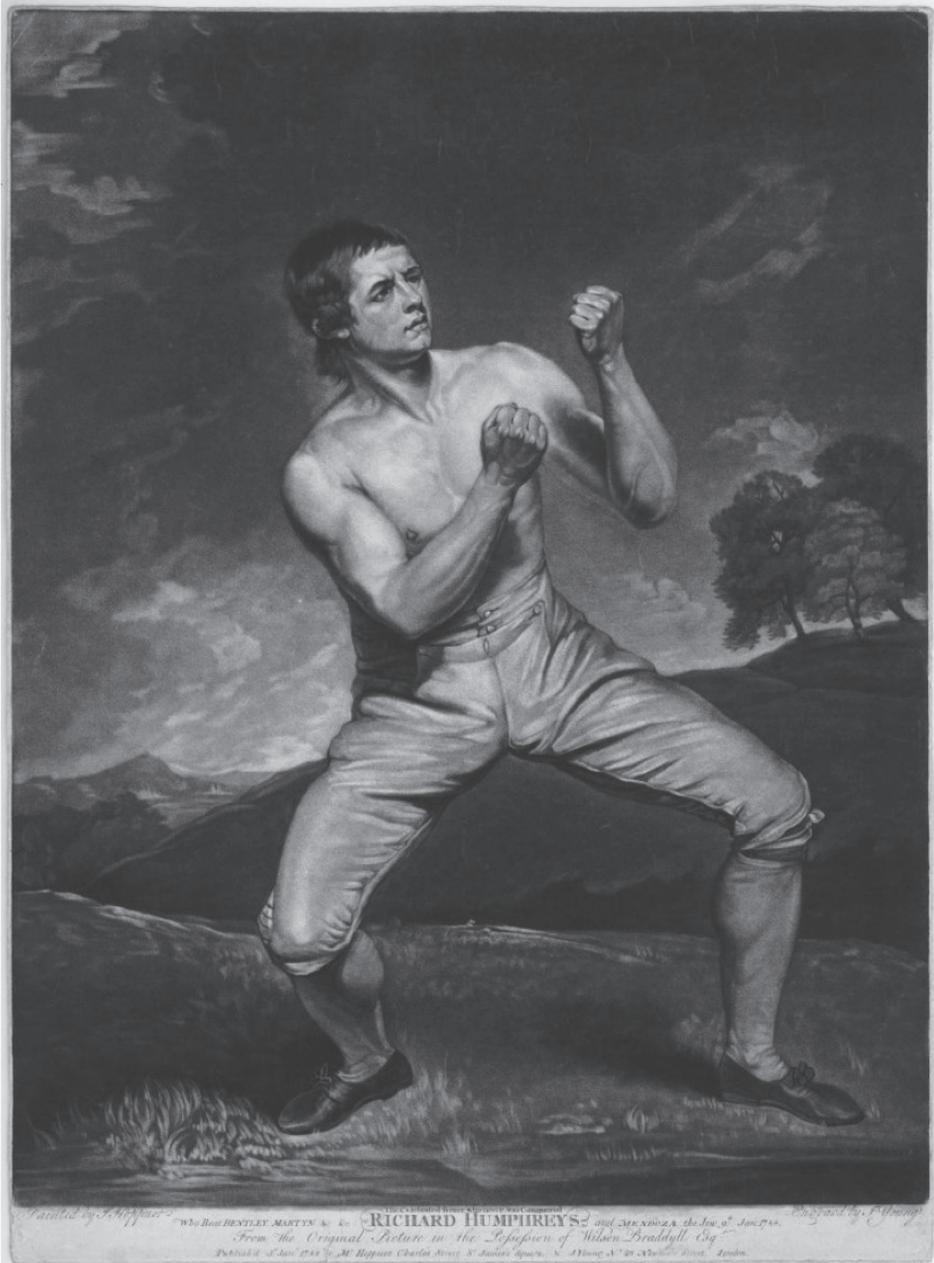


Longman & Broderip's advertisement in *The World* is an announcement, headed "BOXING," of publication of a printed representation of Humphreys, the victor in the contest at Odiham, a portrait showing the sitter in his characteristic boxing stance, made available to the public to generate enthusiasm among his supporters. As the advertisement explains, the mezzotint (*Plate 7*) was based on "the Picture painted by Mr. HOPPNER, for WILSON BRADYLL Esq."¹²³ John Hoppner was a leading portrait painter, from whom the Prince of Wales commissioned a portrait of Haydn in 1791.¹²⁴ Braddyll was Humphreys' chief promoter and another of the Prince's close companions. Significantly, however, the evidence of Braddyll's own

123. *The World*, January 3, 1788. Hoppner's original painting of Humphreys commissioned by Wilson Braddyll (his promoter) is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, inv. no. 53.113; William McKay and W. Roberts, *John Hoppner, R.A.* (London: George Bell, 1909), 130; Katherine Baetjer, *British Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1575–1875* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 180–182. The print after Hoppner's painting here advertised is a large folio mezzotint engraved by John Young, published on 3 January 1788.

124. For an account of Hoppner's portrait of Haydn, see Thomas Tolley, "'Exemplary patience': Haydn, Hoppner and Mrs Jordan," *Imago Musicae* 20 (2003), 109–141.

PLATE 7 John Young after John Hoppner, *Richard Humphreys*
 (published by J. Hoppner, 3 January 1788).
 Mezzotint, 58×43 cm. British Museum, inv. no. 1851,0308.732



likeness at this time – as recorded in a portrait painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, to whom he gave sittings in late January and throughout February 1788¹²⁵ – shows that Braddyll, though a key figure in promoting the bout in question and a personality who assumed special importance for Pleyel and Haydn, does not feature in the print owned by Haydn. Significantly, he opted to attend a concert instead.

A sense of how the mezzotint reproducing the portrait of Humphreys commissioned by Braddyll played a part in the hype surrounding his fight with Mendoza may be seen in a caricature entitled *The Triumph* (Plate 8), purporting to represent the scene after Humphreys' victory when he was reportedly carried aloft in celebration by several noteworthy personages including the Prince of Wales.¹²⁶ The figure heading the procession, another representation of George Hangar, holds a banner featuring the design of the mezzotint of Humphreys, though in reverse. To the left of the design is the defeated Mendoza surrounded by tending figures with stereotypical Judaic features. As a Jew, Mendoza suffered many anti-Semitic slurs

PLATE 8 Johann Heinrich Ramberg, *The Triumph*
(published by Thomas Harmor, 17 January 1788).

Etching, 32.5×47.1 cm. London, British Museum, museum no. 1868,0808.10319



125. David Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), vol. 1, 103, no. 237, vol. 2, fig. 1529. Braddyll also sat for Reynolds in 1789 for a family portrait (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge): Mannings, *Reynolds*, vol. 1, 103, no. 239, vol. 2, fig. 1561.

126. BM Sat. 7425.

in his rivalry with Humphreys, not least the notion of Christian pitted against Jew, promoted by elements of the press and reflected in *The Triumph* in the inscription on the banner: “Long live Humphries the Victorious, who in a bloody fight overcame the 12 Tribes of Israel.”

A more covert aspect of this iconography is the traditional Western association of Jews with moneylending. In *The Triumph* Mendoza’s supporters are shown out-of-pocket. As the caricaturist Gillray exposed in his contrasting representation of this same contest entitled *Foul Play*, published on 18 January 1788, money was really at the heart of the whole match (Plate 9).¹²⁷ Gillray shows Mendoza giving what press reports suggested would have been a decisive knock-out blow had not Humphreys’ second, Johnson, the boxer associated with the “Bella, horrida bella” motto, intervened to prevent it.

Gillray’s point, made explicit in the inscription below, is that Mendoza could not be allowed to win because too much money was staked on a Humphreys’ victory, including that of the impecunious Prince of Wales. The main beneficiary was the man to whom Gillray mockingly dedicated his caricature, Wilson Brad-

PLATE 9 James Gillray, *Foul Play, or Humphreys and Johnson as a Match for Mendoza*.

Dedicated to Wilson Braddyl Esqr Gymnastico Generalissimo

(published by S.W. Fores, 18 January 1788).

Etching, 19.9×32.9 cm. London, British Museum, museum no. 1851,0901.377



¹²⁷ James Gillray, *Foul Play, or Humphreys and Johnson as a Match for Mendoza*, published by S.W. Fores on 18 January 1788.

dyll, Humphreys' promoter, here derisively called "Generalissimo," the title later mockingly applied to Salomon.

Braddyll was the key linking music to boxing. Following Aristotle, some eighteenth-century educationalists saw music and gymnastics (usually interpreted as pugilism) as two of four subjects essential for the education of boys of aristocratic birth.¹²⁸ A sign that Braddyll took such notions seriously is the encouragement his son received to practice as an amateur caricaturist, drawing being another of the subjects Aristotle endorsed.¹²⁹ For the public the name Braddyll was equally well known in the spheres of both music and boxing, as Haydn surely discovered when he was in London. Occasionally, both enthusiasms were referenced together in satirical notices, along with his acknowledged eye for pretty women. Late in 1788, for example, *The Times* reported:

Mr. BRADDYLL – is particularly partial to the BILLINGTON [Elizabeth Billington, one of the most famous singers of the period] and her performances. This may easily be accounted for, as the charming warbler is universally acknowledged to be a STRIKING beauty.¹³⁰

Braddyll's chief musical passion was Pleyel. He was among those who responded to Cooper's request for subscribers to the "PLEYEL SONATAS" dedicated to Lady Duncannon. On the day of the match at Odiham, Braddyll remained in London in order to attend a benefit concert for Cramer, the programme of which featured a Pleyel string quartet.¹³¹ This explains his absence from the print owned by Haydn. As reported in the press the following day, it was at this very concert that news of Humphrey's victory earlier in the day was brought to Braddyll, enabling him to rejoice in his two principal passions concurrently.¹³²

Building on this, Longman & Broderip dedicated the first edition of a set of Pleyel's violin duets to Braddyll (Op. 15: Ben. 513-518) in 1789.¹³³ Taking advantage of Braddyll's name to sell Pleyel's compositions was a shrewd commercial decision. As a noted judge of beauty and a well-known connoisseur of strength and "scientific" moves in boxing, Braddyll's very name lent the duets all the dis-

128. Aristotle, *Politics*, VIII/3. Aristotle's notions remained influential in the eighteenth century.

129. Thomas Braddyll's caricatures, several of which were submitted to Gillray for etching, have yet to be systematically studied. For an example, see Tim Clayton and Shiela O'Connell, *Bonaparte and the British: Prints and Propaganda in the Age of Napoleon* (London: British Museum, 2015), 119, cat. 61. In the second half of the eighteenth century the sons of British aristocrats were often taught drawing, an educational choice justified on grounds propounded by Aristotle.

130. *The Times*, 8 December 1788. Punctuation modernised.

131. Cramer's benefit concert was widely advertised: e.g. *The Times*, 7 January 1788. The programme included symphonies by Mozart and Haydn.

132. *General Evening Post*, 10 January 1788. The detail of Braddyll hearing the result of the match while attending Cramer's concert, was widely repeated in accounts of the bout: e.g. Lemoine, *Manhood*, 82.

133. The dedication to Braddyll was followed in some subsequent British editions of the same set: Benton, 240-2.

cerning qualities necessary for shifting them. Perhaps Haydn recalled this when acquiring *The Boxing Match*.

8. Conclusion: The end of the war

From Haydn's viewpoint *The Boxing Match* evidently held multifarious associations. Above all, the print acted as a memento of his own contest with the Professional Concert and the subsequent challenge he faced from Pleyel. The match itself coincided with the filing of Forster's suit against Longman & Broderip, in which Haydn's subsequent testimony proved instrumental. Mendoza lost the match, probably as a result of foul play; but he won the rematch and was victorious thereafter, as Haydn would have discovered when he was in London and emerged unscathed from his own contest with Pleyel.

Like Mendoza, Haydn's impresario Salomon was born into a family of Jewish descent, an aspect of the affair unlikely to have been lost on Haydn.¹³⁴ And just as Mendoza was a "victim," Haydn used a comparable term in describing his own situation at the outset of his confrontation with Pleyel.¹³⁵ A sense that he felt this acutely comes from a reference to a play entitled *The Victim* in another of the prints acquired from Dickinson, a likely factor in selecting it as a souvenir.¹³⁶

Haydn was always confident of emerging unscathed from his "war" with Pleyel. Soon after its declaration, he foresaw "an armistice":

Pleyel behaved so modestly toward me upon his arrival that he won my affection again. ... We shall share our laurels equally and each go home satisfied.¹³⁷

Haydn and Pleyel indeed both returned home satisfied, despite the fallout from their use of each other's compositions and respective encounters with London publishers and concert promoters. Both composers derived part of their financial success from turning to their advantage the current state of copyright, though in ways distinct from each other.

134. For the context of Mendoza's career, see John Whale, "Daniel Mendoza's Contests of Identity: Masculinity, Ethnicity and Nation in Georgians Prize-fighting," *Romanticism* 14 (2008), 259–271. Haydn's relationship with Jews is explored in Caryl Clark, *Haydn's Jews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

135. "... to support poor Salomon, I must be the victim [*das Sacrifice seyn.*]" Letter to Maria Anna von Genzinger, 2 March 1792 in *Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. D. Bartha, 280; trans. from *The Collected Correspondence*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon, 132.

136. For a discussion of Haydn's choice of wording here, see Tolley, "Comic Readings and Tragic Readings," 168–169. *The Victim* (a tragedy in five acts and in verse) is an adaptation of Racine's *Iphigénie* by Charles Johnson, first performed in 1714.

137. Haydn's letter to Maria Anna von Genzinger, dated London, 17 January 1792 in *Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. D. Bartha, 274–275; trans. adapted from *The Collected Correspondence*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon, 128.

In Haydn's case, it is well known that when Salomon persuaded him to visit London it was with a lucrative agreement put in place in Vienna late in 1790.¹³⁸ No contract survives, and early accounts of it disagree on its terms.¹³⁹ It is striking that what is probably the most reliable source, a memoir of Salomon written shortly after his death in London in 1815, stipulates that part of the deal involved £200 for copyright of six symphonies, that is those symphonies first performed in London during the 1791 and 1792 seasons.¹⁴⁰ By contrast, neither Dies nor Griesinger, Haydn's earliest biographers who both interviewed the composer in person, mentions copyright as an aspect of the "accord" reached with Salomon, an indication that this aspect of the agreement, assuming it existed, did not carry much weight with Haydn.

A document exists showing that Haydn incontrovertibly surrendered to Salomon all rights to the first six London symphonies (Hob. I: 93–98), though only on 13 August 1795, the day before the composer left London for the last time.¹⁴¹ This was more than three years after the symphonies in question had received their first performances. Until then, Haydn's use of the symphonies shows that he did not consider Salomon's rights to them exclusive. The composer performed the symphonies at concerts when he was in Vienna, and sent manuscript copies of them to select admirers.¹⁴² In all likelihood it was also the composer who instigated their first publication, which advertisements show was well advanced long before Haydn formally sanctioned Salomon's rights to the symphonies, renouncing his own on 13 August 1795.¹⁴³ Only after Haydn signed this document did Salomon make use of the symphonies other than in performance, firstly publishing his own arrangements of them for domestic use (as trios and quintets), and later issuing

138. The earliest surviving evidence that Salomon had "signed an agreement with Mr. Haydn" is a notice, dated Vienna 8 December 1790, placed in the London press: *Morning Chronicle*, 29 December 1790.

139. Evidence drawn for all available sources concerning Haydn's contract with Salomon is conveniently summarised by McVeigh, "Professional Concert," 96.

140. Anonymous, "Memoir of Johann Peter Salomon," *The Harmonicon*, 8 (1830), 45–50, here: 45.

141. "The undersigned herewith testifies that, according to the agreement signed this day between myself and Herr Johan [*sic*] Peter Salomon, the afore-mentioned Herr Salomon shall have the exclusive rights pertaining to the following *Overtures* which I composed for his concerts; and that I thereby renounce any further claims whatever on him, now or at any other time. The afore-mentioned *Overtures* have the following *incipits*: [then follows the opening themes of the symphonies in the order 96, 98, 95, 93, 97, 94] Executed at London this 13th of August 1795. Joseph Haydn [m.]ria" (British Library, Add. MS 30871, fol.5) Original text in *Joseph Haydn: Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Dénes Bartha, 305; trans. from *The Collected Correspondence*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon, 146.

142. Haydn sent manuscript copies of all four symphonies composed for Salomon's 1792 season to Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein by March 1793. The Prince's agent in Vienna reported that by this time a benefit concert for Haydn had taken place at which three of the symphonies in question were performed. For documentation, see Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 3, 215–216. Haydn sent copies of the two symphonies of the 1791 season to his friend Bernhard von Kees in November of that year.

143. Dates of advertisements announcing first publication of the symphonies are given, *inter alia*, in Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn*, vol. 1, 180–199. Of the symphonies in question, publication of Nos. 93, 94, 95, 96 were announced before Haydn signed the agreement with Salomon undertaking to make no further use of them (13 August 1795).

two independent editions of the orchestral parts of the symphonies after having waited to assess the impact of their first publication on the Continent.¹⁴⁴

The form of the document Haydn signed on 13 August 1795 shows that it was drawn up in haste, perhaps anticipating use in court should the need arise. Salomon appears to have wanted to secure evidence proving unambiguously his entitlement to publish the symphonies. He would have gained an insight into Haydn's irregular dealings with publishers when attending Haydn in court in 1791 and 1792. As this article indicates, Haydn's practice hitherto seems to have been to sell new music to London on a twofold basis: once for rights to exclusive initial performance (for one season or more); and then a second time for publication rights. Surviving records of contracts between Haydn and London dating from the early 1780s provide insights into this.¹⁴⁵ From Haydn's point of view the arrangement worked well, though its legal standing was problematic. This explains why Salomon found he required two contracts with Haydn for the symphonies first performed in 1791–1792.

In Pleyel's case, something still more extraordinary happened. Not only did Pleyel depart for Strasbourg as soon as his contract to perform in London was accomplished (unlike Haydn who stayed on to savour his success), none of Pleyel's symphonies as composed for performance in London in 1792, the grandest of his career, appeared in print during the composer's lifetime. By contrast with approximately twenty-five earlier symphonies by Pleyel all published and widely disseminated by 1793, few traces of Pleyel's London symphonies exist following the 1792 season, and at the time of their composer's death they were assumed lost.¹⁴⁶

Although Pleyel left autographs of these symphonies with members of the Professional Concert (identified in 2008), keeping manuscript copies for his own use,

144. Christopher Hogwood, "In Praise of Arrangements: The 'Symphony Quintetto,'" in *Studies in Music History: Presented to H. C. Robbins Landon*, ed. Otto Biba and David Wyn Jones (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 82–104. After Haydn's return to Vienna, Salomon probably retained much of the earliest performance material for the symphonies, and was certainly in possession of Haydn's autographs of the symphonies from the 1791 season and authentic scores of the symphonies from the 1792 season. When Salomon first issued these symphonies in London (after 1800, published by Monzani and Cimarosa) he obtained the plates from one of the earliest editions, by André, with whom he had established a business relationship by this date. Salomon probably noted that André's edition showed many discrepancies with the authentic material in his own possession, giving rise to the need for a new edition (published by Birchall after 1810).

145. Especially important in this context is the contract between Haydn and the concert organizer the Earl of Abingdon probably relating to new compositions for the 1783 season, recorded by Charles Burney. This makes provision for an additional fee of £100 "for Copy-right" if Haydn were unable to arrange for publication himself: "Materials Towards the History of German Music & Musicians" (Osborn shelves C 100, 7), in *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney*, vol. 1: 1751–1784, ed. Alvaro Ribeiro (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 382, note 53. This passage is briefly discussed by Ian Woodfield in *Salomon and the Burneys: Private Patronage and a Public Career* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) (= *Royal Musical Association Monograph 12*), 11, note 14. Burney is likely to have been well informed concerning details of Abingdon's concert series he here records, so his record is probably accurate.

146. Fétis, "Notice sur Ignace Pleyel," 346. Symphonies by Pleyel published before 1792 are conveniently listed with first publication details in the "Thematic Index" compiled by Raymond R. Smith in *Ignaz Pleyel: Four Symphonies*, ed. Barry S. Brook (New York: Garland, 1981), xxi–xxv. A number of these symphonies were available in keyboard arrangements published by Longman & Broderip before 1792.

evidence of subsequent interest in these compositions is strikingly limited.¹⁴⁷ Only one of the symphonies (Ben. 155) appeared in print, though not until 1803, and only in an arrangement for piano trio made by a former member of the Professional Concert.¹⁴⁸ While the history of the two *Sinfonies Concertantes* written for London was less restricted than the equivalent symphonies, the evidence of publication is again noticeably discrepant compared with previous practice.¹⁴⁹ The fact that none of Pleyel's London symphonies was published following their first performance, and the two London *Sinfonies Concertantes* were first published considerably after they were written is clearly significant. Delaying publication appears to have been part of the deal struck between the Professionals and Pleyel before the start of the 1792 season.

While no documentation states it explicitly, it seems that in return for the considerable increase in his fee negotiated on arrival in London, Pleyel opted to relinquish aspects of his rights to the works to the organization that had commissioned them. The fate of the symphonies was sealed when the Professional Concert folded after one further unsuccessful season in 1793 and the organization could make no further use of them. The remuneration Pleyel received was sufficient to enable him to purchase a château near Strasbourg.¹⁵⁰ It appears he shrewdly calculated that his own latest symphonies were unlikely to compare favourably with equivalents by his former teacher when heard in direct competition, so it was financially prudent for Pleyel to sell rights to them, probably before the season began. Indeed, it did not pass unnoticed by audience members at Pleyel's concerts that his London compositions were uncannily reminiscent of those of his teacher, detracting from his own status.¹⁵¹ Today, as in his earlier symphonies, there is little difficulty

147. For conclusive identification of Pleyel's London symphonies, see Searle: "Pleyel's 'London' symphonies," 231–244.

148. *Ibid.*, 233.

149. Whereas Pleyel's first two *Sinfonies Concertantes* (Ben. 111 and 112) were widely performed and published in many forms soon after composition, the first of the two composed for London waited five years to see publication, and the other ten years: see Benton, *Ignace Pleyel*, 19–23. One of them received performances at benefit concerts in May 1801 advertised as an unpublished work "not performed these seven years ... and written here [London] for the Professional Concert": *The Morning Chronicle*, 7 and 9 May 1801; *The Morning Post and Gazetteer*, 18 May 1801. When an arrangement for pianoforte by John Field of one of the London *Sinfonies Concertantes* (Ben. 113) was published in London in 1802, a reviewer pointed out that it was unlikely to attain the popularity of other compositions by Pleyel because "The passages are in many instances hard and constrained, and rather the production of patience and labour than those felicitous moments which await true genius ..." *Monthly Magazine*, no. 88 (1 July 1802), 601.

150. Fétis, "Notice sur Ignace Pleyel," 346.

151. Following the performance given by the Professional Concert on 20 February 1792 of "a very fine overture and a quartetto of Pleyel," one critic wrote: "There is certainly much general resemblance in the music of Pleyel, to the style of Haydn; but this was to be expected, as the former received his musical education under the latter and holds his master in laudable reverence" (*Morning Herald*, 22 February 1792). This assessment may be contrasted with one following the performance of Haydn's first concert of the season at the end of the previous week: "The new grand Overture of HAYDN [no. 93] was a composition of very extraordinary merit; and proved that his genius, active as it has been, is as vigorous and fertile as ever" (*Morning Herald*, 18 February 1792).

identifying specific sources of inspiration in Pleyel's London symphonies from works by Haydn.¹⁵²

From the point of view of Pleyel, whose future lay largely in publishing not in composing, it was convenient to maintain that his London symphonies were lost:

... the success of his music [composed for London] was prodigious; [Pleyel] surpassed himself, and showed that he was worthy to contest the palm even with his illustrious master. ... Unfortunately, the "Professional Concert" was discontinued a few years after, and by the dispersion of its library Pleyel's symphonies, of which he had not preserved any copies, were lost to the world.¹⁵³

When this passage from Pleyel's obituary was translated into the English just quoted in 1832, the editor felt obliged to add a footnote:

Truth, however, obliges us to remark that Pleyel did not, in the opinion of his English hearers, approach at all near to Haydn; on the contrary, his inferiority was universally felt and acknowledged even by those who relied upon the support of his talents. In two seasons more, Salomon, supported by Haydn, drove his rivals entirely out of the field.¹⁵⁴

Records left by those who attended both series of concerts, Salomon's and the Professionals, confirm that Pleyel's new music, though admired, left no lasting impression unlike that by his erstwhile master.¹⁵⁵

Haydn not only won his battle with the Professionals; he decisively won the war.

152. For an account of how Pleyel modelled one of his earliest symphonies directly on works by Haydn, a practice he continued, see Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, 361. One of the symphonies performed the Professionals in 1792, Ben. 147 (played on 26 March), first performed the previous season, employs themes clearly derived from Haydn's symphonies nos 70 and 77: see David J. Golby's review of the edition of Ben. 147 edited by Anton Gabmayer (Bicester: Edition HH, 2008) in *The Consort: European Journal of Early Music*, 66 (2010), 146–147. These and other derivations are fully analysed by Lawrence F. Bernstein in "Pleyel's Emulation of Haydn: 'Easy' Symphonies and the Intended Audience," in *Musical Implications: Essays in Honor of Eugene Narmour*, ed. Lawrence F. Bernstein and Alexander Rozin (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2013), 1–24. The opening bar of the main theme of the *Allegro* from the first movement of Pleyel's symphony in C (Ben. 151), possibly the first to be performed in the 1792 season, is identical to the opening of the theme from the *Romance* in Haydn's lira concerto (Hob. VIIIh: 3/ii), written for the King of Naples, later used in the second movement of the Symphony No. 100. Pleyel probably knew Haydn's composition when he was in Naples. The first two movements of Pleyel's symphony in A (Ben. 155) show derivations from Haydn's popular symphony no. 73 "La Chasse." Some members of the audience are likely to have detected these and other derivations.

153. Fétis, "Notice sur Ignace Pleyel," 346; trans. from "Memoir of Ignatius Pleyel ([translated] From *La Revue Musicale*)," *The Harmonicon*, 10 (1832), 26.

154. *Ibid.*

155. For examples, see *The John Marsh Journals*, ed. Brian Robins, 513 ("a MS. Symphony & concertante of Pleyel's composed for the occasion was done with great effect, tho' certainly inferior ... to the style of Haydn."); *Recollections of R.J.S. Stevens: An Organist in Georgian London*, ed. Mark Argent (London, 1992), 79, 187.