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THE POSITION OF THE COMPOSER IN EUROPEAN SOCIETY FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 18TH CENTURY TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY, WITH A SHORT COMPARISON OF HIS STATUS IN INDIA-PAKISTAN OF THE SAME RELATIVE PERIOD.

Dissertation submitted to the University of Dacca for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS :

Preface :

SECTION I : : : Social Setting.

Chapter I : Introductory Survey of the General
Position of the Musician and of the
Basic Social Structure.

Chapter 2 : Institutions.

Chapter 3 : Customs, Morals and Ideas.

SECTION II : : : Composer Group.

Chapter 4 : Social Relations.

Chapter 5 : Economic Situation.

Chapter 6 : Education, Character and Appearance.

Chapter 7 : Connection with Movements.

Chapter 8 : Social Factors in the Music Itself.

SECTION III: : : Oriental Comparison and Conclusion.

Chapter 9 : Oriental Comparison.

Chapter 10: Conclusion.

APPENDICES.

REFERENCES.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

P R E F A C E

The change from artisan to bourgeois in the social position of the European composer during the mid 18th to the mid 19th Centuries has been selected here for discussion because of its importance in showing the source of the basic problems facing the musician today. It is the purpose of this thesis to study the totality of the relations between the composer and society, and thus to prove that an upward class movement was manifested by the musician group as a whole.

This subject has been sketched in many articles and pamphlets; and it has been mentioned in a number of books, though seldom receiving more than a paragraph or at best a chapter of attention. A comprehensive list of this relevant material is given in the Bibliography under the heading "Musicology and Society". It is significant that the outstanding musician and composer Franz Liszt, of the second half of this period, a man always conscious of his own social position, was well aware of the importance of the task undertaken here and regretted that he had not the time to thus determine the status of the artist and the reasons for his apparently losing his social mission (As Liszt conceived it) and falling into a recurrent position of inferiority - "subalternité". (1)

The tendency of the majority of writers on music and on musicians has been to isolate both from their social framework. This unfortunate dualism between the musical and the non-musical has been remarked by both Western and Eastern musicologists.

(2)

To avoid this dualism, and to underline throughout the interplay of social and musical forces, we propose to follow a systematic - rather than historical - orientation, breaking up events in the lives of composers into a multiplicity of components as seen in their social context.

The source material is based primarily on the letters of the composers and other documents of the period under consideration.

In accordance with the Law of Statistical Regularity, as regards the selection of data, we have chosen nine principal and fifty-five minor composers, this random group being considered an adequate representative sample to give the character of the whole composer group of the period. For convenience of discussion the minor composers are divided into Classics and Romantics, using these terms in their historical rather than their aesthetic sense. A list of all these composers is given in Appendix A at the end of the thesis.

It is our intention to demonstrate this social change in the composers' status by two cross-related methods. Firstly, in the section entitled "Social Setting", to portray significant aspects of a society in transition and show them in relation to the composers' changing world. Secondly, in the section "Composers' Group", to take the lives of the composers as a point of departure and give evidence throughout of social mobility.

To give full body to the "Social Setting" we will survey briefly the history of the position of the musician in general; salient points of class and church structure with emphasis on the rise of the bourgeoisie and the development of Protestantism; and the principal institutions, customs and ideas of society of the period.

In the "Composer Group" we will concentrate on the social orientation of the individual musician and on class behaviour patterns. In the chapter "Oriental Comparison" we will make a brief comparative study of musicians of India-Pakistan in relation to a society also moving from feudal to industrial, though at a slower pace and at a somewhat later period of history than in Europe.

By thus showing the membership of the composer in a plurality of groups, taken as symbols of his status, we may arrive at a concrete definition of his class position.

* * * * *

SECTION - I

S O C I A L S E T T I N G :

We shall endeavour in this first section to trace two main interlocking and concomitant social processes : Our special topic, the evolution of the composer from the artisan to the bourgeois class; and in general, the rise of the middle class to dominance - bringing forward its use of culture, including music, as a weapon against the old régime.

Chapter - 1.

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY OF THE POSITION OF THE MUSICIAN
IN GENERAL AND OF THE BASIC SOCIAL STRUCTURE :

(A) POSITION OF THE MUSICIAN.

Let us begin this chapter with a review of the status of the musician previous to the period of our discussion. The position of the musician at any given time depended on the attitude of society to music. In Primitive eras the musician was not a specialist; everyone made his own music. The maker of art and the audience were one and all individuals bore an identical relation to the group as a whole. In as late a period as Greece of the 5th Century B.C. the citizen had a direct role in the performance as well as the enjoyment of music. Philosophers like Plato considered music to be a powerful means of social construction and the musician (choregus) held a respected and elevated position. (1) But with the increasing rise of classes there came different relations between the individual and the group and more specialization of functions.

By the time of the supremacy of Rome we find that the ruling class ceased to make its own music, as it ceased also to concern itself with many other of its needs : all these matters were now left to a slave caste or to paid professionals. It was inevitable that the social position of the musician sank to the lowest level. Class prejudice was on the increase and the rights of the individual declined.

In the early Middle Ages the Church held a monopoly on music, as on all learning, and used it to keep the people in place. Church musicians were mostly priests of low class origin. Plain song became a symbol of Church and feudal authority. Folk music and dancing were condemned by the Church as pagan and the musicians of popular music were deprived of all claim to status. Perhaps descended from Roman gladiators and comedians, these popular musicians were given circus rank and even listed among animals in some chronicles of the time. (2) They were often associated with strolling players, rope dancers, exhibitors of dancing bears, women of low repute and the like. They were forbidden to partake of Christian sacraments and had not the legal right to recover debts. The very names applied to musicians of the period are evidence in themselves of this outcaste position : thus we may note the jongleur or juggler, joker or clown; followed by the minstrel or ménestrel (Latin : ministrillus, a lowly servant), who ministered to the upper classes and lived mainly on bounty and largesse. (3)

This view which placed musicians on the same plane with acrobats and jugglers persisted well into modern times as we may gather from an occasional note that appeared in the London "Musical Times", August, 1890 (p.468), entitled "Musicians and Acrobats at Society Gatherings", where the English aristocracy

is criticized for taking this Medieval attitude. In a similar vein is this evidence from Berlioz whose mother, regarding all those attached to the theatre as destined to hell, went down on her knees to beg him to renounce his music, and finally sent him away with the relentless words : "You are my son no longer. I curse you ! " (4)

By the 13th Century the minstrels began to form corporations to improve their social lot, and to appoint aristocratic patrons to protect them. About this same time the clergy and educated classes relaxed somewhat their negative attitude towards them. Vocal and instrumental musicians were finally separated from mountebanks and tumblers. Those musicians with a fixed status, especially those attached to a Court, enjoyed more security and had a chance to receive more learning; but they still lacked social and economic independence. These artisans became full-time music craftsmen for the leisured aristocratic class. Thus by the Renaissance we may begin to distinguish the artist as separate from the anonymous artisan. But despite this individual advance, this *Égo* assertion of humanism, the artist was still dependent on patronage and seldom had a rank higher than that of a royal valet.

At the opening then of our period, the mid 18th Century, the average composer was still basically an artisan in status and function. The limited social prestige of a musician attached to a Court was greater than that of one in the service of the Church; at an even lower level was the position of one in the service of a town.

These musician craftsmen, like artisans of other trades, often passed on their vocation from father to son, as was the case in such families as the Scarlattis, Bachs, Mozarts, Beethovens and Webers. They usually learned their trade by the apprentice system, for instance Bach with an older brother and Haydn with Porpora. They then passed through a journeyman stage, moving around to gain experience and to make themselves known, and to compete for positions such as Church organist. Medieval craftsmen were able to marry into a gild; and it was often the case that the candidate for an organist's position was expected to marry the daughter of the man who held the post. (We may add that Bach, Mattheson and Handel in turn passed up their chances at Lübeck by refusing to marry the daughter of Buxtehude!).

These artisan musicians worked for the day, and hence came their prolific output for definite occasions. It was not their fortune to have time to wait for inspiration. For this reason they often reworked the themes of others and incurred no blame in the process; they were as yet more esteemed as craftsmen than as original creators. This borrowing of music gives us a further indication of their corporate solidarity.

The general conditions of living and working of these artisan musicians are ample proof of their inferior social position. An organist, for example, might also be responsible for ringing the town bells; and he had to keep his organ repaired and tuned as well as to play it. At court the musician had to live with other servants and suffer many petty indignities and obey strict orders as to dress and behaviour. It was his duty to compose music to order at the pleasure of the prince.

We will conclude this preamble with a brief glance at the two major figures of the early 18th Century, Bach and Handel.

(1685-1750)
 Bach[^] was in service all his life, either Church, Court or Town. His working conditions spelt pretty much the artisan throughout and he was likely rated as little higher than a shoemaker, a carpenter or a tailor by most of his contemporaries. He composed a cantata every week as regularly as a carpenter might make a chair. This was functional music - stressing use rather than enjoyment. As Cantor of the School of St. Thomas, Leipzig, 1723, Bach had but little liberty of action; he even needed the permission of the burgo-master to leave the town.

Typical of the composer of his time there is no separation in Bach between the virtuoso and the creative artist. As artisan musician he was expected to fill both roles. Thus it is not surprising that Bach's principal reputation in his day was as a great organist and he was comparatively ignored as a composer. Indeed so little was the value of this aspect of his life known that some of his manuscripts were actually used as wrapping paper by Leipzig butchers.

Bach's education and unpolished manners were a further sign of his artisan position. His writing was awkward and ungrammatical and he had little knowledge of the other arts.

On the bourgeois side of the picture was the fact that Bach preferred the post of Cantor, to be closer to his own people, over a Court position with greater prestige. Another telling point was his composition of considerable music without any outer social compulsion, such as the "Inventions" and the "Art of the Fugue"; and the emotional expressiveness and personal quality of

the "Chorales" is a reflection of the national and sentimental ideal of the Middle class. Finally, Bach was not entirely without some business sense and, despite the paucity of material things he left behind, there was included an investment in a mine. We may class Bach then as fundamentally an artisan but already in social transition with a number of bourgeois facts to his life.

With Handel⁽¹⁶⁸⁵⁻¹⁷⁵⁹⁾, covering the same span of history as Bach, the transition is complete. Born of an artisan father, a barber-surgeon and valet who grew prosperous in the service of the Prince of Saxe-Magdeburg; and of a mother who was the daughter of a pastor, Handel had more of a middle class background from the start. His father even opposed his musical career and tried to force him into the respectable profession of law.

Handel's emigration to England enabled him to arrive early at a stable bourgeois position. At first in the service of the aristocracy and the Royal family, the period of his Italian operas, he came to identify himself with the powerful middle class of this country in his symbolic Biblical oratorios, in the national language, that glorified the rise of the free people of England and their Protestant commercialism. Handel was not only a composer but a capable business man as well, promoting his own oratorios. In politics too Handel, as a liberal, showed himself on the side of the new powerful bourgeoisie.

Though continuing to betray his peasant origin in his repulsive eating habits and his often rude manners, the cosmopolitan Handel, independent and free of nearly all official duties was able nonetheless to achieve a definite bourgeois position.(5)

This historical survey reveals then that the position of the musician alternated in a cyclic fashion from high to low and

then slowly upward again with the rise of the bourgeoisie.

(B) SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

A clear framework of the social stratification is all that is necessary here to give the background of the composers' social mobility from the dawn of the 18th Century. Conditions were basically the same throughout feudal Europe, but the middle class came to power sooner in England and France thus giving their countries an earlier foundation of national unity. Germany and Italy were still broken into small states due to their connection with the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy; they also lagged behind in industrial development. In the feudal Middle Ages society was divided into horizontal estates, of a caste-like nature and the principal focus was on authority, fixed status and corporate life. Church and aristocracy united to keep the rest of the people at an inferior level. Dating from the Renaissance a new structure began to take shape with the gradual emergence of classes, mobile by nature, and a vertical division into nation states and races. Corporate authority was replaced by the nation-state and the guilds gave way to business on an individual basis. In contrast to the old estates with fixed legal differences in status all classes were now - in theory - equal before the law; and the economic determinant became the major factor of modern social stratification. In this setting we may trace the increasingly individual composer, both nation and class conscious, entering the bourgeoisie and replacing the functionary artisan craftsman of feudal status. (6)

Beginning at the top, for a detailed analysis, we may note that the Courts of Europe were the most important centres of intellectual life up to the mid 18th Century, when there began a shift to the bourgeoisie in Western and Central Europe. The ruling class made use of luxuries, including art, as an exhibition of power and as a symbol of status. Absolute princes in the 17th Century, Enlightened despots in the 18th, most rulers in Western Europe had become constitutional monarchs by the 19th Century. Some indeed, caught up in the general democratisation of society, became quite bourgeois themselves. An illustration of this difference in type of ruler, from the point of view of the musical world, is found in a comparison of the frigid, stiff treatment accorded to musicians by Frederick the Great, with his insistence on military discipline even for artists; or of the haughty Maria Theresa, taking coffee at her leisure while the Mozart family were kept waiting her pleasure in an ante-chamber (1768), with the homely reception shown to Mendelssohn in 1847 at the earnest and respectable bourgeois Court of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. In this same category was Louis-Philippe, "The Citizen King", who even tried to look like a business man. He received Chopin and Moscheles with bourgeois simplicity and charm, when they were invited - not commanded - to play for the King at St. Cloud, 1838. Hoping these musicians might play again, the Queen remarked to a lady of honour that it might be indiscreet to ask them for this favour. (7). Sovereigns of the 18th Century would not have manifested this delicate regard for the sensibilities of performers of that era.

The aristocracy were also forced to pay heed to the spreading power of the middle class.

In England conditions were quite liberal and the nobles, with primogeniture to keep down their numbers, retained a useful function in politics and did not disdain to mingle in business and even to marry into the upper bourgeoisie. On the continent, by contrast, the nobles kept many legal privileges and did nothing to warrant them, which naturally galled the middle class. These nobles were quite decadent by the end of the 18th Century and felt that those outside their class - including of course the musicians - were destined to serve them. However educated people, mainly of the bourgeoisie, began to value merit above birth. Significant among those of this opinion was Beethoven who claimed that when a nobleman loses his money he is finished and turns into a Court slave; they can make a privy councillor out of him, but not a Goethe or a Beethoven. (8) The great composer despised but still needed this aristocratic society. Another wedge into this closed society was provided by the rich merchants who could buy titles (9), even if the old aristocracy declined to recognize them. An example of this in the musical world was the castrato Caffarelli (1703-83) who bought a dukedom in Italy. All these factors thus contributed to a lack of prestige for the aristocracy.

Many of these nobles and even royal personages carried on their own non-productive activities in art. They consumed the art of the lower classes to enhance their status, as we have noted above, but in this very activity - because of their close association with the artists - they contributed in turn to social mobility. Among these amateurs was the Electress Maria of Saxony, a singer and opera composer and a pupil of Hasse and Porpora. She would appear however only at Courts or the homes of friends.

A sign that aristocrats began to respect composers enough to seek to appear as one may be deduced from the history of Count Walsegg, who tried to pass off a portion of Mozart's "Requiem", for which he had given a secret commission, as his own work. Both Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia and the Archduke Rudolph showed the influence of Beethoven in their compositions, evidence that vertical cultural mobility flowed both ways in this period of transition. This interest of the nobles in music was important both for the sake of the art itself and for the position of the artist. (10) By the middle of the 19th Century it was fairly acceptable for a person of aristocratic birth to make a profession of his music, de Bériot being a case in point.

The rise of the bourgeoisie to dominance in this period is the cardinal social phenomenon connected with the rise of the composer in society, as we have previously pointed out. The bourgeoisie, integrating slowly since the Middle Ages by the accumulation of wealth and the use of learning, strove finally to success in the achievement of political and social equality. England took the lead, beginning with the Glorious Revolution at the end of the 17th Century and culminating in the Reform Bill of 1832. France gave the main impetus on the Continent and the French Revolution was a triumph for the bourgeoisie : setting a pattern for the rest of Europe, it established political and social equality, but failed to implement vital economic equality; making private property perhaps too sacred it cancelled out some of the progress in the other fields. In Germany, Austria and Italy the bourgeoisie did not achieve power until well into the 19th Century.

The right to vote was the main advance in political equality. From a vested privilege in feudal society it now evolved to an abstract right stemming from natural law. It was a supreme token of the worth of the individual human personality.

The middle class is by very definition a group in an almost perpetual state of social tension and of mobility, whether up or down. We may divide the class into three main sections. The upper middle class, "haute bourgeoisie", which included top political figures and financiers; the composers Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer, and perhaps Liszt, could be placed in this category. Next came the middle group, the very respectable "moyenne bourgeoisie", including the professional classes, business men, officers, and upper functionaries; here would be classified the majority of the 19th Century composers, Schumann being especially typical. We have finally the lower middle class, "petite bourgeoisie", which included small farmers and shopkeepers, the mass of petty clerks and most school teachers; we may cite Schubert as a typical musician of this group.

Our concern with the lower classes lies chiefly in the fact that most musicians of the 18th Century came from and remained to a great extent in this group, as artisans or as Court or Ecclesiastical servants. They laboured on the whole for a mere living and had little of the profit motive so inevitably associated with the economic aspects of the bourgeois.

This class may be divided basically along rural (peasants and fishermen) and urban lines. It is in the latter section that we find most of the artisan musicians. This section came to predominate with the Industrial Revolution and, despite ruthless exploitation by the wealthy bourgeoisie, even achieved some

degree of class-consciousness early in the 19th Century. Some of the artisan class, including most of the composers, moved up to the middle class; but the majority formed the new factory proletariat, a group overworked to the point of physical, mental and moral exhaustion, and thus was quite incapable of forming any audience for serious art. The new labourer had not indeed the fixed status of feudalism but neither had he the protection of that system. Free to work - he was equally free to starve.

It is significant of the still feudal nature of the mid 18th Century that serfdom was general in most of Europe. Abolished in England in the 16th Century, it continued in France until the French Revolution. It disappeared in Prussia at about this same period but it existed in Russia till 1861 and in Austria till 1867. (We may note that the composer Sarti, in 1784, was given serfs along with landed property by Catherine II of Russia). Whole orchestras in Russia were made up of serf artists and one serf composer is remembered only by his initials; a serf artist however was automatically freed once he had appeared at the Court theatre. (11)

Let us turn our attention now to the social structure of the Church in this period. Though separate from lay society, feudal caste divisions were in operation here as well. Bishops and the higher clergy were drawn from the aristocracy : the lower clergy and monks from the people. Almost all the priest - musicians, as in Medieval times, were in the latter group, including Abbés Vivaldi, Vogler, Stadler and Sterkel. The majority of these men were destined as priests from their youth by their families and did not, in contrast to the middle class Liszt, voluntarily become ordained after a full career in the world.

The Roman Catholic hierarchy included the feudal Prince-Archbishops of the old Holy Roman Empire who were always aristocrats and often of royal connection; they disappeared after the Napoleonic wars. Most bishops regarded their own minor clergy as servants, so it is not surprising to find musicians in their service - such as Mozart with the Archbishop of Salzburg ~~t~~reated in a similar fashion.

The Roman Catholic clergy, as a whole, preached a gospel of resignation, and was thus useful to the feudal powers in control. The Popes opposed universal suffrage, took a firm stand against the integration of national states (having their own national churches) and inevitably countered science with dogma, all these being mainly middle class developments. On the other hand the Roman Catholic Church saw the danger, for the people, of capitalistic exploitation and made more realistic attempts than the Protestants to check the scourge.

The Protestant Churches contained less hierarchical inflexibility, and in the Dissenting sects tended to do away with bishops altogether. The Lutheran and the Church of England, though introducing a strong note of individual conscience and bringing the service closer to the people by use of ~~human~~ hymns and of the vulgar tongue, did not break with the temporal authority. In Calvinism and the other sects however there is much of both social and political revolt. More democratic and republican they placed too much weight however on self-righteousness, interpreting it as business self-interest, so that sober money-making itself was exalted into a virtue. The Puritan thus praising work as an end in itself, and consequently reducing leisure to a minimum, had little time or regards for the arts.

The latter were also condemned as being part of the luxury and display of the old nobility. The seeds of Philistinism were sown to produce many a thorn in the side of the free 19th Century bourgeois composer.

The Protestant composers Bach, Handel, Schumann and Mendelssohn functioned mainly within the bourgeois cadre; two composers celebrated the virtues of Protestantism, Mendelssohn in his "Reformation Symphony", 1830, and Meyerbeer in his opera "Les Huguenots", 1836.

* * * * *

Chapter - 2.

I N S T I T U T I O N S.

With this picture in mind of the general artisan position of musicians in the 18th Century and of the framework of a changing society, we will proceed to a study of class features in particular institutions of the period, observing in each case any relationship to the social mobility of the composer.

(A) POLITICAL.

Opening this review with a consideration of political institutions we find that the civil service of the 17th and 18th Centuries served mostly the interests of the decadent ruling classes. Many offices could be bought quite openly but of course only the aristocracy or the upper bourgeoisie could afford to pay the price so they naturally retained their power in this sphere. By the time of the French Revolution, as we noted above, the "career open to talents", a clear sign of middle class intellectual advance, was more and more in evidence. The official posts (non-musical) held by Weber and Hoffman, for example, were in this category - obtained by ability rather than by bribery.

Justice of the period was not objective but geared to support the ruling classes, as we have just seen from the very set nature of the old Estates. In Germany and Austria this often meant autocratic despotism. A brutal example was the long and arbitrary imprisonment (1777-87) of the poet and musician Schubart by the Duke of Wurtemberg. Schubert set to music the $\text{M}\bar{3}$

former's poem "Die Forelle", with its symbolic episode of the trout caught in clear waters by the treacherous fisherman (1817). The aristocracy in Germany even had their own law courts; and a nobleman might be let off quite free whereas a commoner had to pay the full penalty. Beethoven had some experience of these special class courts when his case over the guardianship of his nephew, 1817, originally heard in the aristocratic Landrecht, was transferred to a lower court, when the composer could not prove his title of "van" to be of noble portent.

A considerable number of musicians spent time in jail and the cases of those of the artisan group reflect strongly their low social position. Each provides us with a striking example : when he wished to go to Cothen in 1717 he was held in jail for nearly a month for trying to break an engagement with the Duke of Weimar. In 1783 Mozart, writing to his father from Vienna, May 21, says that he fears (and Baron Wetzlar confirms) that if he comes back to Salzburg the Archbishop may have him arrested as he had not yet received a formal release from his position. (1) As late as 1813, when the allies occupied Dresden, the composer Morlacchi, in the service of the King of Saxony (an ally of Napoleon) was ordered by the Russian Minister of Police to compose a cantata - in two days time - for the birthday of the Russian Emperor, failing which he might be faced with transportation to Siberia.

In the transitional or bourgeois group arrests were not so closely connected with the low class position of the musician. Direct - or suspected - activity in political change (middle class in this era) was a likely cause. Thus Cimarosa was imprisoned in Naples in 1799 for his sympathy with the French

Revolution. And Berlioz, rambling around Nice in 1830, was arrested by the police on suspicion because he had been making musical notes near the frontier.

A telling indicator of the general social unrest of Europe of this era was the widespread prevalence of crime. Penalties were brutally severe in keeping with the sacrifice of individual consideration to feudal corporate values. Even a child might be hung for stealing : such a case formed the theme of a popular drama "La Gazza Ladra", source of Rossini's opera of the same name (1817). The middle and lower classes were beginning to realize that society itself was responsible for much of crime. A point was reached where many criminals were regarded as heroes and public hangings became a fashionable event. In the opera "Fra Diavolo", 1830, Auber selected a famous Italian robber as hero. And Berlioz, while in Italy, confessed that he was charmed by the lives of these criminal heroes. (2) Literature also reflected this same popular interest, notable examples being Schiller's "Die Räuber", 1781, to which Anselm Hüttenbrenner, friend of Schubert and Beethoven, wrote an overture in 1816; and P. Wolff's drama "Preciosa". The latter was set to music by Eberstein but rejected because of its association with local robber bands; it was later (1820) made into an opera by Weber. The composer Spohr was a keen social observer (and was himself the victim of a robbery in 1804); he asked how, in a country so rich and fertile as Italy, "men should be compelled by hunger to subsist by robberies"; and he contrasted the "luxurious splendour" side by side with the "most abject misery" in Rome of 1816. (3)

It was the middle class that took the lead in promoting a more humane justice. Men like Blackstone and Howard steered jurisprudence toward science and away from the aristocratic class bias we have just emphasized. Penology thus came to concern itself with the rights of the individual, rather than just those of the group. These reformers sought to abolish torture, encourage educative over merely custodial prisons and, a supreme gesture to individuality, even called into question the death penalty. It is of some relevance to note that in 1855 music was suggested as an aid in the humane treatment of prisoners.(4)

This ever-widening humanitarianism then had its roots in bourgeois needs and ideals and in the Evangelical reforms linked to this same class. A far larger group than the aristocracy, its very class-consciousness made vital a broader evaluation of human life. But once it had accomplished the security of its own position the middle class did not seek an ultimate solution to all human ills by attacking the social structure itself but was content to find some remedy in the hap-hazard efforts of individual philanthropists or specific small groups.

We find that musicians were not behind in making their contribution to charity as bourgeois individuals. Handel used to direct his "Messiah" once a year in aid of the children of the Foundling Hospital; and in 1750 he was elected a governor of that institution. Haydn, in his will, provided for two of the poorest orphans of his native Rohrau, and left a bequest of 75 florins to a hospital for the poor. Spontini left all his property to the poor of his native village. Mozart, as re-

recorded in a letter to his father, Vienna, May 24, 1781, was asked to play for the benefit of the widows in Vienna, the custom being for professional musicians to perform gratis on such occasions. His patron the Archbishop of Salzburg however would not give his permission until pressured by the annoyed nobility. (5) Mozart's bourgeois gesture here was handicapped by his artisan status. Beethoven was awarded the Citizenship of Vienna in 1815 for benevolent services to a hospital. Weber played in 1818 for the aid of destitute peasants of the Harz mountains. Chopin gave many concerts to help Polish refugees. A climax was reached with Liszt : an international philanthropist he played for the benefit of revolutionary workers in Lyons in 1835; and to help victims of the Hamburg conflagration and of the flood in Hungary in 1838. We may add that two composers showed awareness of the problem of poverty in operas entitled "The Orphan Asylum"; Spindler in 1807, and Weigl in 1808.

Musicians manifested a certain solidarity in caring for their own poor. Thus Handel, in 1738, was numbered among the founders of a society to help poor and old musicians. Beethoven in 1795, gave a concert for the widows' fund of the artists' society; and in 1800 he subscribed to an appeal to aid the last surviving daughter of Bach. Liszt contributed to the pension fund for destitute musicians in Hamburg.

This new humanity towards the poor was extended to the handicapped in general - the blind, the deaf, the crippled, and the insane. Haydn remembered the blind in his will; and it was an organist - Louis Braille - who invented a system of reading and of music notation for the blind in 1834.

In Medieval times cripples had a certain status as beggars; and the practice of deliberately mutilating children for their begging value had not entirely died out even in the 18th century. In a related category was the position of the castrato, the child of poor parents who allowed him to be mutilated for a price. The burden of this crime weighs more heavily however on the high society - both aristocratic and ecclesiastical, that encouraged this practice to satisfy its taste for this artificial singing. Significant of Haydn's lowly status was the fact that he narrowly escaped this fate. (6) This practice began to die out during the period of bourgeois ascendancy in the 18th century.

At the summit of these humanitarian achievements of the middle class was the abolition of slavery. Reason and feeling both played vital roles in this work of emancipation. In theory, slavery was portrayed by philosophers as a denial of natural liberty; and in practice, it was argued by the economists to be inferior in value to free labour. The bourgeois, reinforced by the attitude of the Pietists and other Evangelical sects, was touched to the point of positive action by the brutal oppression of whole races of men. It is not surprising to find the musician, as part of his new bourgeois awareness, awake to this problem of slavery. We may cite in this context Mme. V. de Cleve, about 1795, who composed two relevant songs entitled "The Negro Slave" and "The Dying Negro". The evolution of the negro from the traditional servant (as in opera buffa) to a position of dignity may be traced by contrasting the role of Dominique in R. Kreutzer's opera "Paul et Virginie", 1791, with that of the hero of H. Bishop's opera

"The Slave", in 1816.

A typical combination of reasoned tolerance and business opportunism led the middle class to assist in the emancipation of the Jews over this same period. The latter proved a useful ally in the struggle with the aristocracy and were declared full citizens during the French Revolution. Many Jews, in the era of ghetto persecution, found it expedient to become Christian to further the social welfare of their families; this would appear to be the case with the father of Mendelssohn. This race, by education and occupation, would be grouped mostly in the middle class; as examples we have the composers Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer, both sons of wealthy bankers. Conscious nationalism, a strong bourgeois trait, was a feature of the opera "La Juive", 1835, of Halévy.

The composers as a whole appeared tolerant in their relations with Jews and often made close friends among them. Mozart, for instance, had rooms in the house of his zealous patron Baron Wetzlar. Beethoven had many Jewish friends, among them the musician Heinrich Eppinger. The composer himself narrowly missed being pursued by the police in 1819 for declaring loudly that Christ, after all, was but a Jew crucified. (7) Chopin numbered the musician Hiller and the banker Léo among his friends.

A final phase of humanitarianism may be discussed in relation to animals. This same principle of reason, an ever-present weapon of the rising bourgeois, diminished the special divinity assigned to man and opened the way for more recognition of his kinship with the animal world. By 1824 the "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" was organized in England. (It is well to recall again that musicians contd. 25.

were at one time classed with animals at the circus level). There is a suggestion of this new humane sentiment and respect for the animal in the fact that Mozart wrote a poem on the death of his starling. Likewise the early Beethoven composed an "Elegy on the Death of a Poodle". He loved and pitied animals, as is recorded by the mother of the historian Frimmel, who said Beethoven would chase away the butterflies she was trying to catch. (8).

Let us turn our attention next to the institution of censorship which puts into sharp focus the political control of the feudal powers of the period. England was ~~not~~ singularly free in this respect but all continental governments were quick to clamp down upon anything that suggested the freedom of the people or that might antagonize the Church.

The composers, especially in opera, were often vulnerable targets for the censor. Mozart however, despite the social satire of his operas, got them past the censor. But it is revealing to learn that he felt obliged to write in code in his letters to his father regarding the hated patron, the Archbishop Colloredo, up until 1781, when he left his service.

Beethoven both in public or private was an outspoken critic of the aristocracy and of the Austrian Government. From 1809 onwards he was listed in police records as a republican but was apparently considered harmless as we may gather from the words of the President of Metternich's secret police: "Let the old bear growl; he can't bite." (9) When Beethoven's "Mass in D" was presented in 1824, the Archbishop of Vienna, in conjunction with the Chief of Police, allowed only the Kyrie, Credo and the Agnus to be performed in public. On the whole however

composers were in a more free position than their literary contemporaries in this respect : thus Grillparzer envied Beethoven and reminded him of what would be in store for him if the government only knew what he was thinking when he composed.(10)

Schubert, in 1824, set to music the ~~liberté~~ libretto of Castelli's "The Conspirators", but the title was changed to "The Domestic War" for fear of the censor. When Weber's "The Freeshooter" was given in Vienna in 1821 the Emperor objected to the discharge of a rifle on the stage, so it was replaced with a crossbow. The liberal-minded Weber made open fun of this absurd Austrian censorship. Schumann, in a letter to J. Fischhof, Leipzig, August 5, 1838, mentioned how cautious the authorities were in Vienna when he set out to get a licence to publish his art paper. (11) The government of Poland examined all mail in 1830 and the parents of Chopin, fearing a visit of the censor, burned all the composer's patriotic letters.

In Italy it was forbidden to represent a conspiracy on the stage, and this prohibition got Verdi into trouble over his "A Masked Ball", Rome, 1859. The work "libertà" was brutally effaced from the score of Bellini's "I Puritani", 1834, and replaced by "lealtà". By contrast, in France of the Revolution, Méhul was allowed to produce his opera "Mélidor et Phrasine", 1794, only on condition that he made a definite use of this word "liberté". (12) In 1844 Berlioz recorded that concert programmes had to be submitted to the authority of the Minister of the Interior, and they also required the visa of a police commissioner. (13) In Russia to the mid 19th century even musical compositions were suspect for fear the notes might be some kind

of a secret code.

We will conclude this survey of political institutions with an analysis of war and military factors of the period. Our concern here is with the class change evident in both the basic motivation to war and in the social composition of the armed forces. Until well into 18th century wars were fought mainly on dynastic or religious grounds. The officers were invariably of aristocratic origin whereas the men were drawn - often by brutal force - from the lowest classes. The use of mercenaries and professional soldiers was a common means of carrying on a dynastic war. (Spohr observed that in 1831 the State revenue of Hesse had been chiefly drawn from the sale of manpower to the English.) (14) For the nobleman at war personal, rather than national, honour was the more vital concern : the people played in the main a passive role. It is thus not surprising to find that the musicians of this period were comparatively unmolested by the call to military service.

The picture altered with the coming of the middle class to dominance. The French Revolution provides the first instance of general conscription and of the modern democratic concept of a whole nation in arms. National honour now came to the fore and the people were called upon to play a very active role. Things changed for the musician too and it was the actual duty of composers, during the French Revolution, to celebrate military victories. The personnel of the "Musique de la Garde nationale", embryo of the national "Conservatoire", were even given military titles : for example Sarrette as director was captain; Gossec was a lieutenant. (We note that they were commissioned officers.). (15) A new position thus opened up for the musician as director of national schools of military music (the

fathers of Paër and Hummel held such posts).

Musicians now became generally subject to military duties though there were often exemptions in the interest of the preservation of artistic talent. Schubert received three summons to enlist and finally became a teacher to avoid a further call-up. Rossini received an exemption in 1812, and Donizetti in 1822, as a result of the success of their operas. A. Adam asked Cherubini in 1824 for a letter of recommendation that would help him avoid conscription. Chopin provides us with an illustration of an active interest in national welfare : he had an ardent desire to serve in the cause of freedom but realized he lacked the health to be a soldier. In a letter to Matuszynski, January 1, 1831, he stated wistfully : "Why can't I even beat the drum !" (16).

One element of conscription that contributed forcefully to social mobility was the mixing of the classes. Commissions now were no longer just an aristocratic prerogative or subject to purchase but, as in the case of the civil service, the idea of promotion on merit began towards the end of the 18th century.

The evolution of the military march reflects this class change in the military sphere. From mere occasional marches written for the private army of a dynastic patron the march came to be associated with the idea of a whole class - the bourgeoisie - and its concept of all-conquering progress. We may see this change in action if we compare the marches written by Haydn (as a musician in service) for the Esterhazy Grenadiers with his later "Military Symphony", 1794. Beethoven's dynamic march movements, such as the "Alla Marcia" from the "Choral Finale" of his "9th Symphony", 1824, are supreme examples of this class-conscious music.

Schubert's march-like two piano scores are in this same category. There is similar evidence in other forms, as well, from Handel's "Dettingen Te Deum", 1743, celebrating the victory of a nationally integrated people, to operas dealing with the new middle class army, e.g. Bruni's "L'Officier de fortune", 1792, "Le Major Palmer", 1797, and Auber's "Le Séjour militaire", 1813. For the bourgeois of this period class and nation interfused.

We may name Beethoven finally as a typical example of one holding the bourgeois liberal position in military matters. He had little use for the profession of arms and remarked to Breuning that a soldier was a slave who sold his liberty for 5 kreutzer a day, (17) On the other hand he followed the lead of Fichte in believing that there was one legitimate war - that of an oppressed people for their independence.

It is clear that the musician, whether as private citizen or as composer and performer, was increasingly drawn into the bourgeois area of military activity.

(B) EDUCATIONAL :

The development of educational institutions was very pertinent to the problem we have in hand. In feudal society education was largely in the control of the priests. The goal was primarily to make the people good communicants; and to keep their minds away from more worldly things - such as a concern over their position in society. From this there stemmed a dual class system in education : the best private tutors and schools were reserved for the aristocracy, whilst rudimentary (and often only charity)

schools were the lot of the lower classes. Bach, Haydn, Beethoven and Schubert, as indeed most of the 18th century composers, received their education in choir or chapel schools. The mean conditions were a reminder to the artisan musician of his low status. We may take Haydn, who was a choir boy at St. Stephen's from the age of 8 to 17, as a typical case. He was provided with a cold room, inadequate food and some clothes. (Haydn was driven to the extreme of often singing in the streets to augment his bread supply). He was expected to learn violin, harpsichord and singing, psalm-reading and Latin. A few 18th century artisan composers received their education through the grace of aristocratic patrons and in such a case might fare very well. Dittersdorf, in this category, was patronised by Prince Hildburghausen and received a decidedly aristocratic education, including foreign languages, fencing, riding and dancing.

Returning now to the general development of education we find that the Reformation, stressing popular education in the vernacular to make the Bible known; and the rising bourgeoisie following the same line to knit together its class and prepare it to challenge the aristocracy, wrought a change in the feudal picture. The aim now was to make good citizens.

The significant emphasis on the individual, current throughout all this middle class radiation, was an obvious factor in the new educational trends. Comenius, in the 17th century, had taught that education was not just an aristocratic privilege but should be made available in the vernacular to the lower classes. Rousseau and Pestalozzi in this era now centred their educational concepts on the individual and underlined the

importance of education as a means to social improvement. Beethoven, keenly appreciating this fact and aware that the society of the time considered the average musician as an ignorant person, did his best by himself - following the middle class gospel of self-help to become a man of *wide* culture. He may be put forward as typical of the composer in social transition under this head. Given only rudimentary choir school training and that as an artisan apprentice from his father (a musician in service), he made a respected position for himself as a cultivated person; and he was later able to send his nephew Karl to the Collegium Theresianum, a school normally restricted to noble cadets. The composer himself emphasized his bourgeois position in this statement of responsibility: "I know of no more sacred duty than the care and education of a child." (18) In a letter to the Archduke Rudolph, Mödling, July 15, 1819, Beethoven mentioned Pestalozzi in regard to the education of his nephew. (19) One composer, Schumann, in keeping with this new interest wrote many pieces especially for children; both love and understanding of the child are reflected in his "Scenes of Childhood", 1838, and "Album for the Young", 1848. (It may be added that Froebel opened a kindergarten in 1836).

Germany was far more class and title conscious than England; and to possess the university doctorate was a major honour and an assurance of wide social respect. This contrast in countries is brought out by a comparison of the attitudes, both in essence very bourgeois, of Handel and Schumann. The former, when confronted with the opportunity of buying the honour, exclaimed: "What the devil I throw my money away for that the blockhead wish?" (20) Schumann, on the other hand, made deliberate efforts

to procure the doctorate to bolster his social position and hence strengthen his prospects of marriage with the Court Pianist Clara Wieck. Asking his sister to use her influence with a professor in Leipzig, he stated openly : "I only want the degree for the sake of the title. "(letter to Theresa Schumann, Mar. 25, 1838). (21) Schumann was eventually awarded the degree from Jena on the strength of past writings, without any thesis or special musical work.

Additional interest in the field of education is implied in the titles of the following compositions, Haydn's symphony, "The Schoolmaster", 1774, and Isouard's opera, "Die reisende Schulmeister", 1775.

This general spread of education, in conjunction with the intensification of bourgeois class-consciousness, gave birth to a tremendous new power in the 18th century - informed public opinion. An essentially middle class voice it stemmed from Locke's "Law of opinion", Montesquieu's "esprit générale", Rousseau's "volonté générale", and the German Romantic "Volksgeist". The term "opinion publique" became current about the eve of the French Revolution. Most towns had regular newspapers and weeklies towards the end of the 17th century. They tended to promulgate the bourgeois point of view and disseminate ideas of equality; they became the prime moulders of public opinion.

The press also served music and its makers, helping to bring their work before public attention. Germany had a musical journal of sorts as early as 1722, the "Musica Critica", founded by the composer Mattheson. The "Journal de Musique française et italienne" appeared in France in 1764; and the "Quarterly

Music Magazine" in England in 1818. The composer Schumann was able to do much to help the position of his fellow artists as editor of the "Neue Zeitschrift für Musik", 1833-44.

The composer's new position vis-à-vis public opinion is well brought out in his relationship to the critics. Criticism up to this time had been a simple affair of approve or disapprove and was entirely in the hands of the aristocratic or ecclesiastical patrons - the dictators of taste. Now the vast public audience itself became the judge and the professional critic its representative. Criticism evolved into a matter of understanding and of making others understand, a double educational process. At the ideal level it could help the artist to become known and it could raise the standard of public taste. It has been claimed that this bourgeois public imposed its tastes too definitely, and that consequently the artist under the old régime, despite having to compose to order under Church or noble patronage, was able to follow his own inspiration at least as well as he can today. (22)

Beethoven, the supreme individual, is the first composer to show very definite reactions to the critics. Disliking identification with any mere class group he had little use for the critics, either ignoring them haughtily or attacking them quite rudely. Schubert lacked this violent disdain but refused to bow servilely to them; he declared in 1827 : "For I am not only a Ländler (dance) composer, as it says in the stupid newspapers, and as the silly people repeat - I am Schubert !"

(23) Schumann likewise demanded that a critic of his "1st Symphony" ¹⁸⁴¹ treat him with the respect that was his due. (24) The fact that these composers could balk at criticism is a sign in it-

itself of their new bourgeois situation of freedom.

Many composers were now able to find an extra occupation as critics themselves - a further mark of bourgeois activity. Weber and Schumann both found it profitable to edit music papers on the side, the latter claiming that he earned as much in this profession as from his compositions. Schumann's ideal as a critic was to serve art above all, directing the taste of the public whilst avoiding any dictation by society. Berlioz took a more negative attitude to this literary sideline; this slavery, as he saw it, "to write nothings about nothings", interfered with his projects for music composition. (25) But he was obliged to do this work to earn his living. Hoffman, Nicolai and Fétis were also part-time music critics.

(C) HEALTH ;

In health institutions reason was applied, as in so many fields, to initiate progress; in opposition to the static attitude of the Church, science and social control made a direct attack on disease; and health education was generally under way by the time of the French Revolution. The impetus in this came once again from the middle class.

The relationship of the composers with the medical world was quite consistently bourgeois in nature, whether in respect to professional services or as friends or relatives. In this regard then we may record that Bach, Handel and Chopin, in turn, were treated by Royal surgeons when in England; Haydn was often a house guest of the physician Edler von Genzinger; Mozart's doctors, Barisani and Closset, were also his intimate friends; the high society Dr. Malfatti, and Dr.

Dr. Wegeler, Professor of medicine at Bonn University, were close friends of Beethoven; and Schubert's doctors, von Schäffer and Bertrand, were both ardent Schubertians. Two composers, Johann Pórtsch (1657-1732) and Peter Lichtenthal (1780-1853) were also doctors of medicine; and Spohr and Berlioz were the sons of physicians. We may also note the bourgeois theme evident in the opera "Doctor und Apotheker", 1786, by Dittersdorf.

The healing powers of music, here a correlation of bourgeois culture in medicine and art, were discussed in this period. We recall that as mentioned above, its use was also suggested in prison treatment. Foreshadowing musical therapy we note that the castrato Farinelli cured Philip V of melancholy in 1737; Bach wrote his "Goldberg Variations", 1736, especially to aid a patron suffering from insomnia; and a resumé of cases helped by music was prepared by Fournier de Pescay (1771-1833) in an article for the "Dictionnaire des Sciences Medicales".

(D) ECONOMIC :

The basic change from an agricultural to a predominantly industrial economy, culminating in this period with the Industrial Revolution, provided the bourgeois with the source of his greatest power - money. The stage was now set for the inevitable victory of the middle class. The whole of society felt the impact of this vital economic shift. The bourgeois found himself with both more time and more money for interest in art; and as a result the way was opened up for musicians to rise into a higher class, as we noted at the beginning of this thesis.

The Industrial Revolution also led to a vast increase in population and in education, two cardinal factors in creating the new mass audience for the musician.

New industrial processes had a direct bearing on the position of the composer. Lithography developed towards the end of the 18th century and it made for a cheaper and more extensive printing service. On the positive side, the composer could now sell his works to a larger public; he could become a bourgeois business-man selling his product to the highest bidder. On the negative side, mass printing led to a vast increase in the circulation of older and well-known works; the composer had to compete now with the past and thus lost one of his principal motives for composing.

A factor of much consequence in increasing social mobility, spreading liberal ideas and lessening class prejudices, was the great improvement in communications by the beginning of the 19th century. Industrial progress led to paved roads, railroads, canals and steamboats. Overseas travel could mean contact with new countries that were free of the old traditions of monarchy or of class division. Many musicians were keenly aware of the import of these new forces. A virtuoso who visited most of Europe, Liszt, in Venice, 1838, accepted a theme for improvisation, "La Strada di Ferro", given by a citizen preoccupied with the progressive movement of industrialism;(26) A suggestion of the Saint-Simonian ideal of uniting the beautiful with the practical may be found in the composition of Berlioz, "Chant D'inauguration des chemins de fer", 1846; and Verdi was commissioned by the Khedive of Egypt to compose "Aïda" to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal in 1871. Further

evidence of relations between the bourgeois world of industry and the world of music may be deduced from the opera "Der Bergmann" of J.^KLoewe (1796-1853) with its industrial theme of coal-mining; the visit of Spohr to the International Exhibition of Industry in Paris, 1843, on a day when only the exhibitors and King Louis Philippe were present; (27) and the composition "Chant des Industriels" written by M. Méraux for a similar exhibition in 1844.

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CUSTOMS, MORALS AND IDEAS.

(A) Customs.

Voluntary association, in small and often select groups, was a main feature of recreation, both cultural and physical, in this period. It was here that marked social mobility took place and the atmosphere was often impregnated with revolutionary thought.

The salon was probably the principal seat of intellectual activity in the 18th century. Liberal-minded aristocrats and clergy mingled quite freely with bourgeois intellectuals. Describing such a salon (that of the Marquise de Lambert), d'Alambert pointed out a cultural interchange of mutual benefit that went on between the nobles on the one hand and the artists and litterati - hitherto looked down upon by the upper class - on the other. The first group thus gained in knowledge whilst the second profited in politeness and manners. (1)

We may enumerate four successive stages in the connection of the composer with the salon. He first appeared in a servant status to entertain the aristocracy : Haydn and Mozart provide obvious examples of this phase. Secondly, as a rising bourgeois, he was accepted in the salons of the nobles on a footing of relative equality. In this regard we may trace much of Beethoven's immediate success in Vienna to the entrée he possessed from the patronage of Count Waldstein and of the Elector of Cologne. We may select the salon of Prince Lichnowski as one of the most important in the Vienna of this time. It was the custom here for musicians to stay to dinner, after the concert, and mix freely with the aristocrats who were attending. In Paris, Chopin and Liszt both began their phenomenal social successes in the salons of the

aristocracy; one of the most noteworthy of these was that of the Baron Jacques de Rothschild. Thirdly, we find the bourgeois musician moving as an actual equal among members of his own class in the salons of the cultivated bourgeois. The atmosphere here was full of good fellowship and was less formal than in the aristocratic salon. Typical was the salon of Christopher Sonnleithner, jurist and amateur musician, where Haydn and Mozart were frequent guests; and of the Froelich sisters, a favourite rendezvous of Schubert. Fourthly, the established bourgeois composer himself came to possess a salon that functioned as a centre of high society. Thus Cherubini introduced Chopin to Paris society at his Monday evening salons; and later Chopin had also his own salon where, for example, he mentioned casually the presence of a Princess of Wurtemberg among other of his distinguished guests. (Paris, April 19, 1847) (2).

A more public place of meeting of the leisured aristocracy and bourgeois men of culture was the coffee-house, especially important in England. It also flourished in Vienna; and the name of Schubert is linked with "Bogners" and "The Green Archer", centres of bourgeois intellectual and artistic circles. In France, however, the "Café-littéraire" was of less importance than the salon in intellectual life.

Clubs and orders of various types constituted a distinct feature of 18th century middle class life. Benefit and friendly societies developed from the Medieval craft guilds and their programs of mutual aid. Secret societies and fraternal orders, like the Freemasons and the Oddfellows, emphasised this same mutual self-help and they were a further stimulus to bourgeois

individuality. The Freemasons were theoretically opposed to class or religious prejudice and were strongly associated with the development of democratic institutions and humanitarian ideals. They also tend to clash with medieval clericalism. (It was because Mozart was a Mason that it was difficult to find a priest for him on his deathbed.) Basically a middle class movement, the Masons also included many tolerant aristocrats and even royalty in their membership.

As we might expect, many composers - conscious of their new class identification and of individual rights - were active Masons. Johann Naumann, ⁽¹⁷⁴¹⁻¹⁸⁰¹⁾ member of an aristocratic lodge in Dresden, published a collection of Masonic songs, "Vierzig Freimauerlieder", in 1782. Haydn was a Mason and both Mozart and his father were enthusiastic members. Mozart wrote several cantatas in praise of the cult of friendship (e.g. "Die Mauerfreude", 1785); and his opera "The Magic Flute", 1791, was a full-dress allegory embodying many of the principles and rites of Freemasonry. We may cite an instance of Masonic mutual help in the case of the merchant Puchberg lending money to Mozart in Vienna. The Masonic list of composers or members of their circle included the father of Weber; the father of Chopin and his teacher Elsner; Spohr; and Liszt, who in spite of his priestly ordination, rose to be a Master of the Order. An instance of Masonry drawing upper and lower classes together is afforded by Spohr; he related that when Prince von Carolath, whose daughter was the composer's pupil, learned that he was a Mason, he became noticeably more friendly and they attended a Masonic festival together. (3) We may mention in climax that in Weiningen, 1859, a grand Masonic fête was celebrated expressly in honour of Spohr. (4)

A secret society of more obvious political import was the Carbonari, mingling aristocrats and business men in a rather formless sort of universal brotherhood working towards the unity of Italy. The Princess Christiane Belgiojoso, associated with Liszt and his circle in Geneva, was a promoter of the Carbonari; Rossini, Bellini and Meyerbeer appeared as guests in her salon in Paris. We may add that Karl Zeller wrote an operetta "Die Carbonari" in 1880.

A number of more directly cultural clubs, but also closely linked with the middle class liberal movement, came into being in this ~~xx~~ era. An early example was the Academy of Arcadia, uniting princes and artists on a plane of direct social contact. Corelli and Vogler were members; and Handel in 1707 found it helpful in making social connections in Rome. A similar group in France was the "Assemblées de nouvellistes" organized in 1782. The "Burschenschaften", an association of students at Jena, 1818, sought to promote German national sentiment; Weber and Schumann had some connections with this group. Weber and Meyerbeer founded the musical and literary "Harmonic Society" in Mannheim, 1810, with the purpose of advancing true art. Weber also became the leader of a curious literary society called the "Liederkreis", which met to discuss the social mission of the artist. The Ludlamites, in Vienna, were an intellectual society that included Weber, Moschèles, Grillparzer and Bellstab among its members. The secret police dissolved this club just before Schubert's name came up for election. In 1831 Spohr helped to found the "Reading Museum" in Kassel, a social club for the extension of liberal sentiments.

Clubs of a primarily musical nature, with literary and social aspects included, were also very middle class institutions. Zelter founded one called the "Liedertafeln" in Berlin, 1808; it was a group that met once a month for supper and music. Weber composed several songs for this patriotic glee club; and Schumann became its director in 1847. A class melting pot as well, this club included William III, Prince Radziwill and Goethe in its membership.

From the foregoing review we are justified in stating that the composers' activities in all these clubs and societies were in the middle class sphere.

Focussing attention now on amusements in general we find they often had a class connotation in this period. Pleasure was an end in itself - sign of caste prestige - for the aristocrat : on the other hand, it was a recreation, aside from his work, for the bourgeois and the lower classes. Many pleasures including dancing and light gay music, were encouraged by both the Church and by feudal governments to keep the people in a submissive state. (It was partly for this reason that Beethoven attacked the decadent Italian opera and Chopin the mania for Strauss waltzes.) Entertainment gradually became commercialized, a feature of bourgeois dominance and - a strong sign of social mobility - all classes came to have much the same amusements throughout the 19th century. A certain parallel might be drawn between the artisan musician in service and the retainer who provided amusement for the Courts, inasmuch as both later entered the professional ranks.

Sports were originally a training in the struggle for existence. During the Middle Ages they became associated with war training and hence sports, like hunting, were the privilege of the ruling classes only and largely remained so until the end of the 18th century. We have seen that the aristocrat of this period remained a dilettante in music and similarly in sports he remained an amateur by virtue of class distinction. In a similar manner riding became an élite sport and it was thus often practiced by the bourgeois for social as well as physical considerations. Under this head we may note that Mozart, Beethoven, Berlioz and Spohr, among other composers, all practiced equitation.

Fairly set class divisions might also be observed in the amusement of dancing; the balls of the upper and middle classes contrasted with the country dances of the peasants. The artisan musician, with rare exceptions, attended balls only in service - to provide the music. It was significant of Haydn's different position in England that he was invited to a Court Ball in London, 1791, on the Queen's birthday. In 1794 Prince Esterhazy, to honour his musicians (including Haydn), allowed them to attend a ball as if they were invited guests, hiring some popular players for the dance music.

Masked balls were very popular in this restless age of social ferment and allowed for much intermingling of classes. Both Mozart and Weber composed for this type of social function.

Mozart attended the high society Breitfeld Ball in the company of Count Canal in Prague, 1787. Weber frequently attended the masked balls given by the manager of the Prague Opera, mingling artists, literati and even high aristocracy; he was a

distinguished guest at a Royal ball given by the Crown Princess of Prussia at Ems, 1825. The "Würstelball" of the Schubert circle was, as one would expect, a very bourgeois occasion. The composer Liszt, reaching a pinnacle of upper class position, actually had balls given in his honour, as in 1839 by the society ladies of Budapest; and in 1884 by the city of Antwerp.

We may note also that after the middle of the 18th century the bourgeois waltz, a descendant of the peasant ländler, free, individualistic and intimate in style, began to replace the stilted and artificial steps of the minuet. This dance was actually forbidden by Imperial edict in 1785. Mozart gave a sociological interpretation to the waltz and the minuet in the finale of the first act of "Don Giovanni", 1787. Among the many composers in the new waltz idiom were Haydn, Schubert, Weber and Chopin.

The ballet also underwent a social change in moving from the Court to the wider public of the opera. More freedom in dance leaps and in costumes corresponded to the return to nature movement and the new current of freedom in general. In 1801 Beethoven echoed the spirit of the times in his heroic allegorical ballet of individual revolt, "The Men of Prometheus".

The passion for gambling, reaching a high point at the time of the French Revolution, was eloquent testimony of the prevailing social upheaval. Until well into the 18th century gambling had been pretty much of an aristocratic preserve, as only the noble had the means and the leisure for such indulgence. Now, with insecurity prevailing in every class, this restless custom spread among the middle and lower classes.

Gambling contributed to the change in social structure through the ruin of many noble houses; and adventurers even gambled for social position.

Several composers, including Mozart and Weber, indulged in this rather reckless sport. Rossini held a contract that included an interest in gaming tables; and Paganini, an inveterate gambler, lost heavily in an attempt to sponsor the Casino in Paris. Once again the facts indicate middle class activity by these composers.

The spas or watering places of the 18th century were very fashionable resorts that combined many of the amusements we have reviewed. They also included music concerts. Exclusively aristocratic at the outset they gradually became centres of considerable class mingling. The musician initially came to the spas, as to the salons and the balls, as a mere artisan in service; but in the course of the century we find him appearing more and more often as a guest. In this bracket we may note Handel trying the cure at Tunbridge Wells, 1743. Haydn meeting Gluck and Dittersdorf at a soiree of Prince Hildburghausen at Mannersdorf, 1755; Beethoven's first acquaintance with Goethe in the brilliant social setting of Teplitz in 1812; and Rossini being presented to King George IV at Brighton Spa in 1823.

Customs of social behaviour have been prime indices of social position in any period of history. Etiquette was extremely complicated in this 18th century Europe, but it lost much of its meaning with the bourgeois ascendancy and it became simplified as it spread to the lower classes; in addition the fast pace of the Industrial Revolution proved a marked levelling factor in manners.

A glance at the lives of the composers shows their manners as a clear gauge of their changing class position. Haydn was humble and always retained his artisan cast. Mozart, forced into the role of a lackey in his youth, rose above his origin and could even act with a touch of arrogance - but would also easily slip back into a certain coarseness. Beethoven never quite lost his low class manners (e.g. he once used candle-sunffers to pick his teeth while Baroness von Ertmann was playing for him) though he was capable, when he wished, of mingling with definite distinction in the best society. Schubert also often betrayed his peasant origins though petty bourgeois in most of his actions; he was never at home in a formal gathering. With Weber, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Chopin and Liszt we have men of different stamp - bourgeois of cultivated charm possessing the savoir faire of an aristocrat. Berlioz, showing the middle class short-cuts in manners, once boasted that he himself replaced counsellors, secretary and ambassador by presenting himself directly to Prince Metternich.(5)

In dress as in manners a sharp distinction was drawn between classes in the 18th century : the aristocracy appeared in expensive and exaggerated dress to emphasize their superior status. Fashion was even dictated by law in parts of Germany to enforce class position. Servants wore the livery of their master to show at once their fixed status and the power of the Patron. Hence we find artisan-musicians * in service dressed as lackeys.

By the 19th century all classes tended to dress in much the same manner. A natural way of wearing the hair replaced the wigs that were so typical of the previous era.

Thus we may contrast the natural coiffure of Beethoven, and the composers following him, with the wigs worn by Bach, Haydn and Mozart. Under the new principles of bourgeois equality, money superceding birth as a social criterion, all persons had a right to dress in the current fashion. The 19th century composers, filling a bourgeois profession, dressed in this manner; and some, like Chopin and Liszt, even had some influence in setting the fashion of their time.

Changing customs of social significance for the musician are evident in the evolution of the audience and of manners of conducting and playing. The artisan artist of the 18th century usually faced only a small aristocratic audience in the confined space of a salon. (Thus Mozart, in March 1784. gave thirteen private aristocratic concerts for one in a public theatre.) Applause or disapproval was forbidden unless initiated by the prince (cf. critics above).

The bourgeois artist, by contrast, had a large public hall and a new mass audience at his disposal. The concert hall replaced the salon. With the exception of the royal loge, any seat in the house was available to the person who could pay for it. Applause was now the right of every individual and became an untrammelled emotional expression. The composer, in bourgeois business fashion, might even hire people - the clique - to stir up interest in his concert or discredit the performance of a rival. Paisiello employed the latter means against Rossini in Rome, 1816.

In conducting, of the 18th century, the leader merely beat the time stiffly and impersonally - a static figure, like a metronome wound up to the order of the prince. In the 19th century

a contemporary :

the conductor was a clearly defined individual - a dynamic leader giving vent to his own expressions and feelings. The leaping antics of Beethoven, and the fiery gestures of Liszt and of Berlioz revealed the free bourgeois conductor before a predominantly bourgeois audience.

In playing, the artisan-musician at an aristocratic salon-concert was expected to behave in a certain fixed manner. An extreme instance of this was the rule for harpsichord players of the time of Couperin : they were directed to look at, and even smile, at the audience as they performed. Piano technique long reflected these restrictions in the stiff body position with action limited to forearm and fingers. In vigorous contrast is the 19th century professional artist, exhibiting with complete freedom his personal emotions and individuality as he performs dynamically in public. Beethoven, who would categorically refuse to play if he thought any order was implied, was very temperamental in his playing and even made fun of his aristocratic audience if he felt in the mood. Liszt, in this regard, was the supreme individualist, as we may gather from this description by a contemporary : "Under his touch the piano became, as it were, a passionate human thing." (6) Like Beethoven, Liszt, as recorded by Amy Fay, "never allows any one to ask him to play"; (7) and seemingly reversing the roles of artist and patron, "he bows to all like a king as he goes out". (8) Charles Salaman confirmed this mobile position of Liszt, who would play a set piece at a recital, then come down and chat with his audience until, "with the gracious condescension of a prince", he felt disposed to return to the piano. (9)

(B) MORALS ::

The moral standard of this period was significantly low as was to be expected from the volcanic social upheaval pervading most of Europe. Reactionary governments cynically encouraged this moral laxity, as we have seen of certain amusements, to try to deter the people from concern over deeper political and social matters. Morality for most aristocrats was linked to the maintenance of their caste position, with honour taking precedence over virtue. For the bourgeois also morality was not purely objective : his vaunted respectability was ~~pr~~ practical both as a weapon against the licentiousness of the aristocracy and as a feature of business success. However bourgeois ethics, following the lead of Kant and Lessing, were democratic in the sense of relating morality to the individual - the compulsion to good coming from within, as a reasoned experience, rather than from without, as external social pressure.

We may take the case of illegitimate children as an illustration of class bias in morals. Those born to the upper class, noble or clerical, were quite socially acceptable. (Here may be listed two musicians, Thalberg and Borodin.) Those of the lower classes were practically outlawed. The children of eminent men however were afforded social recognition, as was the case for the natural progeny of Liszt, Boïeldieu, Paganini and Rossini. Beethoven, at times a lion of respectability, practically forced his brother Johann to marry his mistress; and he was greatly upset when the widow of his brother Caspar presented a medical student with a natural child. Yet the composer himself has been claimed as the father of a child by the Countess Josephine Brunszvic. (10)

It is not irrelevant to mention here that the position of women in general was decidedly advanced in this period. Their feudal status made them almost completely subject to male relatives or feudal powers. No more striking instance of this can be found than in the aristocratic privilege of "Jus primæ noctis", finally suppressed with middle class victory in the French Revolution. Two composers made reference to this social phenomenon : Martini il Tedesco with his opera "Le Droit due Seigneur", 1783; and Mozart, in "La Nozze di Figaro", 1786, where the people rejoice over the Count's voluntarily relinquishing this feudal right.

Romantic poets and musicians tended to regard women as intellectual equals : conversely many aristocratic women with feminist interests treated the artists as social equals. There was thus a parallel and complementary development in the positions both of women and of the artists in their mutual struggle for recognition. The Countess d'Agoult (Daniel Stern) traced this affinity, noting their common sentimental and imaginative character and underlining the falseness of their relations to society. In her opinion society flatters artists and flatters women; it even pays them - but it never gives them serious respect. (11) Composers who were active in this sphere of mutual endeavour included Chopin with George Sand; and Liszt with both the Countess d'Agoult and the Princess Wittgenstein. These couples also gave open endorsement to the new doctrine of free love, another offshoot of the right to individual happiness. We may close this topic with the statement of Wagner that woman should be not only the sex partner - but the friend of man. (12)

The position of the composer was decidedly affected by the fluctuations in moral attitude that followed in the wake of the French Revolution. In 1790 H.M. Berton discredited the religious life in his opera "Les Rigueures du Cloître"; the hero, a National Guard, rescues his mistress, a young nun, from a convent and he proclaims the duty to marry. Similarly Gossec, in 1793, found it his task to celebrate the "fêtes de la raison" - anti-religious manifestations; in this connection he wrote "Hymne à l'Être Suprême" and "Hymne à la Liberté". With Robespierre, and later Napoleon, Christianity again became more or less official and the composer had to follow suit, as witness the composition of the "Te Deum" by Sarrette (b.1765). But the grip of the Church had definitely lessened. It now became possible to use an organ in an opera, as in Meyerbeer's "Robert le Diable", 1831; and the church scene became a characteristic of Romantic opera.

In summary then we may say that in all facets of this review of morals the composers exhibited a mainly middle class attitude.

(C) IDEAS.

Passing from the practical to the theoretical to complete the social setting we may state that the general problem of man's position in society, of which our subject is a particular phase, dominated thought in the late 17th and the 18th centuries. It served as both prelude and accompaniment to the victory of the bourgeoisie. We have seen the role played by individualism in the various categories just studied and it is likewise the focal point of the ideology of the period.

The theocentric medieval attitude was challenged as early as the Renaissance by humanism, which sought to substitute man as the centre of the universe.

In the 17th century a new school of natural secular law, based on reason and employing the mathematical method, gave full opposition to Christian natural law, based on faith and traditionalism. Men were respected as being equal, but to avoid chaos law was essential to control the individual; for this reason Spinoza and Descartes approved the authoritarian state. The idea of government by contract, as outlined by Hobbes and Locke, implied the responsibility of the rulers to recognize the individuality of all members of the state. Individuality again was at the heart of the principle of atomism, applied to society by the English Empiricists. And the essence of Leibniz' system, applying the quantitative measure of science to society, is the relation of the microcosm to the macrocosm; the liberty of atoms (monads) from god forces corresponding to the liberty of human individuals from social forces.

Kant gave ever added weight to the primacy of the individual. His "Categorical Imperative" declared every person to be an end in himself, not just a corporate means. The laws of society are self-imposed (as we mentioned before regarding bourgeois ethics), through the moral autonomy of the will of the individual, rather than imposed from without by a supernatural hierarchy, the feudal-church authority. It is revealing that Beethoven, the composer most aware of his social position both in theory and in practice, was acquainted with the works of Kant. In addition both Weber and Schumann were influenced by this philosopher.

The Encyclopedists projected a whole new society based on reason, to be implemented from the top down by enlightened rulers, rather than by rebellion. The benevolent despots were the political incarnation of this over-optimistic reliance on reason as the final answer to all things. (One of these despots, Joseph II, was greatly admired by Beethoven.) Voltaire represented the high point of this Enlightenment; and it is interesting to compare the reactions to Voltaire of the rather servile-minded musician in service Leopold Mozart, who had a horror of his revolutionary and anti-clerical philosophy, with those of his son Wolfgang, who was a progressive and even numbered an Encyclopedist, Baron Grimm, among his friends in Paris.

To the shortcomings of reason was added the impetus of feeling. Rousseau was the apostle of this emotional approach to social problems and he had a great influence on Beethoven. (The philosopher was also something of a composer himself). He denounced civilization, preaching a return to nature and the natural goodness of man; and he felt that the ideal state would come about in this natural fashion by the actual benevolent free will of its members. Rousseau postulated the "volonté particulière", for the ultimate in individualism, and the "volonté générale" for the impulse of individuals to a desire for the common good. The exaggerated self-revelations so typical of the Romantic had their main source in Rousseau's "Confessions", 1770; in this context we may note that two composers, J. Loewe and Spohr, wrote autobiographies - documents of individualism.

These new and explosive ideas, propounded by middle class philosophers, gained the support of the bourgeoisie as a whole as they waged their class struggle to supremacy.

The potent mixture of reason plus feeling culminated in direct action - the French Revolution. The republic or the constitutional monarchy was now considered the ideal state.

We may well repeat here that the French Revolution, bringing basic legal, political and social equality, ignored or by-passed the issue of economic equality. In the end it amounted, to a large extent, in the aristocracy of birth being replaced by one of wealth, thus leaving much of the fundamental problem of man's position in society still unsolved. The composer, now a bourgeois with but few patrons, soon felt the impact of this economic missing link, as we shall discuss in detail in the next section.

This picture of the social setting of the composers' world in this age of rapid transition has revealed a state of flux in social structure, institutions, customs, moral/s and ideas. Vertical mobility, both of culture and of persons, was very marked in both directions; and we may gauge evidence of the composer's evolution from artisan to bourgeois in each category we have reviewed. The whole era with its paradoxes, its great hopes and bitter disillusionments, its incomplete answer to the problem of the people in general as to that of the individual (and of the musician), remained like the Schubert composition - an unfinished symphony.

SECTION - II.

COMPOSER GROUP.

It is the purpose of the present section to illustrate the change in the social position of the composer, throughout this 18th to 19th century period, by reference to, and analysis of, the life and work of the musicians as a group. The survey is divided into five chapters : social relations - family, friends and classes; economic situation; education, character and appearance; connection with movements - political, cultural and religious; and the tracing of social factors in the music itself and in the dedications.

Chapter - 1.

SOCIAL RELATIONS.

(A) FAMILY AND FEMININE GROUP.

The family group is our first concern, a knowledge of the class origin of the composer being necessary to measure against his ultimate status for signs of social mobility.

In this context the occupations of the parents of the composers give the main clue to his class origin. Beginning with the 18th century composers we find that the father of Haydn was a wheel-wright; and he also acted as sexton of the parish church. His mother (née Koller) was a cook employed at a village castle. The father of Mozart, coming from a tradesman's family, was a musician in service; he also served at one time as a valet. He had considerable general education but, in respect to society, was inclined to accept the status quo. The maternal grandfather of the composer (Pertl) was the steward of a convent. Beethoven's father was a musician in service and

likewise his grandfather; his great-grandfather was a baker. His mother (née Kewerig) was the daughter of the chief cook of a castle (and widow of a prince's valet). The grandfather, who had a side-interest in the export of wine, apparently regarded this marriage as somewhat of a mésalliance. We are entitled to deduce from these details that these three composers had a fairly solid low class and artisan origin.

The origins of the thirty-two minor Classical composers reveal only one - Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia - of the aristocracy. Twenty-two of these composers came from the lower classes (ten of whom were sons of musicians in service) as compared to nine of bourgeois origin. It is useful to know what occupations were held by these fathers of the composers. In addition to musicians in service we may list the following trades in the artisan bracket : Court costume embroiderer, Court valet, dancing-master, violin-maker, silversmith, blacksmith, cook and thrasher. Under bourgeois : architect, jeweller, merchant, brigadier of guards, secretary, school-master and veterinary surgeons. The position of the two last named however was often quite inferior in the 18th century.

From the foregoing then we may safely state that the great majority of musicians of the 18th century period were of artisan or peasant origin.

Considering now the 19th century composers in order we find that the father of Schubert, son of a peasant farmer, was a teacher in a school of a poor district. His mother (née Fitz) was a cook and the daughter of a master locksmith. Weber's father combined relatively bourgeois activities, as in the civil service of the courts, with an almost vagabond stage career.

His mother (née Brunner) was a singer and appears to have been the daughter of a peasant. The background of these two composers was definitely transitional with the weight divided between peasant and petty bourgeois.

Mendelssohn's birth into an atmosphere of wealth and culture, the father a banker and the mother (nee Salomon) of a rich family, was of course an exceptional case in the history of musicians. The composer's paternal grandfather however had been a mere peddler at the start of his career. Schumann's father, the son of a pastor, was a learned bookseller and printer. His mother (née Schabel) was the daughter of a surgeon. Here then we have two instances of a solidly bourgeois background.

Chopin's father, the son of a wheelwright, became a teacher and tutor to aristocrats and also served as an army officer. His mother (née Krzyzanowsky), of a ruined branch of the Polish nobility, was an attendant for a distant cousin, Countess Skarbek, the godmother of Chopin.

Liszt's father acted as a land agent for Prince Esterhazy. It was quite common in Hungary for a minor nobleman to serve a magnate in this capacity; Liszt likely had some claim to a title through a 16th century ancestor, then named Listius, ennobled when serving as a Court secretary. (1) (The family seem to have lost their blazon, however for Liszt joked in a letter to the Countess d'Agoult (Dec. 9, 1839) that if he received "lettres de noblesse" some coat of arms would have to be invented. (2) The mother of Liszt (née Lager) was the daughter of a dealer in hardware. With Chopin and Liszt then we find that the origin is predominantly bourgeois with an added

aristocratic strain.

An examination of the origins of the twenty-three minor Romantic composers reveals two aristocratic (de Bériot and Glinka); and thirteen bourgeois as compared to only eight of the lower class. Parental occupations included : artisan - miller, turner-in-horn, weaver, small tradesman and actor ; bourgeois - banker, physician, art-dealer, school-master and professional (not artisan) musician.

We are thus justified in concluding that the 19th century composer was likely to have a bourgeois origin.

We may add that the use of "de", "van" and "von" in surnames of the period did not necessarily indicate noble origin; the rich bourgeois, living more and more in aristocratic style, did not hesitate to add these particles in their legal papers and contracts. (The wife of Haydn even signed herself "Anna v. Haydn" in the codicil^a to her testament.) Beethoven's fortuitous "von" doubtless helped in his acceptance by the Viennese aristocracy but, as we noted under "Legal institutions", he could not produce the "Adelsdiplom" to confirm his right to the title. ("Van" was commonly used by Flemish peasants in reference to their place of origin.) Weber's "von", unquestioned in his day, proved to be of very definite service in opening the doors of high society to him. His father likely coined the title, as it was significantly lacking in his uncle's family (from which came the wife of Mozart); Einstein has refuted any right of the composer to this title. (3)

It is further interesting to record that bourgeois composers, in keeping with the prevailing nationalism, made no attempt to

Latinize or Italianize their surnames, as had Praetorius (real name Schultz) in the 16th century, when the Church was predominant in culture; or Martini il Tedesco (Schwartzendorf) in the 18th century, reflecting the dominance of the aristocracy and its taste for Italian music.

Continuing our investigation of close family associations, we learn that Haydn's sisters married small town manual labourers; and that two of his brothers were musicians in service. The artisan circle is complete. An uncle of Mozart was an artisan bookbinder. His sister however - also a remarkable pianist - married a Baron von Berchthold; it is curious to note that one of their descendants (in 1914) seemed quite ashamed of this relationship to the great composer. (4) The son of Mozart was a modest functionary. This milieu is transitional.

Beethoven's brothers profited by the composer's success to improve their own standing. Both may be rated as petits bourgeois : Caspar as an official of the State accounting department and Johann as an apothecary and then as a war profiteer. Beethoven claimed the low-class origin of his sisters-in-law as the source of their dissolute morals. His nephew Karl, who became his adopted son, married the daughter of a municipal councillor. He pretended to be Baron von Beethoven. (5) This family setting was increasingly bourgeois, though with somewhat sordid elements from the lower class.

The brothers of Schubert remained in the same petty bourgeois status as their father; two were also teachers and another was a landscape painter. The numerous descendants of his brothers and sisters were mostly officers, functionaries and professors (e.g. his nephew, Dr. E. Schneider), a solidly

middle class entourage. One of Weber's brothers was a musician in service to the Prince-Bishop of Augsburg; and another was the musical director for the town of Hamburg, a bourgeois post. Mendelssohn's distinguished family circle included an uncle who was at one time the Prussian Consul in Rome; and his sister Fanny who married a painter of repute. Schumann's brothers all held bourgeois situations; and one daughter, Julie, married a Count Marmorito. The sisters of Chopin, themselves adept in letters, both married bourgeois of the teaching profession. The natural children of Liszt suffered no social handicap; his son studied law at Berlin; his daughter Blandine married the liberal Prime Minister of France (1870); and his daughter Cosima was the wife successively of two eminent musicians, von Bülow and Wagner. One of his grandchildren married a Count Gravina. For the last three of these composers the immediate family milieu has much upper middle class and even aristocratic radiation.

From this resumé then we may deduce that the relatives of the 18th century composers remained largely in the obscure spheres of their birth whereas those of the 19th century bourgeois composers kept the same middle class course and often entered the upper classes.

For convenience of social reference we will examine the relationship of marriage in conjunction with the composers' general relationship to women.

Haydn married the daughter of a barber and wig-maker named Keller. The unsatisfactory nature of this relationship led him into an affair with a singer, Madame Polzelli; both she and her husband, like Haydn, were in the service of Prince Esterhazy. In London, however, Haydn broke out of this

artisan circle and would likely have married a bourgeois lady of means, Mrs. Schroeter, had he been free to do so.

Mozart's first love, a singer, abandoned him to marry a comedian, but he made a successful marriage with her sister; they were the daughters of a theatrical prompter and copyist named Weber (an uncle of the composer Karl, as we noted above). Mozart mentioned the "poverty" and "obscurity" of the Webers (in a letter to his father, Mannheim, Mar. 24, 1778) (6), so they were likely of the same artisan origin as himself. Regarding marriage Mozart claimed that he wished to make his wife happy and did not seek to become rich by her means. The nobility, he adds, may not marry for love, but "we poor humble people can choose a wife who loves us and whom we love... Our riches being in our heads, die with us." (letter to his father, Mannheim, Feb. 7, 1778) (7) In a letter to his wife from Dresden, Apr. 16, 1789, Mozart showed himself conventionally bourgeois in regard to respectability; he urged his occasionally frivolous spouse to be careful of both their honours and to be equally guarded as to appearances. (8) A touch of higher society is to be noted in the fact that the wedding supper of the composer was given by a Baroness Waldstätten. Artisan then in origin, the marriage of Mozart showed middle class facets at a later stage.

Beethoven was tormented most of his life by the conflict between his desire for a settled marriage and family and his apparent need for artistic isolation. The range of his love interests covered all the classes. At the lowest level was his regard for the daughter of a disreputable peasant named Flehberger. In the middle class category are to be placed his affections for the

affections for the singer Willmann; and for his "Ferne Geliebte", Rahel Levin, a woman connected with Jewish emancipation and whose salon was frequented by Goethe and Heine. Most of his amours however were among aristocrats, beginning with a Mlle. d'Honrath; and with his pupil Fräulein von Westerhold, both of the Bonn period. The former married an officer; the latter a baron. In 1801 Beethoven became engaged to the 16-year old Countess Giulie Guicciardi, but her parents withheld consent as much for economic as for purely social reasons. She later married Count Gallenberg; and she declared that Beethoven had never been more than a music-master in her family. In 1806 the composer became engaged to Countess Therese Brunsvic, a woman active in promoting more liberal education. There is a strong note of equality and familiarity in these few words concluding a letter to her brother Franz (May 11, 1807): "Kiss your sister Therese..." (9) The composer - and not society - was apparently the reason for the failure of this love to mature into marriage. He still feared a too-fixed relationship and could never quite make up his mind on the subject. The inconstant composer also had an affair with her sister Josephine, the fruit of which we have discussed under "Morals"; Josephine married a Count Deym. In 1812 he fell in love with the 15-year old Countess Therese von Malfatti, who remained his close friend even after her marriage to Baron von Drosdick. There was a marked predilection in Beethoven's case for young women of the aristocracy and to a great extent he was able to indulge this passion by the fact of his obtaining an upper bourgeois position.

Schubert's major romance concerned a petite bourgeoisie, Theresa Grob, an amateur singer and the daughter of a widow with a silk-weaving business. The stumbling block to marriage was Schubert's desperate economic position. After waiting vainly for three years Theresa married a master-baker. The rather unprepossessing composer fell in love with his pupil the young Countess Caroline Esterhazy, but he was treated as a servant by her proud family and doubtless she also made him but too aware of their difference in rank. He found some consolation through his attention to a serving maid during this episode. Caroline eventually married an equal, Count Cremneville.

Weber's rather numerous pre-nuptial affairs were mostly among personnel of the theatre, but included one countess. He married Caroline Brandt, an opera singer and the daughter of a musician. On the whole then his romantic setting was petit bourgeois.

Mendelssohn's life was singularly lacking in amorous intrigue; his marriage to Cécile Jesuenaud, daughter of a pastor, was of a very bourgeois nature.

Schumann, as a student of Heidelberg, was frequently seen in the company of upper class girl students, including an aristocratic Scot, Miss Laidlaw; and the daughter of the American Consul, List. In 1834 he became engaged to Ernestine von Fricken, daughter of a baron, a retired army officer. Schumann showed himself bourgeois to the core in breaking this tie on account of the poverty of Ernestine, lamenting (to Clara Wieck, Leipzig, Feb. 11, 1838) that he might be condemned to work for bread "like a day-labourer" (10); and in his concern that she had been born illegitimate and only later formally adopted. She

seems to have fared well enough, however, as she later married a Count Zettwitz. The romantic Schumann had several close friendships of a platonic nature, "die Schönen Seelen"; typical of these was Henriette Vogt, his "Soul in Aflat"; the wife of a merchant, she devoted her life to the protection of musicians. These "âmes-soeurs" were notably all bourgeois. The main love interest of this composer lay in his long attachment to and eventual marriage with Clara Wieck, a concert pianist and the daughter of his music professor in Leipzig. The father opposed this marriage on the grounds of Schumann's unfixed and insecure economic situation and because he wished Clara to continue a brilliant career - both eminent bourgeois considerations. With some aristocratic variations, then, the main theme of Schumann's affections lay in the middle class range.

The first name linked with that of Chopin was Konstancja Gladkowska, a singer at the Warsaw Conservatory. As she later married a landowner she was doubtless connected with the upper classes. The affair of most interest from the social angle was his engagement in 1836 to Countess Marie Wodzinska, a playmate of childhood. Health motives were the apparent reason for terminating this relationship but economic and social caste factors likely played a more crucial role in the decision. In 1841 she married a very distant cousin of Chopin, Count Skarbek. Chopin found refuge in his long liaison (1838-46) with George Sand; a famous authoress, Baroness Dudevant by marriage, she was descended from the noted Maréchal de Saxe; and her mother, Aurore de Saxe, was the widow of Count de Horn, an illegitimate son of Louis XV. In the opinion of Karasowski, Chopin was

bourgeois enough to worry over the illegal nature of their relationship and wished he could marry the authoress. (11) The affair broke up for lack of real love; it was important to Chopin both as a link with the aristocracy and with the bourgeois world of culture. In the last two years of his life Chopin enjoyed the protective friendship of an aristocratic Scots lady, Miss Jane Stirling; he might easily have married her but, as he made clear to his pupil Gutmann, she was not to his taste. (12) Recently found correspondence proves that Chopin had an affair with the Countess Delphine Potocka (née Countess Komar), who numbered the Duc d'Orléans (son of Louis Philippe) and the Duc de Montfort (nephew of Napoleon I) among her lovers; it is even claimed that Chopin once asked her to give him a child. (13) It is evident that the radiation of Chopin's interest in women was rather exclusively aristocratic.

Liszt's reputation as a virtuoso might be applied as much to his relations with women as to his mastery of the keys. When only 17-years old he showed more than a musical interest in his 16-year old pupil, Countess Caroline de Saint-Cricq, but her father, then Minister of the Interior, heartily disapproved of the affair. He had the mere musician Liszt summoned by a valet and made it only too clear that his daughter was destined to marry the Count d'Artigaux. The composer found ready consolation however with another young countess, Adèle de Laprunarède. From 1836 to 1844 Liszt had a notable liaison with the Countess Marie d'Agoult, daughter of the Vicomte de Flavigny; her mother came of a Jewish banking family named Bethmann. The countess, also a writer and a feminist, left both husband and child to run away to Geneva with the composer. Despite its illegitimate nature

this liaison was flattering to the social vanity of Liszt and by extension to the position of the artist in general. The class-conscious countess declared however that she would never be Madame Liszt even if the composer had so wished.

The second major affair of Liszt began in Russia in 1847 when he met the Princess Caroline Sayn-Wittgenstein, a daughter of Count Ivanowski. Both her husband (who was procuring a divorce) and her daughter approved of the composer. She served quietly as his secretary at Weimar and society left them alone until the question of their marriage became public. We may gather that the feudal sun had not entirely set by the conjunction of both the Pope and the Czar to oppose the annulment sought by the Princess in order to espouse the composer. By the time the issue was finally settled by the death of her husband, Liszt, following his early and constant mystic tendencies, had resolved the dilemma by entering Holy orders. What is important to underline in this episode is the fact that the composer was in a position to marry a princess and renounced it in the end by his own decision. Evidence that his intention was serious may be found in his will of Sept. 14, 1860, referring to the Princess as "her whom I have so ardently desired to call by the dear name of wife". (14) The role of priest did not altogether temper the momentum of passion in Liszt and in 1877 he was often seen in the company of the Baroness von Meyendorff (née Princess Gortschakoff).

Among minor Romantic composers an instance in the history of Paganini is of interest. He became the lover of the Princess Bachiocchi, the sister of Napoleon, though officially in her service as the first violinist of her Court of Lucca.

In the overall picture then we see that artisan composers of the 18th century tended to frequent the company of, and to marry, women of the lower class. Similarly the bourgeois composers of the 19th century tended towards women of the middle class, but often had signal amatory success in the aristocratic field. A new factor causing many composers to avoid marriage was the economic insecurity of their evolution to a competitive capitalist situation.

(B) FRIENDS.

We will turn our attention now to an analysis of social components in the wider milieu made up of the composers' friends and close associates.

Haydn was quite consistent in his preference for the company of people of the same humble origin as himself, especially his fellow artisan musicians. In the bourgeois field, however, Haydn had one close friend in Dame Edle von Genzinger, wife of the distinguished physician we have mentioned. His letters to her reveal a curious combination of bourgeois intimacy and deferential respect, as is evident from this one of 1790.: "Oh that I could be with you, dear lady... to pour forth all my sorrows and to receive comfort from you ! ... The day will return when I shall again have the inexpressible pleasure of being seated beside you at the pianoforte, hearing Mozart's masterpieces, and kissing your hands from gratitude for so much pleasure." (16) Never quite sure of his social footing, Haydn, fundamentally the peasant, was nevertheless a figure in social transition.

Mozart's friends, both in Salzburg and Vienna, besides

his musical associates, included many bourgeois of the commercial and of the cultural spheres. In Vienna, in addition to his friends the merchant Puchberg and the banker Bridi, he had seemingly close friends among the aristocracy. A letter to his father, Apr. 4, 1787, is suggestive of such a relationship; Mozart expressed his sorrow at the sad death of "my dearest and best friend, Count von Hatzfeld". (17) Higher still in the aristocratic ladder was his friend and pupil Prince Charles Lichnowski, with whom he visited Berlin in 1789; the composer even lent the prince 100 florins on this occasion. (18) Mozart's position showed a great advance over that of Haydn in this respect, but he did not achieve the democratic familiarity of Beethoven with his aristocratic friends.

Beginning with the Bonn period, while still in a decidedly inferior position, Beethoven sought and found friendship in a superior class. The composer owed much of his culture to his early association with the widow von Breuning and her son and daughter. The son Stephan later came to Vienna and found Beethoven now moving in circles that were not directly open to him as a minor aristocrat. In Vienna some of Beethoven's aristocratic friends actually served him at times almost in the capacity of servants; for example the Baron Zmeskall, who aided him in his domestic troubles; and Count Gleichenstein, who would on occasion even do Beethoven's shopping for him. The thee-and-thou plane of conversation, and the dedication of the "Appassionata Sonata" ¹⁸⁰⁴ to his "lieber Freund und Bruder", leave no doubt of the composer's intimate standing with Count Franz Brunszvic, who also, as we just noted, nearly became Beethoven's

brother-in-law. The composer and Prince Lobkowitz, of the same age group, also moved together among the same society. When Beethoven lived with Prince Lichnowski (1794-96) he was treated almost as a son in the family and was even given precedence over the Prince in respect to domestic service. The Prince's brother, Count Maurice Lichnowski, was also a close friend of the composer. Imperial protocol likely tempered the degree of friendship between the composer and the Archduke Rudolph; there is all the same the suggestion of a certain intimacy in a letter of Beethoven's, Vienna, Apr. 9, 1820 : "Although no courtier, I believe Y.R.H. knows me too thoroughly to believe that mere selfish interest has ever attached or attracted me towards Y.R.H., but on the contrary true and heartfelt affection alone."(19)

Beethoven seems to have had fewer friendships among the middle class, but significantly his closest attachment of all was likely with Karl Amenda, a priest, musician and reader to a prince. Deserving mention also were the musician Schindler and the functionary Holz, who served him as quasi-factotums; and the painter Macco.

The milieu of Schubert is revealed at once in the examination of a typical Schubertiade, the composer as the unobtrusive centre of a very bourgeois group of friends; representative of the latter were the Froelich sisters, music teachers and daughters of a vintner; the merchant Traweger; the lawyer Hüttenbrenner; the magistrate Umlauf; the doctor Pachler; the poets Grillparzer, Bauernfeld, Schober and Mayrhofer; the musicians Schindler, Stadler and Mosel; and the actress Sophie Müller. An occasional aristocrat, such as Count Gleichenstein, formed part of the company; and Schubert's intimate friend von Spaun was of noble origin.

Weber's accepted aristocratic status facilitated his making quite close friends among the nobility; outstanding among them were Count von Eckstadt and Prince Antoni Radziwill. His more intimate connections however were in the middle class, including the physician Kellin, the sculptor Dannecker, and the Director of the Royal Library, Sehr, in Stuttgart; Wieberking, director of public works, in Munich; and Gottfried Weber, chief of the Revenue Department, in Mannheim.

Mendelssohn's inherited position also permitted easy contact with the aristocracy and the afore-mentioned Prince Radziwill was likewise one of his friends. His preferred milieu however consisted of well-to-do bourgeois and musicians of his own group, among whom we may list Dr. Schleinitz and the musicians Zelter, Novello, David and Hiller.

Schumann's friendships again were a reflection of his essentially bourgeois setting as we may gather from such names as the jurist Thibault; the lawyer Töpken; the musicians Hiller and von Bülow; and the poet Reinick.

The immediate society of Chopin was singularly aristocratic, most of his intimates being Poles of this class, such as Count Grzymala, Woyciechowski and Dziewanowski. Close middle class contacts were not lacking, however, as we see from his relations with the painter Delacroix; the musicians Fontana and Franchomme, who both performed chores for him such as shopping and dealing with publishers; the poets Witwicki and Magnuszewski; and the bankers Léo and Albrecht.

The numerous friends of Liszt may be separated into two fairly distinct categories - the upper aristocratic and the bourgeois artistic and intellectual. Among the former it will suffice to mention the Hungarian Count Festetics; and Prince Felix Lichnowski, who made a spontaneous offer of his friendship after a concert in Brussels. In the second group the writer and philosopher Lamennais and the painter Ingres were notable figures. In his great friendship for Wagner, Liszt gave evidence of how well the composer with a stabilized and brilliant position could help a fellow musician.

The increasingly bourgeois range in the circle of intimates, from Mozart on, is a fair gauge of a bourgeois position for the composers; and where musicians came into close contact with aristocrats it was this new position that served them as a stepping stone.

(C) CLASS RELATIONS.

We will next apply the social measure to particular class relations considering first the musician in connection with the royalty and aristocracy of the period.

Haydn did not fare too well with the Habsburgs; and Joseph II, for all his vaunted indifference to armorial bearings and social distinctions, showed a very feudal attitude when he called the composer a "Spassmacher", a mere jester, in 1780. On the other hand, in precociously democratic England, George III was quite cordial in his reception of Haydn. The composer was treated well enough by his patrons the Esterhazys, though at first as little more than a superior domestic - a status he always retained in theory. The quiescent Haydn, as a whole, accepted the condescending treatment meted out to him by this class; but in a roundabout

way he criticized this social rigidity when he said of Baron van Swieten's symphonies that they were as stiff as the old noble himself. (20).

Mozart's experience with the Imperial Family of Austria was likewise frustrating. In 1771 the Archduke Ferdinand wished to take Mozart into his service but the Empress Maria Theresa opposed the idea, insisting that the Prince had no need of "a composer or of useless persons". (21) Mozart wrote to his father (Vienna, April 11, 1781) that the Countess Thun had invited him to a social occasion where he would meet the Emperor but his patron, Archbishop Colloredo, would not allow him to leave. He added that if the Emperor wished to hear him he must do so without delay, as they were soon to leave the city; but of course he could not tell that to His Majesty: "Such a thing must be waited for." (22) Mozart, as he became increasingly class-conscious, exhibited at times utter disregard for rank and convention. For example when the Emperor Leopold II indiscreetly left the theatre while the composer's opera "Clemenza di Tito" was being performed in Prague, 1791, for his coronation, Mozart exclaimed that it was so much the better - there would be one less ass in the theatre. (23) In the same vein we find that Mozart could be definitely vulgar, in his rather penetratingly sarcastic social criticism of the aristocracy, when he was piqued by his treatment as an inferior (letter to his cousin "die Bésle", Augsburg, October 17, 1777): "A crowd of nobility were there - Duchess Arsefountain, Countess Firejoy, and Princess Stinkdirt with her two daughters, who are, however already married to the two Princes Pappelly of Swinetail ..." (24)

Mozart had a mixed reception from the aristocracy in France, as he outlined to his father (Paris, May 1, 1778) : the Duchesse de Chabot kept him waiting an hour in an unheated room, while she continued drawing with several gentleman; and when he finally did play on a wretched piano, no one paid any attention. On the other hand he was a dinner guest of Count Sickingen, Ambassador of the Elector Palatine. (25) In Vienna, Mozart was distinguished by Prince Gallitzin (letter to his father, Nov. 20, 1782) : "He always sends his carriage for me and I am treated nobly in his house." (26) And on a journey to Salzburg, in 1783, Mozart and his wife were guests of Count Thun, in Linz, who sent his servant to wait for them at the gate of the town. The composer himself enjoyed being in the company of nobles - as a friend or guest - but he balked consistently against playing the role of a valet, which his patron Prince-Archbishop always tried to force on him. His own words bear witness to what he thought should constitute social distinction and to his objection to any treatment as an inferior : "It is the heart that ennobles men; and though I am no Count, I have perhaps more honourable feeling than many a Count. But whether a man be a house-porter or a Count, from the moment that he insults me I consider him to be a scoundrel." (letter to his father, Vienna, June 20, 1781 (27).

This progress towards an equalitarian relationship with the highest classes continued dramatically with Beethoven. He would place the composer in no less a position than the very top of the social pyramid, as we may judge from his unhesitating remark when discussing the King of Prussia, "I too am a king". (28) (It is interesting to note here that Beethoven was rumoured to be the natural son of Frederick II, as he himself

mentioned in a letter to Wegeler, Oct. 7, 1826.) (29) Beethoven made no advances to solicit favour from the Habsburgs and, as we saw regarding censorship, he did not hide his criticism of the state of affairs under the reactionary Francis II; and the composer even neglected to write a second mass planned especially for this emperor. He was nonetheless appointed Court Composer in 1822. We have noted above that the Archduke Rudolph, youngest son of Leopold II, might be considered in the category of a friend of Beethoven. This prince, a first class pianist, certainly had a great respect for his teacher and he carefully kept the least of his letters. The Archduke tolerated Beethoven's republican views and dispensed with much Court etiquette where the composer was concerned. In contrast to Mozart in similar circumstances, Beethoven, as he frankly informed the Archduke (Vienna, April 3, 1820), refused to be kept waiting long in an ante-room, and so hurried away of his own accord. (30) It was a facet of his non-artisan status that the great "Missa Solemnis", written for the installation of the Archduke as Archbishop of Olmütz in 1820, did not have to be composed on time and was actually not finished until three years later.

Beethoven admired Napoleon who as First Consul, held a position much in line with the composer's ideal of a great Roman free citizen. He had dedicated his "Eroica Symphony", 1804, to Napoleon in token of the latter's democratic distinction; but when Bonaparte declared himself Emperor, Beethoven burst out furiously : "Is then he too, nothing more than an ordinary human being ?

Now he, too, will trample on all rights of man and indulge only his ambition. He will exalt himself above all others and ~~in~~ became a tyrant !" (31) The musician tore up the original dedication and made the final title significantly simple : "Sinfonia Eroica composta per festeggiare il sovvenire di un grand'uomo." Beethoven, sharing a similar concern as Napoleon over his status, was impressed by the phenomenal rise of this man from a lower class to his pinnacle of fame, finding in it something of a parallel with his own social struggle.

The preference of Beethoven for aristocratic society lay in his ~~own~~ realization that it was the class best suited to further the interests of his art rather than in any suggestion of snobbism per se. His own words substantiate this stand : "Sacrifice again all the pettinesses of social life to your art." ("Tagebuch", 1818)(32)

We have seen that Beethoven's relations with Prince Charles Lichnowski were close enough to be ranked as friendship; this noble even put up with his very perverse moods, including the occasion when the angry musician tried to break a chair over his head. Yet Beethoven, an independent-minded bourgeois forging his own destiny, never quite trusted this prince or his class, as he made clear in a letter to his nephew Karl, 1825 : "I know from experience of the late Lichnowski, that those so-called great personages do not like to see an artist, who is at all events their equal, prosperous". (33) Beethoven never forgave Prince Paul-Anthony Esterhazy or his family for having him - as an artist - lodged with the functionaries and officers in the house of the steward and not with the other distinguished guests in the chateau on his visit to Kismarton in 1807.

In his opinion this was tantamount to an insult. The terms Beethoven used when annoyed with any aristocrats demonstrate his feeling of equality and often of superiority; thus when Prince Lobkowitz thought it unimportant that a bassonist had missed a rehearsal the composer later shouted in at the door of his palace : "Lobkowitzian ass !" (34) ; similarly when a certain Count P... spoke too loudly to a pretty woman when Beethoven was playing at Count Browne's, the furious composer stopped abruptly and shouted : "I will not play for such swine !" (35) ; and in the same vein he wrote to Count ~~R~~ Brunzovic, May 11, 1807 regarding a concert in Hungary : "I will not get along with the princely rabble." (36) At times indeed Beethoven considered that there was nothing meaner or smaller than the great society of his era. (37)

Schubert, in large measure due to his retiring nature and awkward manners, failed to mingle to any marked extent with the aristocracy, though some members of this class, like the Princess Kinsky, went out of their way to try to introduce him. He addressed very humble petitions to the Emperor Francis II but never received any position at Court. In contrast to Beethoven at Kismarton, Schubert seemed to take for granted being treated as a domestic by Count Esterhazy. Among the few acquaintances of Schubert in this class may be listed Count von Platz, Countess Weissenwolf, Baron Mink and Baron von Schönstein (who sang many of his lieder in the salon).

As we had occasion to mention earlier Weber's presumed title facilitated his connections with the aristocracy. In England however he did not go out of his way to court the nobles with the result that they were inclined to snub him;

but he was well received there by royalty in the persons of the Duke of Clarence and of the Duchess of Kent. Rather on the negative side was his cold reception as a "Court-Servant" by the King of Saxony, when he appeared at the Court in 1817 in the special uniform of his post as Kapellmeister.

Mendelssohn reversed the usual role of aristocrat and artist by inviting the former to his home; and in 1840, he gave a soirée-concert in honour of the Grand Duchess Helen at the Gewandhaus. This composer did not seek out the aristocracy, but rather it was they who came to him, as he noted in a letter to his sister Fanny, Munich, June 11, 1830 : both at the Court and in the salons, the ministers and counts swarmed around him, "as thick as fowls in a poultry yard". (39) The bourgeois nature of Mendelssohn's reception by Queen Victoria, mentioned already in the "Social Setting", was highlighted by their playing duets together — a fusion of social as well as musical equality. The composer wrote to his mother, Frankfurt, July 19, 1842 that in case his friend Dirichlet set him down as an aristocrat, because of this Royal episode, she was to assure him that he was "a greater radical than ever". (40)

Schumann's relations with the aristocracy were most marked in his early period. He had a general success with this class in Heidelberg thanks to his piano-playing, as his own words bear out; "There was absolutely no end to the 'bravos' and the 'encores'.... the Grand Duchess clapped like anything." (letter of Feb. 11, 1830) (41) In Vienna Schumann kept company with Count Reuss and Baron Pasqualati; and in 1842 both the composer and his wife were invited to visit Prince Metternich.

Chopin present a case of reciprocal attraction in relationship to the aristocracy. Slightly connected to the nobility

through his mother, as we have seen, his whole life cycle passed in an élite setting, from a childhood where the Prince Czetywertynski was his schoolmate, to his deathbed with his loyal friend Countess Potocka at his side. A Chopin concert came to be a select and elegant event in itself. (42) The pupils of Chopin came almost exclusively from the highest social class : we need name only a few of these, e.g. the Princesses Chimay and Czartoryska and the Countesses Esterhazy and Branicka, to realise the truth of this statement. Chopin himself underlined the importance of this entree to "le grande monde" when he wrote: "At once you have a bigger talent if you have been heard at the English or Austrian Embassy; you play better if princess Vaudemont was your protector." (to Dziewanowski, Paris, 1832) (43) Chopin could take or leave this high society and would turn down princely dinner invitations if he so wished; he once spoke quite flippantly of a dinner "chez Lady Kinloch", attended by "lords, chancellors and beribboned devils..." (Letter to Grzymala, London, June 2, 1848) (44) He seems to have kept a bourgeois head above all this aristocratic whirlpool around him. Chopin was received as a member of the family when he taught the two young daughters of Prince Antoni Radziwill; he was able to flirt with them while demonstrating finger technique; and they in turn painted his portrait. These liberal aristocrats realised the new position of the artist as is evident from this letter of Chopin to Woyciechowski, Warsaw, Nov. 14 1829 : "The old princess, too, knows that it is not birth which makes a person." (45) - a statement in keeping with the bourgeois rating of talent over birth. Chopin then could pass as an aristocrat himself by virtue of the position he achieved as an artist, proof of which lies in the statements of George Sand : "Il était l'homme du monde par ex-

cellence"; (46) and of the anonymous author of the article "Nécrologie, Frédéric Chopin." : "Chopin était aristocratique, comme homme et comme artiste." (47)

Liszt's connections with the aristocracy were as close as Chopin's, though less exclusive, and he was also a magnet drawing society to him. Liszt was on several occasions the actual guest of King William of Holland at the château of Loo; and in Paris, 1856, he was presented to the Emperor by no less a personage than Prince Metternich himself. An incident in Spain, 1840, reveals that Liszt did not hesitate even to rebuke royalty when the dignity of his position as an artist was in question : he refused to play for the Queen Isabella because Court etiquette forbade any personal introduction to the monarch. A more forthright example of this feeling occurred in Russia, in 1842, when Liszt suddenly came to a full stop in his performance because the Czar was talking; the latter demanded the reason for this behaviour and the composer, with feigned humility and ~~concomitant~~ sarcasm, replied : "Music, herself, should be silent when Nicholas speaks!" (48) Though a democrat, Liszt had curious Legitimist sympathies which led him to refuse to play for King Louis Philippe; and he even insulted the King by remarking that conditions had not changed for the better, a statement that prevented his receiving the Legion of Honour at the time. (49) In 1858, Liszt was definitely annoyed to be called upon to give a concert for the Court in Vienna; he would have agreed to play "en petit comité" for Their Majesties but resented the demand to entertain, a "métier" that he had for some time given up. (50) The uncompromising stand of Liszt against royalty in these clashes was of benefit to the position of all artists.

Opinions of the aristocracy regarding Liszt provide a useful measure of the social and cultural advance of the composer. In 1901 the Grand Duke Charles of Weimar remarked to Busoni : "Liszt was what a Prince ought to be." (51) In similar vein was the regret expressed by the English aristocrat Henry Butler regarding Liszt's choice of the low caste profession of music : "Quel dommage de mettre un pareil homme au piano." (52) Liszt himself was well aware that the artist, even in democratic England, had still a long way to go on the road to social equality; and he was shocked that in this country many famous musicians, among them Moschèles, Rubini and Pasta, had been obliged to use the service entrance of aristocratic houses. His pupil Amy Fay suggests that he put on an aristocratic manner for specific occasions : "I do not think he is the same when he is with aristocrats. He must be among artists to unsheathe his sword... When he is with 'swells' he is all grace and polish." (53) Though accepted as an equal by most aristocrats, Liszt still identified himself with his artistic group and therefore with a section of the middle class.

This review of the relations of composers to the aristocracy reveals that there was change both in the attitudes of the rulers and princes and of the musicians. The former tended to be more democratic in outlook and to value talent as a thing in itself ; the latter more and more insisted on being treated with respect and consideration. The relationship thus changed from an 18th century artisan pattern of master to servant, patron to musician in service, to a 19th century bourgeois pattern of relative social equality.

As the relationship of the composer to the bourgeoisie is

to a major extent the subject of the whole thesis we need here only concern ourselves with a reference to the class as a whole vis-à-vis our selected composers.

The nature of Haydn's situation, isolated in a rural area, prevented him from much contact with city-dwelling bourgeois, when in the service of Prince Esterhazy. He complained of this isolation of a letter to Marianne von Genzinger, May 30, 1790 : "I never can obtain leave, even to go to Vienna for four and twenty hours." (54) It was principally in England that Haydn, temporarily free of service, had an important relationship to the bourgeoisie, which constituted his main audience there.

In the case of Mozart we may say that the middle class was almost equally as important as the aristocracy to his position. Bourgeois patrons, such as the merchants Hagenauer and Haffner, were friends in need in the face of the indifference of the nobles. His concert in Augsburg, 1777, depended entirely on the bourgeoisie; and they ridiculed him because he wore his Order of the Golden Spur, a pretence to nobility before he was even a secure bourgeois.

Beethoven's position of independence and his liberal social and political attitudes were middle class to the core and yet paradoxically his very temperament made him dislike being classed with this group. He realized that, like it or not, his position was in this class as we may gather from a remark to Peters at the time he was forced to continue his case over his nephew in a lower court : "The common citizen (die Bürger) should be excluded from higher men, and I have gotten among them." (55)

Schubert's position in society was almost entirely conditioned by his relations with the bourgeoisie and he was

perfectly content in this setting; his role in the homes of the bourgeoisie corresponded with that of Beethoven in the salons of the liberal aristocracy. We may mention S. Paumgartner, manager of a mine, as typical of the ever-increasing wealthy middle class patron; he commissioned the "Quintet in A" from Schubert in 1819. Weber, like Mozart, found both the upper classes about equally important; whereas with Schumann and Mendelssohn the bourgeois relationship was predominant. Chopin was partial in all things to the aristocracy and the world of Liszt embraced all classes, the bourgeoisie forming his major audience in the great concerts of England and of cities like Leipzig.

The evolutionary nature of the change in social position is pointed up by the fact that many bourgeois did not wholeheartedly accept the musician into their class, as we may illustrate by the negative attitudes of the bourgeois parents of several would-be artists. A case in point was that of Isouard, who called himself simply Nicolò, after the production of his first opera, in 1794, in order not to compromise his disapproving merchant family. It is further revealing that the school-teacher Schubert, the physician Berlioz, and the daughter of a physician Frau Schumann, all objected to a musical career for their sons.

In brief then the artisan composer from the mid 18th century on became ever more drawn into the maelstrom of bourgeois activity until he found a new social identity as a member of the middle class.

Our final survey in terms of direct class relationship concerns the composer and the lowest classes. Haydn, of peasant class origin, performed menial duties as a valet for his teacher

Porpora and he remained in servant status most of his life. On his London trip however he was able to take along a copyist who acted also as his servant. His final position is indicated by his will where he remembered a housekeeper and a gardener, as well as this same servant. Mozart, of artisan origin, served as a musician in service for part of his life and certainly was treated as a servant by his patron the Archbishop of Salzburg. Regarding this inferior position the class-conscious composer remarked to his father, Vienna, Mar.17, 1781 : "The two valets sit at the head of the table. I have at all events, the honour to be placed above the cooks." And he went on to complain of the coarse and silly joking at the table. (56) As his career advanced however Mozart occasionally possessed a servant himself.

Beethoven, of lower class origin, was able to avoid servant status. He possessed servants for most of his life but his very inability to handle them suggests an oversensitive awareness of his own humble stock. He once despaired of being condemned, on account of his deafness, to pass the greater part of his life with this "most odious class of people" (1817). (57) His attitude to this class as a whole, consistent with his bourgeois cultural achievement, may be gleaned from this statement : "For my nature shows that I do not belong among these plebs." (Conversation book, 1820) 958)

This antipathy of the composer, in his new social position, to being still considered as a domestic servant is well brought out in an anecdote told of Dussek by his nephew : The Princess Talleyrand asked Dussek "in a rather strange manner" to move the lights from the chimney to the pianoforte. Dussek rang a bell and passed the order on to a servant. On the Princess expressing
su

surprise that he was offended by her request, the composer replied : "Madam, I shall ever feel honoured in being considered as your most obedient and humble servant, but never as your valet." (59)

All the major Romantic composers were of higher class origin; either avoided Court service or were treated with more dignity; and - with the exception of Schubert - possessed servants. Liszt was accompanied by several servants on his grand tours; and Chopin took it quite for granted that a professional musician should have a "valet de chambre" : "Add a good servant who would look after me and not waste money and things." (to Grzymala, June 2, 1848) (60) The lesson to draw from the fact of these composers possessing servants is their middle class position, bearing in mind that ~~the~~ bourgeois wished to show that he did not work with his hands (manual labour).

(D) HONOURS.

The honours given to composers by society in this era may be interpreted in terms of their class position. We shall divide honours into those received in the course of their lives and those that were posthumous.

The highest honour, in the aristocratic category, was that of ennoblement; a remnant of feudalism it could be conferred by either Church or State. Those receiving ecclesiastical titles included Gluck (1756) Mozart (1770) and Vogler (1773) who were created Knights of the Golden Spur by the Pope; and Spontini, who was made a Papal Count of San Andrea, 1844. Secular titles of nobility were awarded to Dittersdorf (1773); Sarti (1795), Lesueur (1829); and Liszt, who was made a hereditary

Knight of Austria; a knight of the Prussian order "Pour le mérite" (normally a political and military honour); and of many other orders. The King of Sweden, a monarch of bourgeois origin, felt Liszt took his place quite naturally in this exalted society through "La Royauté de Génie".

As we have had occasion to stress in both the "Social Setting" and above under "Class Relations" the bourgeois tended to ~~re~~ ridicule aristocratic titles, elevating merit to a higher plane than mere birth. Conversely the old aristocracy had little respect for titles handed out to the middle class - birth being the sine qua non of nobility. Many composers, like the writers Rousseau and Stendhal, were very bourgeois in their appraisal of this honour. Beethoven considered himself above any title of prince and when challenged in court to prove his title of "van" he declared - pointing to his head and to his heart : "My nobility is here and here." (61) Mozart followed a bourgeois ridiculing line when he signed himself jokingly, "W. de Mozart, Noble of Hobenthal and attached to the Exchequer", in a letter to his father, Milan, Jan. 26, 1770. (62) We may add that Mendelssohn criticized Liszt, and Wagner Spontini, regarding their titles. (63) The titles given to the musicians were not of the highest category; and we are justified in stating that they did not become aristocrats through this process but remained bourgeois with an aristocratic decoration.

Similarly the numerous orders awarded to men of culture were seldom of the first class, these being reserved for aristocrats and high political figures. Spohr, for example, received the Order of the Red Eagle, 3rd class, from the King of Prussia. The practical democrat Beethoven gave a decided

opinion of the value of these orders when he was asked by the Prussian Chancellor of the Embassy in Vienna if he preferred a royal order or 50 ducats for his "Mass in D" ; he replied at once, "50 ducats". The composer later made sarcastic remarks about the manner in which so many musicians were seeking these orders to the degradation of art. (64)

It had long been the custom for princes to reward composers with valuable gifts on receiving copies of their works; snuff boxes, jewels and rings were among the most common presents. Artisan composers were not in much of a position to criticize these gifts, but Mozart, in a letter to his father, Mannheim, Nov.13, 1777, complained that he had received too many watches, and wished he could have plain money instead. (65) The independent Beethoven however was so angry at being sent an inferior jewel, instead of a promised diamond, when he dedicated his "9th Symphony" to Frederick William III, that he nearly sent it back to the Ambassador; he eventually sold this gift that he despised. Similarly Liszt threw the diamonds given to him by Frederick William IV into the wings of a theatre.

The bourgeois composer then has risen to a position where he can accept or refuse gifts from royalty and be quite outspoken in his criticism of the titles and orders of the old society.

In the bourgeois domain of honours was the Legion of Honour, originating with the French Republic, though carried on by the subsequent royal governments. Liszt and seven of the minor Romantic composers received this cross; most were only made chevaliers, but Cherubini was raised to a commander in 1842.

Civic honours were outstandingly bourgeois in nature and many musicians were distinguished in this sphere. Boieldieu was presented with a gold medal, inscribed "Honneur au talent", from his native Rouen; Beethoven, for charitable services, was honoured with the Citizenship of Vienna and was elected an honorary member of the "Kaufmännischer Verein"; a concert for the inauguration of a monument to Bach gained for Mendelssohn the title "Citizen of Leipzig"; and Liszt received a diploma of "Bourgeois d'honneur" from both the towns of Weimar and of Pest.

Academic honours also fit solidly into the bourgeois picture. Most academies were originally sponsored by royalty but gained democratic support by the 19th century. Nine of the minor Classical composers and five of the Romantic group were elected corresponding members of Academies (including those of France, Stockholm, Berlin and Belgium). Haydn was sent diplomas from the Academies of Paris, Amsterdam and Stockholm. Beethoven was named an honorary member of the Royal Swedish Musical Academy. Haydn, five of the minor Classical composers, and six of the Romantic group held memberships in the Institute of France, a bourgeois organization created in 1794 by the National Convention.

Beethoven, consistent with his disregard for titles in general, made light of his honorary membership in the Society of Fine Arts of Holland, saying to a publisher: "It's a title after all. Ha! Ha! that makes us laugh." (66) Beethoven was also given a diploma as an honorary member of the Leibach Philharmonic Society in 1819; and Schubert was an honorary member of both the Graz and the Linz Musical Societies. Weber was made an honorary member of the Helvetian Musical Society in 1811; and Chopin was elected an associate member of the Société Littéraire in Paris

in 1835.

The highest award in the academic field was the honorary degree of doctor. It is significant that only two of the early group of composers, Haydn and Spontini, received this honorary degree, in contrast to Mendelssohn, Schumann, Liszt and four of the minor Romantic composers in the later group.

It is evident then that musicians, no longer looked down upon as mere artisans, began to be accepted along with literary and scientific figures by learned institutions and societies. It was another notch to be registered in the upward bourgeois climb of the composer.

Posthumous honours are first indicated by the type of funeral accorded to the composer. Haydn's last rites gave final evidence that he had moved from an unknown artisan to be regarded as a distinguished bourgeois; covered with medals, his body rested in *nickn* state; entry to the funeral was by invitation only and the presence of several French generals lent distinction to the ceremony. The funeral of Mozart - often described as a third class event - was a blight on society. The small company attending were mostly bourgeois however and the bad weather must be taken into account in criticizing the desertion of the coffin which was thrown into the common vault - his eventual grave remaining unknown. The obsequies of Beethoven, with eight Kapellmeisters as pall-bearers, were marked by the presence of huge crowds, mostly of the middle class.

Schubert's interment was a quiet event, like his life; and his faithful bourgeois friends looked after all the arrangements. The government of Saxony had the body of Weber brought back to Germany from England and given a national funeral;

and a special train, evidence of national esteem, carried the remains of Mendelssohn from Leipzig to Berlin. (We may well remind the reader that the concept "national" implied a bourgeois development in this period.) Large crowds, again mainly middle class, attended the funerals of Schumann and of Liszt. Chopin's funeral - like his life - was mainly an aristocratic event; most of the "billets d'entrée" were taken up by high society, quite as at his concerts; one prince led the procession and another was among the pall-bearers. A signal distinction was accorded one minor composer, Rossini, when the Pope sent a special nuncio to Paris to administer extreme unction to him.

The evolution to be traced here regarding the musician is from the early minstrels, who were refused burial rites; to the artisan composer who, like Mozart, often shared a pauper's grave; through to the mass attendance at funerals, as that of Beethoven, showing the bourgeois position of the composer and the interest of a large group - the middle class - in his destiny. Further posthumous honours, such as great public and national festivals, monuments, street-naming and the like, were in this category of bourgeois national concern.

In summary we may deduce that the totality of social relations discussed in this chapter spelt a bourgeois status for the composer.

Chapter - 2.

ECONOMIC SITUATION.

The economic situation of an individual is a cardinal index of his position in society. It is therefore important for us to outline the duties and note the wages of various musical posts, to examine the development of the opera and to consider the composer in relation to the publishers - isolating, throughout, the class factor.

We have sketched something of the material situation of the artisan musician in service at the beginning of the 18th century in the introductory chapter on "The Position of the Musician in General". In considering these positions in detail we must bear in mind that the mere statement of a salary means little unless it can be integrated with a general price curve, with the cost of living, and with the salaries paid in other occupations and professions. The reader is referred to Appendix B for an attempt to present such a comparative chart, though the great diversity in currencies, weights and measures and cost of living, the fluctuations of the value of money, and the paucity of statistics before 1800, make this difficult to prepare for a large area.

We shall examine first the general conditions of opera writing and of music publishing in this era. The production of opera provided an early means by which the composer could face the public directly, an embryonic bourgeois position; it was an important source of revenue to him especially in Italy and France. Most opera composers of the period still depended on an order, a scrittura or commission to write an opera, without which they were unable to produce their work. The very prolific

quantity of operas written in this century is further evidence of an artisan craftsman method of working. We may cite ^{R.} Keiser (1674-1739) as an early example : he composed some 100 operas at 50 thaler each.

It was the custom in Italy for the impresario who bought an opera to hold it as his property for two years, whereafter it became public property; the unfortunate composer came out on the losing end. Conditions however improved throughout the century and with the French Revolution copyright laws both of edition and of presentation gave the composer some chance to hold his own in the business world. In 1791 the rights of authors and composers were prolonged to fifty years after death.

A very direct bourgeois relationship was that of the composer and the publishers. For the artisan musician such a business connection scarcely existed as publishers were very few in number before the last quarter of the 18th century; Bach, for example, never even thought of putting his work on the market. Most of the printing of compositions in this period was done by soliciting the subscription of aristocratic patrons and this also meant a very limited edition; an illustration may be found in Bach's four-part chorales published in 1780 with only forty-two subscribers. With no copyright protection composers were often cheated by unscrupulous publishers. Engravers could copy an unwary composer's manuscript and then the publisher could use it as he wished. England had the first copyright law - 1710, and, as we noted above, the French Revolution gave the first protection to creative artists on the continent. Music compositions came to be regarded as private property and a vehicle of profit, whether of composer or of publisher, and as such were defended by the bourgeois state. A further middle class

class phenomenon is denoted by the fact that a number of lesser known composers, among them Pleyel, Cramer, Clementi, Haslinger and Diabelli, also became music publishers.

In the light of the foregoing we may carry on our investigation into the material situation of our selected composers. An analysis of Haydn's contract of May 1, 1761, as Vice-Kapellmeister to Prince Esterhazy reveals the conditions typical for the 18th century composer in service. Haydn held the rank of a house-officer, a sort of upper servant or foreman. All the Prince's musicians were instructed to obey the composer who in turn was neither to be brutal nor yet unduly familiar with them; he must see that they had clean uniforms, of the carefully prescribed type, before the concert. He was under obligation to compose what the Prince commanded, play new compositions first before him, and retain the same for the absolute use of his master; likewise he was not allowed to compose anything for any other person without both the knowledge and the permission of His Highness. He must await each morning and afternoon in the antechamber to receive the orders of the Prince. At actual concerts Haydn had to commence exactly at the time indicated. He had also to care for the music and the instruments and to instruct the singers and see that they kept in good voice. In all things, let it be emphasized, Haydn had to carry out the precise orders of the Prince. If satisfied, the latter engaged himself to pay 400 gulden a year. The composer was to eat with the other house-officers or else receive $\frac{1}{2}$ a gulden a day allowance (Kostgeld). He was to renew his contract six months before the expiry of the three-year contract period.

If the Prince were content, Haydn would then become Oberkapellmeister : if displeased, he could dismiss the composer at once.

(1) The fact that Prince Nicholas reproved Haydn in 1765 for laziness in composition suggests the servant nature of this position. In 1782, Haydn's salary was raised to 600 gulden. In 1790 Prince Antoni Esterhazy disbanded his orchestra but allowed Haydn to keep his title of Kapellmeister; he gave the composer leave and increased by 400 gulden the lifelong pension of 1000 gulden left him by Prince Nicholas. Haydn remained nominally attached to the house of Esterhazy but he had no definite duties to discharge; however he still had to obtain the Prince's consent when he visited England. Therefore, despite the material comfort and security of his later situation, it was still not a fully independent bourgeois position. The artisan Haydn however was surprisingly bourgeois in his business-like arrangements with his publishers, watching them carefully in respect to his own profit; he even sent very demanding notes to Artaria to pay up or else send back his music. (2)

Mozart, after his youthful career as a virtuoso, entered the service of the Prince-Archbishop Colloredo of Salzburg; his salary in 1777 was only 12 florins, 30 kreutzers a month. He showed himself very aware of the injustice of this economic treatment and was decidedly bourgeois in his consciousness of the value of money as is apparent in a letter to his father from Mannheim, Mar.24, 1778 : "Where I am properly paid I am content to be." (3); and again from Vienna, April 4, 1780 : "My sole purpose is to make as much money as possible, which next to health is best of all." (4) Mozart unfortunately was singularly unsuccessful in this quest. He was offered a post as organist at

Versailles in 1778 at 2000 livres (he worked this out himself to equal 915 florins, 45 kreutzers) but turned it down. (5) By 1781, his salary with the Archbishop had risen to 400 gulden - still a mere pittance; and he hated the servant status inflicted on him, as manifest in this letter to his father, Vienna, May 15, 1781 : " I did not know I was a valet : supposed to have loitered a couple of hours every morning in the anteroom." (6) In addition during this Vienna visit of 1781, the musicians had to provide entertainment at all receptions of the Archbishop and even at the homes of his friends - and mostly without extra pay. It is not surprising then that the proud and would-be independent Mozart took matters into his own hands and broke forcibly from this servitude.

Mozart however had little business ability so he never proceeded beyond the need of an adequate official position. He failed in the other possible means of living - concerts and publishing his work, both by subscription; teaching piano (for which he had a dislike); and the production of his operas. According to prevalent usage in Vienna, Mozart was normally paid 100 ducats by the theatre that wished to feature a new opera. His "Così fan Tutti", 1790 however, ~~was~~ brought him 200 ducats. In addition the composer was given the receipts of an opera performance given for his benefit, which might net him as much as 100 ducats. (7) These operas, written for the theatre indicated a bourgeois business relationship, whereas an opera like "La Clemenza di Tito", 1791, depended on a royal commission.

Mozart was finally given the position of Court Chamber Composer in 1787, to prevent him from going to England, but it carried a remuneration of only 800 florins. With debts embittering

his last years he still turned down an offer to be Kapellmeister to the King of Prussia in 1789, at 3000 thalers salary, because of his misplaced loyalty to the Emperor. Mozart died at the height of his genius with help just around the corner : the nobles of Hungary had pledged 1000 florins for him; and Amsterdam was making a good offer.

Mozart throughout was miserably exploited by his publishers. Artaria, for example, would get copies of Mozart's work and publish them without his approval, to say nothing of not paying anything for them. It is unlikely that Mozart received any payment for the actual printing of his operas; in 1789 he printed some quartets and sonatas composed for the Prussian Court at his own expense, but only the dedications brought him any pecuniary reward. In sum then we may consider Mozart as trying to be a bourgeois before the time was ripe.

Beethoven was the first composer to achieve a position of bourgeois economic independence in the sense of being free of any official duties; the composer himself proudly boasted of this position (in a letter to Sir George Smart, Vienna, Feb.22, 1827) : " I live entirely by the produce of my brains." (8) As an artist he was rather revolted by bourgeois materialism, but he was forced by circumstances into just such a money-based position; a letter from Baden, July 15, 1825, makes this stand clear : "Bargaining is odious to me, but it must be so." (9) The road to this unique situation began in Bonn where as an artisan musician in the lowly post of an assistant organist he received only about 150 florins a year; it was the Elector who bore the expense of sending him to Vienna in 1792. From 1794 to 1796 the composer had the novel situation of being the paid

guest of Prince Karl Lichnowski, with an annuity of 600 florins to continue until he found suitable employment. In 1803 Beethoven was offered the post of Kapellmeister to King Jerome of Westphalia (a Bonaparte) : the excellent terms included annual wages of 600 ducats, plus an allowance for travelling expenses, and the rather light task of playing before the King and directing his occasional short chamber music concerts. To keep the composer in Vienna his friends had to allow him to dictate his own conditions. Archduke Rudolph, and Princes Lobkowitz and Kinsky pledged a total of 4000 florins annually freeing Beethoven for his creative work; he had now a position where, to quote the contract, "the necessities of life shall not cause him embarrassment or clog his powerful genius". (10) It is important to note the calculation - the bourgeois profit-reasoning - behind Beethoven's refusal of the Westphalian offer, in contrast to Mozart, who allowed sentiment to lead him to reject a similar offer. This contract, then, represents a milestone in the progress of the composer in society, a situation of significance for all subsequent musicians. An insecurity complex from his childhood experiences and constant anxiety over his nephew apparently led Beethoven into rather dishonest proceedings over the sale of his "Mass in D" and his somewhat humiliating campaign to find subscribers for it; and into a protest of poverty to the London Philharmonic (who immediately sent him £ 100) although he had more than enough to live on carefully hidden away in Bank of Austria stock.

Beethoven achieved a completely equalitarian bourgeois relationship with his publishers, as we may gather from the humorous lines, puns, nicknames and details of family life that are so often found in his letters to them. The composer

even boasted that he was the one who dominated the publishers, as in this letter to Wegeler, June 19, 1801 : " My compositions are very profitable... I can have six or seven publishers or more for every piece I choose : they no longer bargain with me - I demand and they pay - so you see this is a very good thing."

(11) It seems Beethoven even tried to sell works in advance that he had not yet put on paper. He came close to realizing his ideal of an economic situation, a sort of life pension from his publishers in exchange for the property rights to his compositions. His aim was independence and freedom from bargaining with publishers, rather than money making in itself. (12) It is an interesting bourgeois cross-relationship to see that one publisher, Peters, shared something of this outlook, though apparently still considering patrons as indispensable; he declared to Beethoven, July 3, 1822 : "It is wrong that a man like you is obliged to think about money matters. The great ones of the earth should long ago have placed you in a position free from care, so that you could live on art, and only for art." (13) Beethoven's economic situation thus became decidedly middle class : he accepted the aid of protectors only as friends with no service conditions attached and he never sacrificed his liberty by assuming the duties of Kapellmeister.

A review of the situations of the minor contemporaries of the great Classical composers indicates that most of them occupied official positions : 3 held Church posts and 19 were attached to royal or aristocratic courts; and 3 served in both these categories; 4 of the group directed civic theatres or orchestras. Only 3 of the entire number carried on without the aid of an official situation.

The average salary for an official post in Germany-Austria of this era works out to about 1300 thalers, taking the range from Michael Haydn at Salzburg - 300 florins, to Spontini at Berlin - 5000 thalers. In France : about 6000 francs, from Lesueur at Sees -150 livres (or francs), to Cherubini, at Paris - 8000 francs.

Other occupations performed by the musician are also a valuable clue to his class position. Most of the extra jobs undertaken by the Classic composers fall into the artisan group : organ-builder, piano-tuner, mason, valet, etc. But there were also striking instances of bourgeois activity; thus 5 studied law, and 3 theology; and there were also clerks, private secretaries and diplomats among them.

We will next assess the economic situation of the Romantic composers. Schubert made a rather negative showing of independence and, as in the case of Mozart, this was due partly to adverse conditions in the society around him and partly to his own lack of business sense. At many points in his career Schubert suffered actual hunger and had to live in cold rooms; often he had not even a piano at his disposal. He spent two summer seasons with Count Esterhazy, 1818 and 1824, to teach piano to the nobleman's daughters; he was housed with the staff and servants, which included the inspector surgeon, chef, valet and parlour maid. On the latter occasion Schubert was paid 500 florins for five months service. All his life Schubert lacked the security of an official position; and when he was given a chance he was too irresponsible to accept the positions. In this manner, in 1822, he missed the post of second organist at the Court Chapel

at some 500 gulden wages; and in 1824, the conductorship of the Imperial opera, through refusing to alter the score of one of his operas to make it more singable.

Schubert was no more successful with his publishers; and he proved an early example of the common vicious circle in capitalist society today where the publisher refuses to risk money on an unknown composer and the latter cannot get to the vital public without publishing his work. In addition Schubert's compositions were considered too difficult for the market of mediocre amateurs and, as we just emphasized above, he would not alter his music to suit public taste. Hence Schubert's first published work was accomplished by the private subscription of bourgeois patrons organized by Dr. Sonnleithner. When Schubert finally did sell something to the publishers he was swindled by them right and left. On one occasion he considered the prices paid him by Capri and Diabelli unfair and demanded the return of all his manuscripts so he could deal with Steiner. (Vienna, Feb. 28, 1823)(14) But the publishers profitted cynically by the knowledge that the composer was always short of money and so they beat him down; thus Probst, in 1828, reduced the 100 florins Schubert asked to a mere 20 florins, 60 kreutzer for his "Trio in E-flat". (15) Cheated then by his publishers, dependent on erratic teaching and occasional concerts, Schubert was reduced largely to living on the bounty of friends and elder brother. Deutsch worked out the average income of Schubert at 730 florins a year (which he equated with £72) and claimed he might have just lived on it, had he possessed the afore-mentioned business acumen and been less generous and irresponsible by nature. (16)

Dependent or not, his means of living - when he worked - were bourgeois.

Considerable fluctuation marked the economic career of Weber. In 1804, as conductor of the Breslau orchestra, he received 600 thalers; in 1813, as director of the new opera in Prague, he had 2000 gulden a year, plus a benefit performance guaranteed at 1000 gulden and a 3-month leave of absence. He accepted the post of director of German opera for the King of Saxony, Dresden, in 1821, with a salary of 1800 thalers; in this post there were still irksome duties of a servant status to perform, such as conducting music during dining hours in full Court dress and putting up with the noise of clattering dishes. His situation would seem satisfactory especially as he maintained a servant and a cook, and even possessed a summer house. Weber also received sizeable fees from his operas - ranging from 203 thalers for "Sylvana" to 5893 for "Euryanthe". The Continent however did not give him the success he felt he needed so, despite his rapidly failing health, he decided to accept a well-paid offer from England. He outlined his difficult position to his friend Boettiger (the archeologist): "Whether I undertake this journey, or no, it is all one! Within a year I am a dead man. But if I go, my children will have bread, when their father is gone : if I do not, want may stare them in the face. What is to be done ?" (17)

In relation to publishing his work Weber had the same difficulty as Schubert in pleasing the new bourgeois public; in this context we may cite a remark by the publisher André, when he sent back some sonatas of Weber : "... Far too good, must be made more commonplace for sale." (from a letter of the composer to Go

Gottfried Weber, Sept. 1810) (18) But Weber, showing the same integrity as Schubert, refused to alter them. The composer once accused several countries of using his music illegally as the works in question had not been printed; functioning here in a bourgeois economic manner, he was obliged to look after his own interests; the quotations below, reminiscent of Beethoven, bear out this position: "And though I do not value money, to take notice of it, the world forces me at last." (letter to Carey, Feb. 19, 1825) (19) In sum then we may state that, aside from the duties mentioned regarding his Dresden post, the socio-economic situation of Weber was quite bourgeois.

Mendelssohn's position of extensive private means spared him that insecurity which was the lot of most composers, especially at the start of their careers. As director of the town music of Düsseldorf, 1833, the composer received 600 thalers; this was raised to 1000 thalers in 1835, plus 3 months holiday; he was responsible for the music of the church, of the opera, and of two choral societies. He accepted the post of director of the Gewandhaus concerts in Leipzig in 1835. Mendelssohn was shocked at the economic conditions of ordinary musicians in this city (letter to Moschèles, Nov. 30, 1839). (20) Though greatly cherishing his liberty in Leipzig, the composer felt he could not refuse the offer of the King of Prussia in 1841 to direct the music of the Académie des Beaux Arts in Berlin, with 3000 thalers salary. The bourgeois musician had no liking for official duties or the milieu of subservient courtiers, and he insisted on a provisional contract - naming his own conditions. In 1844, finding this dependence on the King and official

circles too much of a burden, he resigned his post while still retaining the respect of the King.

Mendelssohn of course did not need to worry, from the economic standpoint, whether his music was published or not. He gave evidence of his equalitarian position vis-à-vis the publishers by pointing out to Simrock (Sept. 21, 1842) that the value of the publisher was to make the composer's work known to the public, rather than just to circulate those compositions that could assure the publisher a private profit. (21)

Schumann's early career was not very propitious in the material sense and he was much in debt in Leipzig, 1834. An improvement had taken place by 1839, as is apparent from the detailed account of his resources contained in a letter to Clara Wieck, Leipzig, May 4 : he estimated his annual income at 1384 thalers including - sale of music, 100; from composition, 100; from publication of the "Zeitschrift für Musik", 624; interest on the combined capital of Schumann and Clara, 564. Schumann added that he was well aware of the value of money and often had to guard against miserliness. (22) The bourgeois nature of both means of living and of character stand out in the above statement. In 1850 Schumann went to Düsseldorf as Town Music Director at 750 thalers a year. The composer's economic situation was greatly stabilized by his wife's brilliant career as a virtuoso. His daughter Eugenie claimed that it was her mother's greatest sorrow that Schumann's art had to be a means to earn his bread. (23)

Schumann had normal success, for his time, with the publishers but he entertained no illusion of making a fortune in this field; he compared the publishers to fishermen throwing their nets by chance, pulling in both big and small, until they

catch a real prize - "einen kostbaren Schatz". (24) His ideal solution of the economic problem, as he outlined it in a letter to Zuccalmaglio, Leipzig, May 18, 1837, was quite similar to Beethoven's plan: "Establish an agency for publishing works of all composers who conform to its rules; its object being to transfer to the composers the liberal profits which now go to publishers." (25) Summing up we find that Schumann never succeeded in living solely by musical composition, but had to turn to conducting and teaching and to music journalism and criticism - all of these activities however were of a bourgeois nature.

Chopin, for the most part, was quite well off economically and even lived in considerable luxury, with the well-to-do aristocracy forming both the audience of his concerts and his teaching clientèle. Chopin's piano recitals usually netted him 15 to 20 francs a person; and he averaged about 20 francs a lesson from his aristocratic pupils in Paris. Chopin, like Beethoven, had many disputes with his publishers, but on the whole he was well-paid for his compositions. There is an obvious touch of the bourgeois businessman in his instructions to his friend and agent Fontana to deal firmly with the publisher Schlesinger (Mar. 17, 1839): "Have a clear understanding with him about the money, and don't give up the manuscripts except for cash." (26)

Chopin's expensive way of living (which included elegant apartments, several pianos of the best make, a house valet and a travelling servant) and his lack of a bourgeois sense of economy let him into some financial embarrassment towards the end of his career - accelerated by his failing health. At this point he was secretly aided by his upper class friends, including Jane Stirling and the Countess Obreskoff.

In closing let us reaffirm that Chopin's situation regarding the aristocracy was bourgeois - a concert artist and professional teacher, not a musician in service.

Liszt, as a virtuoso, could make a fortune with almost every concert he gave; yet by his own decision he left such a career to have more time for composition in a more fixed position. He accepted a post as orchestra director at Weimar which netted him only about 5000 francs a year; but he remained most independent and only served part of each year in this situation, going to Rome and Budapest in the course of each season. He showed himself on occasion a fair businessman as is evident from a letter to Eduard von Liszt, Rome, Nov. 6, 1867, where he defended the prices he was demanding from his publishers as just. (27) The professional career of Liszt, both as concert artist and as teacher - and a good many of his lessons were given free - ranked him as a bourgeois.

Minor contemporaries of the Romantics broke away even further from the chains of the official position. Of those in our selection, only one, Nicolai held a Church situation of any duration, and eleven filled aristocratic or royal posts; underlining a new bourgeois situation we observe that 5 were professors at conservatories or universities; and 6 had no fixed position of musical activity (by comparison with only 3 Classical composers in this free category).

An average salary for an official musical position in this later period in Germany-Austria reached about 2280 thalers (an increase of 1000 over the average for the Classical group), ranging from Marschner, at Hanover - 1000 thalers, to Moyerbeer, at Berlin - 3000 thalers. In France, the average came to about

7400 francs (an increase of 1400 over the earlier group), ranging from Hérold, at Paris - 2000 francs, to Rossini, at Paris - 20,000 francs.

Other occupations of the Romantic composers, in sharp contrast to those of the 18th century, were nearly all in the bourgeois category. In this context we note that 3 of them studied law; 2 theology; and 2 medicine; 2 were school-teachers; one was a librarian; and one was in government service.

The great increase in prizes and competitive scholarships in the 19th century bears the impress of bourgeois development. Many of these awards were established by musicians themselves, e.g. Rossini, to help fellow composers make their way. The most significant bursary was the "Prix de Rome", established in 1803 an annuity of 3000 francs to pay the musical tuition and living expenses of an artist for five years. Hérold, Halévy and Berlioz all own this award.

In Summary then we may state it as a salient fact that in every aspect of the material situation of the composer - private teaching, selling compositions, civil musical posts, public-paying concerts - we find a marked tendency to a middle class position, dating from the end of the 18th century. Free now from servile dependence on the old society of Church and Court, he soon found himself at the opposite extreme, almost cut off from society as a competitive individual in a capitalist world - at the top if materially successful, at the bottom if not. The 19th century saw the creation of this materialistic dilemma for the composer in a bourgeois society that contains the essence of his negative economic position today - a situation poignantly summed up in the complaint of a modern composer: "On peut crever de

de faim encore de nos jours en composant." (28)

* * * * *

burg, gave evidence of a far wider culture; but some of his

EDUCATION, CHARACTER AND APPEARANCE.

It is the purpose of this chapter to bring into question three factors of environment and heredity - education, character and appearance - that were at once a condition of, and an influence upon, the composers' position in society.

(A) EDUCATION.

We have emphasized the vital role of education in a changing society in the previous chapter on "Institutions" and we need concern ourselves here only with additional detail regarding the composers under discussion. We examined the choir-boy education of Haydn as typical of the artisan musician. This composer also knew Italian well and some French, but his range of interests remained notably narrow. Mozart, with a similar initial education, but with two years at the University of Salzburg, gave evidence of a far wider culture; but some of his letters to his cousin "die Basle" (as the one quoted under "Social Relations" describing the aristocracy) show the vulgarity of his low-class origin. We also discussed the education of Beethoven in some detail (under "Institutions") as typical of the composer in social transition. We may well repeat that, with a minimum of formal education, it was through contact with the aristocracy and through self-help - both very middle class factors - that he raised himself to a considerable level of general culture. In Bonn he absorbed much social polish and was introduced to the ancient Classics thanks to his close contact with the Breuning family.

However the clumsiness of his letters, his letters, his Rhenish dialect, and his peasant humour remind one constantly of his artisan origin. Beethoven was able to speak Italian with some fluency, and he knew considerable French. The composer himself was of the opinion that any man - who would be more than an artisan - must have received five or six years of a general and disinterested education, as he outlined in a declaration to the municipality of Vienna, Feb. 1, 1819. (1)

In respect of the education of the minor Classical composers, it is indicative of an artisan status that twelve of them received the help of aristocratic patrons. On the other hand a bourgeois feature appears in the fact that sixteen of them attended university.

The Romantic composers show a more consistent bourgeois educational background. Schubert, however, still had a choir-boy education; and despite the fact that his father was a teacher, he scarcely passed the gymnasium stage. His artisan origin showed through in his peasant mannerisms and his use of the Viennese idiom. Like Beethoven, he gained much of his culture through autodidactic efforts.

With Weber we come to one of the first musicians to possess a really extensive bourgeois culture; this composer spoke French and Italian, and a little Czech and English. Mendelssohn's upper middle class origin provided him with the best in education, including university, travel abroad, and fluency in several languages. In like manner Schumann was able to study law at university; and he had a solid knowledge of French and Italian. Chopin received a first class education at the private school for aristocratic pupils run by his father.

Karasowski denies the assertion of Liszt that Prince Radziwil paid for the education of Chopin. (2) Liszt also enjoyed an excellent education due to his well-placed family, but he owed his brilliant musical training to the aid of a group of Hungarian nobles. The letters of these last five composers are eloquent testimony of a well-rounded and elegant bourgeois culture, in contrast to the lower class vernacular so common in the letters of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert.

Among the minor Romantic composers it is pertinent that only six of them, about half fewer than the earlier group, had the help of a Maecenas.

To conclude therefore it can be said that in general the typical artisan composer, receiving very limited education, was a musician with few interests outside of his craft and of local social life, whereas the bourgeois composer of the next century had the broader education and the more widely extended culture of his class.

(B) CHARACTER.

Focussing attention now on the character of the composer we will concentrate only on those traits that give a key to his class position, dividing the study thus into three topics : pride and a sense of individual worth; humility and modesty; an industry and thrift.

The pride of the middle class lay in the possession of talent as opposed to the pride of mere birth vaunted by the aristocracy. It was also a cardinal sign of the awareness of individual worth set over against group caste values.

The humble characteristics of the artisan are most ~~likely~~ likely to be associated with Haydn but on occasion he defended his dignity as an artist; thus when Prince Nicholas Esterhazy expressed his disapproval during a rehearsal of musicians, Haydn is said to have answered back that this matter was his - the musician's - affair. (3) A sign of self-importance in his later years was the fact that he often put on full dress and placed brilliant rings on his fingers when in the process of composition.

Mozart showed a pride both in himself and in his work that touched on arrogance. The following lines (to his father, Augsburg, Aug.14, 1777) in reference to his patron bear strongly the impress of the bourgeois equalitarian position: "My rule is to behave to people just as they behave to me." (4) Implying a servile attitude in his father, Mozart wrote to him from Mannheim, Dec.10, 1777, asking him to contact a certain Prince Zeill.., "but short and to the point - no cringing! for that I cannot bear". (5) He emphasized in no uncertain terms his value as a gifted individual when he wrote to his father, Mannheim, Feb.7, 1778: "I am a composer and born to be a Kapellmeister, and I neither can nor ought to bury the talent for composition with which God has so richly endowed me." (6) In a later letter to this same parent Paris, July 9, 1778, he reasserted his independent and proud attitude: "If the Salsburgers wish to have me, they must comply with my wishes or they shall never get me." (7) An example suggestive of arrogance was his reply to Joseph II, who had found too many notes in "Die Entführung", that - begging His Majesty's pardon - there were precisely the number of notes required. (8)

And it was pride in his own unique ~~gd~~ genius that led the composer to record (to his father, Vienna, Aug. 17, 1782) a statement by Prince Kaunitz to the Archduke Maximilian that men, such as Mozart, "only come into the world once in a hundred years.."

(9)

Numerous were the instances, of Beethoven's pride in himself and his creative work. At the dawn of his career he became most annoyed because a gentleman, finding him somewhat pretentious, remarked that he was neither a Handel nor a Goethe; Prince Lobkowitz making light of the matter the composer declared unequivocally : "with men who will not believe and trust in me because I am as yet unknown to universal fame, I cannot hold intercourse! (10) There was a definite echo of Kant's belief in the value and rights of intellectual property in Beethoven's witty reaction to a gesture of his brother Johann, who had left him a visiting card marked "Johann van Beethoven, Gutsbesitzer (landowner)". The composer returned it with this inscription on the back : " Ludwig van Beethoven, Hirnbesitzer (brain-owner)". (11) Beethoven reached a pinnacle of pride lauding his individuality and talent to Prince Lichnowski in these striking words : "Prince, what you are you are by accident and birth; what I am I am through myself. There have been and will still be thousands of princes; there is only one Beethoven." (12) This statement also leaves no doubt that the composer followed the bourgeois belief of supremacy of individual talent over caste rights. Beethoven indeed considered only Napoleon and Goethe to be comparable to himself.

Schubert, like Haydn, was seldom outspoken about his position. But on at least one occasion, when annoyed with the

ordinary musicians of the Kärntnerthor Orchestra, he overcame his timidity sufficiently to flaunt his superior talent : "I am an artist ! I. I am Franz Schubert whom all the world knows and acclaims ... and when the word 'artist' is mentioned, it refers to me, not to you worms and insects." (13)

Weber was proud of the position he had won for himself as a composer, as we may judge from the description he gave his wife of his reception in the foyer of the German Theatre, Vienna, Sept. 24, 1823 : shouts of acclamation greeted him and bouquets, crowns and verses were thrown towards him from all sides. (14)

The modest and sincere letters of Mendelssohn to his family showed a reserved pride in his achievements as a musician. He wrote from Munich, Oct. 6, 1831, underlining his bourgeois status, that when he was summoned to play before the Queen and the Court "the smoothest and most complimentary phrases circulated in the room, and I, the roturier, stood in the midst of them, with my citizen heart, and my aching head." (15) Schumann was very similar to Mendelssohn in his bourgeois combination of pride and modesty, as illustrated in this letter to Wieck, Heidelberg, Nov. 6, 1829 : "Without over-estimating my own abilities, I feel modestly conscious of my own superiority over all the other Heidelberg pianists." (16)

Chopin was definitely aware of his unique and superior talent, as is obvious from his words to Liszt ; "Il n'y a que Chopin qui ait le droit de changer Chopin." (17) Proud and aloof, he was not an easy person to contact. Thus when Lenz arrived in Paris in 1842 he sought out the composer but was told by his valet that he was not at home : it was only after he sent on a card marked "Laissez passer", signed by Liszt, that he succeeded

in having an interview; and even then he had to stand up as if he were before a sovereign. (18) The often excessive vanity and egotism of Liszt were mostly an offshoot of this same individuality and pride of talent. He took as his motto a bourgeois cultural "génie oblige" that might be interpreted in some measure as a parallel to and a replacement of the "noblesse oblige" of a fading class. (19)

Among minor Romantic composers Rossini was outstanding for his firm belief in his own talent and glory : in 1833, after keeping the company of Prince Chigi waiting for him, he declared that he saw no reason why he should not be given outrightly the same rank as a minister or a division general. (20)

What is important for us to remember and to reassert regarding this characteristic of the composers is that pride of talent was a mark of the middle class.

Humility and modesty are rather negative traits in relation to the struggle of the composer for a higher position in society but they are nonetheless bourgeois characteristics, having been consciously developed by the middle class as a counter to the overemphasis on pride of birth and to the placing of honour above virtue by the aristocracy. (We may add that Benjamin Franklin, greatly admired by Beethoven, relegated humility to the end of his list of bourgeois virtues.) In the cases of Haydn and Schubert, humility was to a great extent part of their artisan origin; and for the former, at least, a reflection of an early servile social position as a musician, as we saw above in his relations with the aristocracy. A further example of this characteristic is found in an anecdote regarding Haydn. George III said to the composer : "Dr. Haydn, you have written a good deal"; and the self-effacing musician replied : "Yes, Sire, a great

deal more than is good". - to which His Majesty rejoined : "Oh, no, the world contradicts that." (recorded by the oboist Park, 1794) (21) As for Schubert we may note that after the success of his comic opera "The Twin Brothers", 1819, he was too shy to present himself on the stage to receive the applause. The modesty and reserve of Schumann, as we suggested above, were more distinctly in line with the bourgeois character.

Industry and thrift are bourgeois virtues that we have touched on in considering the material situation of the composer. This trait, like humility, was brought into play to counter the aristocracy : the bourgeois security of economical living was opposed to the aristocrat's spending complex (again an effort to inculcate caste superiority). Most of the composers showed themselves quite industrious in the head-work of their profession. Haydn rose early and had regular hours of composing. Beethoven, more erratic, was none the less industrious. We may select Schumann as a model of this middle class virtue.

(C) APPEARANCE.

Under the heading of appearance we may discuss both the physical characteristics and the dress of the composer. Though a matter of such controversy as a clue to class origin, several sociologists have given it as a general rule that the upper classes have a higher stature and have more refined features than have the lower orders. (22) Without going into unnecessary detail it may not be irrelevant to observe that Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert were all under middle height, and, with the exception of Mozart, showed little refinement of feature.

Weber, Mendelssohn and Chopin were of medium height, and Schumann and Liszt were above average in stature; and all showed a certain refinement of features. These facts would be in keeping with the transition in origin from artisan to bourgeois.

Dress was a factor of quite definite social significance pointing out both class origin and class mobility, as we discussed in general under "Customs" in the second chapter. We may take Haydn as typical of the artisan musician in service who, as we noted under his contract to Prince Esterhazy, had to dress according to strict regulations : these specifications included a curled wig, red collars, white stockings and red heels. Mozart also was obliged to dress as a lackey in his early period of service; but as he attained to more free bourgeois position he became noted for his distinguished appearance. Clementi left us a description of Mozart, after their rival display before the Emperor in 1781, that bears out this statement : "Entering the music-salon, I saw there someone whose elegant attire made me take him to be an Imperial gentleman-in-waiting." (23) Mozart proved himself very bourgeois in his awareness of the importance of dress to improve his social position; thus he wrote to his father, Mannheim, Mar. 7, 1778 : "In places where you are not known, it is out of the question to be badly dressed for appearances must be kept up." (24)

Beethoven seems to have escaped the humiliation of wearing domestic apparel and he was always a decided individual in respect to dress. Even as a boy in Bonn, when a neighbour happened to criticize his disorderly appearance, the confident and independent Beethoven declared : "When I'm famous no one will notice it." (25) Rank made no impression on Beethoven in this

respect and he would teach such distinguished pupils as the Countess Keglevics, a relative of the Turkish Sultan, in his dressing-gown and slippers. Emphasizing this attitude, he wrote to the Archduke Rudolph (Fe.27, 1822) that he had tried to come to the Royal apartments, but "my dress seemed to be so closely scrutinized that I hurried away." (26)

Schubert was consistently careless in the matter of personal appearance ; and for this we have the testimony of Anselm Huttenbrenner who records the composer's dislike of having to dress up as one of the principal reasons for his avoiding high society. (27) If he had been a musician in service he could not have enjoyed this freedom of dress.

Weber, Schumann, Chopin and Liszt all dressed in the style suited to professional men of the middle class. The important thing to bear in mind in this context is that the 18th century composer, as a servant, was obliged to dress in a manner pointedly different from the ruling class and indicative of his lower status : the 19th century composer, as a bourgeois professional, dressed normally in the fashion of the dominant middle class; or, by virtue of his free position, he might also dress as he pleased, even in a Bohemian manner that ran in opposition to the main line of bourgeois society.

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Chapter - 7.

CONNECTIONS WITH MOVEMENTS

The importance of political, cultural and religious changes in this period with reference to the social position of the composer has been largely dealt with in the course of previous chapters. It remains only to discuss these three headings in more detail in relation to the attitudes and the activities of the composers.

(A) POLITICAL

Political movement may be divided into class and national concern - interrelated and both offshoots of the bourgeois concept of individualism. We may especially single out interest in England and in the French Revolution as an index of democratic thinking.

The artisan in service Haydn, as was to be expected from the limits of his position, exhibited little interest in the political turmoil of his time. Always submissive to political authority he composed the Austrian National Anthem, in 1797, at the request of the Imperial High Chancellor for a work that was to compare with "God Save the King", and to be anti-French Revolutionary in character. (1) But, as we shall see in the next chapter, there was a touch of the revolutionary in Haydn's occasional weaving of a plebeian element into his compositions, in the very face of aristocratic scrutiny. Haydn abroad, however, was outrightly impressed by the democratic freedom he found in England and by the independent bourgeois position he enjoyed there. He emphasized this contrast in a letter to Frau von Genzinger, London, September 17, 1791: "How sweet

is some degree of liberty ! I had a kind prince, but was obliged at times to be dependant on base souls... The consciousness of being no longer a bond-servant sweetens my toils." (2)

Mozart's strong democratic sympathies were revealed by his interest in the French Revolution, his close Masonic association and his admiration for the political progress of the English people. Evidence of the last-named is contained in a letter his father, Vienna, Oct. 19, 1782, rejoicing over the victory of England at Gibraltar ; " For you know that I am thoroughly English at heart. " (3) Mozart proved himself to be a very consciously bourgeois national in the following sarcastic lines to Herr Geheimer Rath, 1784, expressing his revolt against the foreign culture approved by the old society : "It would be thought an everlasting blot on Germany, if we Germans were ever really to begin to think in German, and to act like Germans, to speak German and above all to sing in German ! " (4) As we shall see, Mozart introduced both democratic and national elements into his operas.

Beethoven's political attitude was on a very high plane and rather by-passed purely national concerns, though he would like to have seen a free and united Germany. In this regard he was more of a citizen of the world in the manner of Goethe ; he was most outspoken in his belief in democracy and in freedom for men everywhere. He was well aware of the political apathy of the Austrians, as is obvious from his cynical statement to Sin/rock, Aug. 2, 1794 : "It was said that a revolution was imminent; but it is my belief that so long as the Austrian has his dark beer and sausage he will not revolt. " (5) Even more scathing was his denunciation of December 1811 to von Martenssee : "All

Viennese, from the Emperor to the bootblack are good for nothing."

(6) His political creed takes its departure from his personal creed : "To do all the good one can, To love liberty above everything, And even if it be for a kingdom, Never to betray the truth." (from an album-leaf of 1792) (7) A reader of Homer and Plutarch, Beethoven was inspired by the great Classical heroes and in this vein he admired Napoleon as First Consul, but, as we have seen, soon discarded his idol when Bonaparte made himself Emperor. A class factor to point out was that the bourgeois of the period tended to see his group values crystallize in the hero; and Beethoven likely saw himself as a hero fighting for the social recognition of his own artist group. The composer's political principles were never too clearly formulated, at times seeming to favour an oligarchy, but he prophesied that in fifty years there would be republics everywhere. On the whole then Beethoven demonstrated that he was a sturdy democrat and there was middle class focus to his admiration both of the American Benjamin Franklin and (like Goethe) of the English people. Of the latter he commented to the composer Potter : "You have heads upon your shoulders in England." (8) Beethoven correlated his aesthetic with his bourgeois political outlook : "Liberty and progress are the goals of art just as of ~~the~~ life in general." (note to Archduke Rudolph) (9)

A number of minor Classical composers were more directly involved in the French Revolution and its radiation. The French composer Johann Adolph Bach ⁽¹⁷⁴⁹⁻⁹⁴⁾ sent many people - including his patron Baron Dietrich - to the scaffold, only to end on the guillotine himself in 1794. Reichardt was actually dismissed from his post in Berlin in 1794 for sympathy with this revolt.

(1734-1829)
 Gossec nearly lost his neck in 1795 when music he had written for the anniversary of the death of the tyrant (Louis XVI) was found by some members of the Convention to be too sweet and melodious; he saved himself by persuading them that the happy nature of the composition stemmed from joy in being free from the tyrant.

Schubert was too Viennese and likely too timid to be much concerned with political activities. Weber, on the other hand, became something of a hero in his country because of his national operas, like "Der Freischütz", 1821; and cantatas, such as "Kriegslied", 1812, written for the patriotic anti-Napoleonic glee clubs of the time.

Mendelssohn, a cosmopolitan democrat, took little active interest in national politics; his family were quite liberal however and we recall that in reference to his reception by Queen Victoria he cited himself as a "radical". Schumann, sensitive to the revolutionary currents in Leipzig in 1848, sympathized with the liberal "Burschenschaft"; and his "Songs of Liberty" (1847) were considered so revolutionary that they were not published before 1914. Clara Wieck, the wife of Schumann, gave concerts to aid the oppressed Poles and Saxons.

Chopin, whose father took part as an officer in the revolt of Kosciusko against Russia in 1794, tried to help his country directly as a soldier but, as we have pointed out, poor health forbade that step. His distinguished position abroad however made it possible for him to be of great service to Poland, where he was regarded as a national hero. He gave concerts and was generous from his own purse in aid of Polish refugees. Chopin, rather a cosmopolitan aristocrat by taste,

was not without some liberal sympathies; one example of this was his gesture in playing for the dying democratic leader Cavaignac in 1844.

Liszt, also a cosmopolitan man of the world, ranked as a national hero for his people, the Hungarians, who feted him as such in 1839. Distinctly democratic in political outlook he even veered towards socialism, both of the humanitarian type of Saint-Simon and of the Christian of Lamennais; this middle class orientation however made him avoid "the blasphemies, imprecations, the extravagances of Proudhon and the new Atheist School, and of Anarchists ... " (letter to Princess Wittgenstein, Weimar, May 10, 1871) (10) Liszt demonstrated beyond doubt his rigid stand for personal political freedom when discussing the remark of Czar Nicholas in 1842 criticizing both his long hair and his political opinions (lettre "à une amie", Aug. 7, 1860) : "Je n'accorde à personne le droit de me traiter en imbécile, pas même à l'Empereur Nicholas." (11)

Amongst minor Romantic composers we may note the great interest displayed by Berlioz in the Hungarian, the Greek and the Irish national movements. And his "Military Te Deum", 1849, was written to celebrate the glory of Napoleon as First Consul. Bellini and Verdi were associated with the Italian Risorgimento and helped to raise the national consciousness of the people with their operas.

In both attitude, and in many cases activity, we may assert that the composers of this period followed the prevailing bourgeois trends in the political arena.

(B) CULTURAL

The cultural movements of this era, closely intertwined

with political developments of class and nation, followed basically either the Classic or the Romantic pattern. Though all art, in the broadest view, must contain both Classic and Romantic elements in the sense of idea and intellect plus impulse and emotion, there was a shift in stress - on a social axis - at the end of the 18th century towards Romantic feeling and individualism: this was an outgrowth of dynamic bourgeois reaction to the pseudo-Classicism of the 18th century in which decorum tended to become more important than the idea itself; and it represented a growing refusal to accept a static society dominated by Church and aristocracy.

Classical elements of both *form* and expression dominate in the work of Haydn and of Mozart and they may be taken as a reflection both of the period itself and of the social position of these composers - the familiar artisan in service. Mozart, in his later symphonies, broke through this wall of decorum and rococo mannerisms to an exhibition of considerable Romantic freedom and feeling. Beethoven combined the virtues both of Classical reasoned form and balance and of Romantic spontaneity and uninhibited power of emotional expression. Goethe, a supreme individual of universal orientation and an advocate of complete liberty for the artist, was the main contemporary Classical influence on Beethoven, who for some time venerated this poet as his principal hero. Goethe however proved to be too subservient to the Imperial family to suit the taste of the composer, who criticized his attitude in a letter to Breitkopf and Härtel, Aug. 9, 1812: "Court air suits Goethe more than becomes a poet. One cannot laugh at the ridiculous things that virtuosi do, when poets, who ought to be looked

upon as the principal teachers of the nation, forget everything else amidst this glitter." (12)

Several aspects of Romanticism were indicative of underlying class ferment, the outstanding being subjective expression, the free individual giving rein to unrestrained feeling. The key figure here was Rousseau; and we have already underlined his great influence on Beethoven. The more exalted individualism of the poet Klopstock may be noted in the work of both Beethoven and Schubert. The latter composer also set to music a number of poems of Heine, a liberal greatly concerned with the liberty of the individual. All the Romantic composers expressed their egos in subjective musical worlds of their own, this being especially true of Schubert, Schumann and Chopin; they could follow their inner inspiration without having to accept the society-dictated formulas associated with the artisan composer.

Hero-worship was closely associated with individualism; and, as we just stressed in the political sense, so in the cultural the bourgeois identified his group values with the hero. Beethoven turned to the super-heroes of the "Sturm und Drang", such as Egmont and Faust, as he had selected Napoleon from the immediate political scene.

A phase of Romanticism linked in turn to the heroic conception was the striving for the unattainable, a symbol of the dynamic bourgeois in revolt against the static society and conditions of the era. Hence Prometheus, the champion of the human race, and Faust, the restless rebel versus society, the individual seeker of the ever-unknown, were popular figures

in this epoch of transition. Beethoven's ballet "Men of Prometheus", 1801, (mentioned above under "Amusements"), Schubert's cantata "Prometheus", 1816, and Liszt's symphonic poem "Prometheus", 1850, are musical interpretations of this symbolic myth. Beethoven projected an opera on "Faust"; Spohr wrote one in 1813; Berlioz composed "La Damnation de Faust" in 1846; Schumann wrote music to scenes from Goethe's "Faust" in 1849; Liszt produced a "Faust Symphony", 1853-61, and episodes from Lenau's "Faust" in 1862; and Gounod's celebrated opera "Faust" appeared in 1859. This is ample evidence of the attraction of this dynamic theme for the bourgeois composer.

The cult of nature, strongly promulgated by Rousseau and the English Romantic poets, was yet another mark of bourgeois cultural reaction to the old society. The love of the open country and of rustic gardens took preference over the artificial, too accurately measured, gardens associated with the aristocratic manors. Both Haydn and Beethoven felt the influence of the English poet of nature, Thomson; and Haydn used his poems for the "Creation" (1797-98) and the "Seasons" (1798-1801). Beethoven, again following Rousseau, regarded nature both heroically and sentimentally. "Only in Nature does my nature find harmony", (13) remarked the composer; and, when reading Storm's "Philosophy of Nature", he underlined the sentence: "I would like to become like a tree in everything." In addition we have the testimony of Charles Neate, who said of the composer: "Nature was his nourishment." (14) Beethoven's "Pastoral Symphony", 1809, was a supreme record of his devotion to nature. Weber has left us many masterful portraits of nature in his "Der Freischütz", "Euryanthe", and "Oberon". The Protestant Schumann linked nature with his religious concept: "Nature best teaches how to pray." (from a letter

to his mother, Leipzig, Aug. 3, 1828) (15).

All these cultural contacts of the composer provide us with yet another manifestation of his growing identification with the middle class.

(c) RELIGIOUS.

We have discussed religion in previous chapters from the point of view of Church social structure and of changing moral outlooks in society with consequent repercussion on the position of the composer. It is our purpose here to analyze the attitude to religion of the composers themselves, observing any class bias.

The Catholic Haydn, like the Protestant Bach, was typical of the artisan musician in service in his unquestioning acceptance of the religion of his country and of his rulers. For both composers custom doubtless outweighed reflection in their religious connections. It is said that the pious Haydn would say his beads as a stimulus to his composing activities. Mozart, in his youth, also shared this same simple and trusting faith, as illustrated in this declaration to his father (Mannheim, Dec. 3, 1777) : "I am entirely submissive to the will of God." (16) His deprecatory reference to the anti-clerical Voltaire seconds this statement : "The ungodly arch-villain Voltaire has died miserably like a dog". (letter to his father, Paris, July 3, 1778) (17) The later Mozart, as his worldly experience opened his eyes to the luxury and the moral failure of the Church, became more critical and individualistic in his religious attitude. His Masonic affiliation filled in some of this moral gap and showed his disregard for Church authority. An individual note is also

suggested by the fact that he no longer considered it a sin to eat meat on fast days (letter to his father, Vienna, June 13, 1791). (18) Mozart's religious evolution thus shows a linking with his artisan to bourgeois nobility.

Beethoven's belief in the power of a man to help himself, which we saw was so important a factor in his educational attainments, extended even to his relationship with God, for him a direct and personal connection. In this light he was quite bourgeois and approached the Protestant attitude, but he remained a Roman Catholic in form at least. There is strong evidence that he became essentially a humanitarian deist; (19) and Haydn even suggested that Beethoven was tinged with atheism. (20) There is certainly a pagan force permeating Beethoven's great "Mass in D"; and his blunt statement to Wegeler, June 1810: "Often have I cursed the Creator", obviously does not imply a very orthodox religious orientation. (21) The composer was interested in Hindu and Persian religion; and he considered God as essentially an immaterial force. The bourgeois individuality of Beethoven is very manifest in his religious development.

One of the minor Classical composers, Field, left evidence of a very free stand in religion. Asked if he were a Catholic, a Protestant or a Calvinist, he denied all three with the final reply that he was a "Klavierist" (pianist). (22)

Schubert accepted the strict dogmas of Catholicism without question; and a deep sincerity permeates his "Masses" and his "Lazarus". Near the end of his life however he apparently had a more personal approach: "If I could only pray! God will not take it amiss that I do not force myself to it." (from Dauernfeld's diary) (23) Weber combined Medieval ^afantical

Catholicism with a contradictory pantheistic worship of nature - a typically Romantic attitude to religion.

Mendelssohn and Schumann typified the solid, rather sentimental, middle class Protestant. The former wrote of his firm faith to Klingemann, Leipzig, Jan. 17, 1843 : " I thank God daily on my knees for my blessings." (24) The latter, grandson of a pastor, wrote in similar vein to his mother, Leipzig, Nov. 27, 1833 : "Deep down in my heart lies something I would not lose at any price : the belief that there are some good people left - and a God." (25)

Chopin showed one aspect of the bourgeois in his Voltairian skepticism, and another in his keeping up the appearances of being a formal Catholic; this latter included the calling of a priest to his death-bed - a gesture however that was mostly to please his family.

Liszt was undoubtedly sincere in his Catholic faith and mystic orientation but his very free Romantic love life ran somewhat counter to this attitude. This apparently vain search for an ideal relationship with women forced him into a dualism which he finally solved in some measure by joining the clergy himself. The very mobility of all these actions bespeaks a free and flexible position in society. Liszt received social distinction even as a priest by being ordained at the Vatican itself; by being made an honorary canon; and in his friendship with the Pope, who called the composer his "Palestrina". Liszt however, despite this Papal intimacy, showed considerable independence in his religious attitude; this was especially noticeable in his close association with

Abbé Lamennais (mentioned above as a political influence on Liszt), who was excommunicated in 1834; the philosopher and the musician felt religious belief should generate a program of social action, and that the Roman Catholic Church should be ruled by spiritual forces - not by the temporal power of the Pope.

In Berlioz we have an example of the outright atheist, believing in neither God nor immortality.

We may gather from this review that the artisan composer was unlikely to break from or even question the given faith of his tradition and environment. The bourgeois composer, on the other hand, inclined to a more rational, individual and even skeptical attitude or interpretation, in keeping with the change in his social position.

Chapter - 8.

SOCIAL FACTORS IN THE MUSIC ITSELF.

We have had occasion throughout this thesis to refer to many specific compositions as evidence in the various categories of our social analysis. It is our purpose in this chapter to proceed from a more purely musical departure in isolating social factors in the productive work of the composer. We will conduct this survey in three sub-divisions : style and general class content; breakdown of musical elements; and dedications.

(A) STYLE AND GENERAL CLASS CONTENT.

A composer's style and manner of composition, to the extent that it was socially conditioned or was free of social pressure, was a fair gauge of his social position. We have seen in our review of the general position of the composer; under consorship; in relations with the aristocracy; and in much detail as to regulations under economic situation, the strict conditions under which an artisan composer in service had to carry on his trade. Haydn, with his possibilities of individual expression thus limited, was still able to make a subtle introduction of folk elements - the music of his own class - into his composition (as we suggested above under political movements); an example was his "Military Symphony", No.100, 1794, and he used elsewhere German, Hungarian, Croatian and even Gypsy tunes. Haydn's musical joke - a sudden fff chord in his "Surprise Symphony", 1791, to jolt a sleepy aristocratic audience to attention - was not without some social implication.

We may take the rather marked contrast in content between his numerous early and middle period symphonies and that of his last twelve "London Symphonies" as evidence of his circulation in a different social world. Haydn moved then towards some independence in his style of composition; and he himself declared "The rules are all my very obedient servants." (1)

Mozart's early position forced him to write in an artificial style below the level of his own genius to meet the requirements of the noble amateurs on whom he then depended. His own words are eloquent witness to this situation; as to manner of composition he wrote : "I was therefore obliged to write this motet in haste, to allow time for the score to be copied for his Highness, and to arrange the parts so that it might be produced on the following Sunday at grand mass at the offertory." (to Padre Martini, Sept.4, 1776) (2); and as to style "The happy medium - truth in all things - is no longer either known or valued; to gain applause, one must write things so insane that they might be played on barrel organs." (to his father, Vienna, Dec.20, 1782) (3) A change in social pressure may be gauged in comparing the rococo of the salon in his "Haffner Symphony", 1782, with the emancipated flow of self-expression of his last great works, like the "G minor Symphony", 1788. Mozart was more deliberate than Haydn in his use of folk elements, e.g. in the last movement of his "E-flat Piano Concerto", K482, 1785. In his operas Mozart came close to the people themselves and made forthright criticism of society. "Nozze di Figaro", 1786, based on the satire of Beaumarchais, dealt with the treatment of domestic servants by a nobleman, a painful reminder of this

composer's own early position. The hero of this opera is significantly not the master but the servant - Figaro - who constantly ridiculed the Ancien Régime. Of similar portent was the portrayal of the Count plotting with his domestics and flirting with his maid-servants. In the opera "Don Giovanni", 1787, a distinct echo of the French Revolution emerges in the "Vive la liberté" chorus. We may cite the role of Papageno in "The Magic Flute", 1791, as a striking example of the folk element in his operas. Permeated with bourgeois passion, though still marked by the old society in a certain fixation of form, the music of Mozart by-passed mere entertainment to become socially-conscious art.

The individuality so typical of Beethoven's life was equally evident in his creative art : replying to Ries' criticism of his use of parallel fifths in his "C Minor Quartette", 1800, the composer declared: "I allow them thus." (4) Improvisation best suited his tempestuous temperament; and especially in instrumental music (unencumbered by the dictation of words) Beethoven let loose his dramatic genius while never losing a balancing sense of form. The overture "Coriolanus", 1807, was typical of this Beethovenian heroic epic full of the struggle of an individual against society. His only opera, "Fidelio", 1805, had its source directly in the French Revolution; and the word "Freiheit" (freedom) is repeated throughout the score. Lenore represented the force of liberty that sets free Florestan, symbol of the oppressed peoples of the world.

(The composer Paër also wrote an opera on this theme, "Leonora", in 1804.) There were not many folk elements in the work of the cosmopolitan Beethoven, though they are traceable in the "Fourth", the "Pastoral", the "Seventh" symphonies and in all of his scherzos. As he became more isolated Beethoven seemed to write almost for himself alone, quite oblivious of all society; Chopin was aware of this fact when he remarked regarding the finale of Beethoven's last "Piano Trio"¹⁸¹²: "Beethoven snaps his fingers at the whole world." (5) There is a pointed foretelling here of the increasingly insular position of the bourgeois composer within his own class group.

Among minor Classical composers it is illuminating to record the very bourgeois setting of most comic operas; examples were "Der Gutsberr", 1795, "Les Rendez-vous bourgeois", 1806, and "Les Créanciers", 1807, of Isouard; and "Le Mariage de J. J. Rousseau", 1794, of Bartolomeo Bruni. Paër and Paisiello both used the society-baiting play of Beaumarchais, "Le Barbier de Seville". And Cherubini wrote "Lodofska" in 1791 on the theme of a young girl imprisoned by a tyrant.

Schubert, as we have seen in reference to his economic ~~sit~~ situation, went his own way in composing what he wished, regardless of material consequences. Most of his music was associated with the middle class; as an example we may take his famous "Serenade", 1828, which was written expressly for the birthday of the daughter of the owner of a sugar factory. Schubert went close to the people for his inspiration and the majority of his songs are based on Austrian folk music and dances.

We may draw attention, in this respect, to the simple pattern of the song "Wohin"; 1823, and his great "C Major Symphony", 1828, is full of Viennese atmosphere.

Weber, as already noted, refused to alter his music for material gain. His bourgeois nationalism was most evident in his German operas. The gregarious Weber mingled freely with the common people and made frequent use of their traditional melodies. Mendelssohn's individuality asserted itself in his lyricism and in the dramatic heroic conception of his "Elijah", 1846. A class factor may be found in the powerful choruses of this oratorio, which, as in Handel and in Glinka, suggest the movement of the people to a higher status. This same upward surge of the masses permeated his overture on a drama by Hugo, "Ruy Blas", 1839. Schumann's work, bourgeois in setting and German in idiom, carried a well-defined stamp of individuality, suggesting the predominantly inner adventure of his life. His "Manfred", 1848, is noteworthy as a depiction of the solitary genius in society.

Chopin, in his artistic self-sufficiency, created a whole new world for the piano, making the instrument completely individual. He gave voice to the dramatic and heroic in the national vein of his "Polonaises" and of the "Presto non tanto" of his "Sonata in B minor" Op. 58, 1844. The bravura sonority of Liszt's work and the originality of his symphonic poems bespeak an individual making a definite imprint on society with his personality. His "Hungarian Rhapsodies", 1851--56, especially No. 15, the "Racoc^z March", portray his national interests.

A few minor Romantic composers left works of relevance to this discussion. Outstanding was Berlioz' "Symphonie fantastique" (1830) - a violent display of the ego given full rein. And Rossini wrote two operas of special social import, the already often used story of "The Barber of Seville", 1816, from the class point of view; and "William Tell", 1829, from that of national freedom.

It should be stressed here that the use of national folk idioms in music (as well as the use of local languages in the national opera) corresponded to the general bourgeois use of the vernacular as opposed to the Latin of the Church and to the foreign tongues often spoken by the ruling classes (cf. our remarks under "Social origin" concerning Latinization etc. of surnames). The bourgeois were especially interested in the dialects of the people when they wanted to employ the masses in their campaign against the aristocracy.

From the present review it is apparent that the composers, in their increasing freedom and individuality of style and in the class and national content of their music, gave evidence of a bourgeois position.

(B) BREAKDOWN OF MUSICAL ELEMENTS.

In tracing a class factor in the various components of music we will discuss firstly changes of a general nature and then changes in melody, rhythm, form and instrumentation.

On broad lines we may take the development of instrumental music to equality with vocal as a sign of successful bourgeois

opposition to Church control. The scales, major and minor, with their source in folk melody, replaced the old modes, symbolic of Church international authority; the Church kept the ascetic severity of plain-song, as against individual feeling and expression, to remind the people of their position as subjects in a static society. Likewise the homophonic style - the single melody with harmonic accompaniment, suggesting the bourgeois apotheosis of the individual - began to supplant the corporate polyphony associated with Church and aristocratic dominance.

Linked to the bourgeois progress in science and restless research in all fields was a similar essay in musical experimentation, breaking gradually from all tradition. Such elementary developments as the crescendo and diminuendo, introduced by Stamitz⁽¹⁷¹⁷⁻⁵⁷⁾ in his early symphonies and so dynamically handled by Beethoven, suggested social movement and unrest. An unfortunate overplay of individualism, inherent in the bourgeois capitalist concept, led to value being placed on the ever bigger, faster, louder to such an extent that the means became a distorted end in themselves. A foretaste of this may be seen perhaps in the virtuosity of Liszt's "Douze Etudes d'exécution transcendante"; 1854; and in the "Military Te Deum", 1849-50, of Berlioz, requiring some nine-hundred executants.

We may focus attention now on musical detail, our first concern being melody. The corporate spirit, deriving from Medieval feudalism, prevailed well into the 18th century: a musical manifestation of this was the use of shared themes; and even Bach and Handel

(as we saw in the first chapter) made this a practice. In this early era the idea of composition and improvisation were quite interchangeable (as still to a major extent in the East today); the composer and the virtuoso, we repeat, were one and the same. In the later 18th century melodies became more identified with the individual artist; and original, increasingly personal themes, came to the fore. Wagner credited Beethoven with emancipating melody from the influence of the aristocratic world. (6)

The history of embellishments further illustrates the social change in respect to melody. These excess ornaments had their origin in the lack of a forte and piano in the clavichord, and were hence necessary to give accent. They were carried on as a mere social pattern and only tended to disappear after the French Revolution. The embellishments introduced by Chopin were mostly free and quite personal.

Great freedom, of, and stress on, rhythm met this epoch of social unrest. The Church, from early times, used peculiar rhythms, as in the Gregorian chant, demonstrate it. The secular condemnation of the set rhythms that the powerful rhythm of the pagan folk dances. The spontaneous indication of the of the Romantic period were a struggle and class breaking of social chains contrast to the artificially rhythm - the incarnation of the vital beat of an upheaval. All his stilted aristocratic earthy de

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Great freedom, of, and stress on, rhythm marked this epoch of social unrest. The Church, from early times, used irregular rhythms, as in the Gregorian Chant, to demonstrate its condemnation of the set rhythms that were part of the secular pagan folk dances. The spontaneous, natural and powerful rhythms of the Romantic period were thus a dynamic indication of the breaking of social chains. Beethoven's forte was significantly rhythm - the incarnation of individual struggle and class upheaval. All his scherzos, in contrast to the artificially stilted aristocratic minuet, have the vital beat of an earthy dance.

His march-like movements, as in the "Allegro and Finale" of the "Second Symphony", 1802, suggest the rhythm of revolution; and one may hear the relentless rhythm of the rising middle class in Beethoven's "Seventh Symphony", 1812, The whole of Schubert's "C Major Symphony", 1828, vibrates to the forceful rhythms of popular song and dance. Schumann's "March of the League of David against the Philistines", from "Carnaval", 1834-35, was a mainly rhythmic assertion of the struggle of the artist in the face of capitalistic bourgeois cultural indifference. Finally we may cite the "tempo rubato" typical of Chopin's whole work as the epitome of free individual rhythmic expression, with no social constraints.

It was in musical form, itself a social product, that signs of a social change are most easily readable. With the rise of the bourgeoisie new secular forms appeared and sacred forms were altered. In Classical music, in keeping with the static feudal society it served, form was relatively fixed and was subject to order and reason; it was a rigid form that, like the laws of drama observed the class distinctions of real life. In Romantic music, closely linked to the dynamic changing bourgeois society, a flexible form predominated, charged more with feeling than reason and embodying a new subjectivity of expression.

Opera, one of the most important of the new secular forms, originated at the end of the 16th century through the efforts of a group of aristocratic intellectuals : the lower classes later set up a rival in the opera buffa, which became a great vehicle of social satire, as we have seen regarding Mozart.

The first public opera house opened in Venice in 1637. Serious opera and tragedy were associated with the aristocracy ; comic opera and comedy with the people. Grand opera, as we have observed, was a prestige show for the nobles; and subjects were practically limited to mythology, with no class or political suggestion allowed for fear of subversive reactions. (Compare the details cited under "censorship" in the second chapter.) It was deliberately designed to amuse and flatter the ruling class.

The bourgeois Romantic opera, developing mainly from the early comic opera, played up the virtues of the middle class and the chorus took on a new importance as representing the people (as we saw in connection with "movements" and with "class content of music"). This was opera in a form designed to move the middle class audience and encourage their class struggle.

Mozart was a transitional figure in this evolution, his position being such that he combined the unreal of Grand opera with the real life of comic opera. The victory of Gluck over Piccini (1779), and of Weber over Spontini (1821), represented victories of the middle class, with their national operas, over the aristocracy, who supported the Italian opera. The composer writing Grand opera, in the Classic period, was most often a musician in service ; the composer of Romantic opera was most likely a free bourgeois serving his own class.

Another major secular development in form was the symphony. The 18th century Classical symphony was mostly written to aristocratic order and its form might well be conditioned by various extraneous circumstances, such as the time needed for a banquet

and so forth. Many of Haydn's numerous symphonies fall into this category. The Romantic symphony of the 19th century was of quite another brand; caught in the current of the bourgeois revolt, it altered in form as well as emotional content. There was a suggestion of this as early as 1791 in Haydn's "Surprise Symphony" where the Minuet copies something of both the form and spirit of the Ländler, an Austrian folk dance; a social factor may ~~xxxx~~ also be read into his introduction of the Rondo, a form that grew out of the pagan "Ring Dance", into the symphony. Beethoven, as we noted regarding rhythm, outrightly replaced the old static minuet by his dramatic scherzos (and the minuets of his first two symphonies are such in name only). Finkelstein finds an optimistic sequence of class significance in the usual four movements of the symphony of the bourgeois period; the path leads through storm and conflict to deep sorrow - but ends with positive power showing faith in humanity and progress. (7)

The Programme Symphony of later Romantic composers, and the monothematic tone poems originated by Liszt, present even more flexibility and individuality. It is of interest to note here that Lambert, tracing a class conflict between the abstract Classical symphony of the 18th century and the Programme Symphony of the 19th, suggests that the phrase "first subject" might in itself be considered undemocratic. (8) We may add that the growing use of subtitles, employed even by Beethoven - as in his "Sonata Pathétique", 1799, and "Sinfonia Eroica", 1804, provided a further touch of individuality.

Other secular forms showing this same socially conditioned freedom of form, were the orchestral overture (written without

any opera); the songs and Lieder (especially of Schubert and Schumann) with miniature dramas of their own; and the freely improvised fantasias of Schumann and Mendelssohn and ballades of Chopin.

In the world of sacred music the creation of oratorios and Passions, religious works but written for the concert hall rather than the church, were basically a middle class phenomenon. The Masses of the 18th century artisan composers, such as those of Haydn and Mozart, were suited for church use; but great Masses, like the "Missa Solemnis" (1818-23) of Beethoven and the "Requiem" (1837) of Berlioz, were written for vast audiences and for concert halls. Religious music in general, among the Romantic composers, became a more personal expression.

Remembering that the actual rise of instrumental music to equality with vocal had definite class aspects, we find similar factors in the evolution of instrumentation itself, especially in reference to individuality and to sonority. The singling out of the various orchestral instruments for treatment was a democratic facet : thus Mozart wrote concertos for instruments that seldom had solo roles, including the bassoon, horn and flute; and Beethoven demanded equality in the orchestra, expecting even his double-basses to possess a virtuoso technique. Greater sonority was required both to fill the large concert halls and to express the new bourgeois dramatic realism. Beethoven's orchestra was capable of these effects and Weber was a master of orchestral colouring. As an example of pure vastness of sound and dramatic realism we may mention the "Te Deum" of Sarti, 1795, on the taking of Otchakow, in which the orchestra was reinforced by

fireworks and cannon. The heavy use of brass and percussion in Berlioz and Liszt were also portrayals of this new sonority.

This survey of the actual music indicates that a large fraction of the music of the 18th century was written to amuse the ruling aristocracy by an artisan composer in their service; whilst most of the music of the early 19th century was written to move the middle class by a bourgeois composer taking conscious part in the rise of his own class.

(C) DEDICATIONS.

The content and manner of presentation of dedications provide additional material for class interpretation. In the 18th century the composer usually deliberately chose a person of rank and wealth to honour with a dedication with the tacit understanding that he would receive some material favour in return.

Haydn, for the most part, made no direct dedication of his works. His unfamiliarity with social forms probably led him to prefer having others undertake the compilation of his dedications, for example the publisher Artaria for his quartets to the King of Prussia in 1787. In addition his long term of security in the service of the Esterhazys made it unnecessary for him to solicit favour elsewhere. Mozart's dedications were largely of a practical nature - to stimulate the interest of the aristocracy; under this heading were the six quartets to the King of Prussia, in 1789; and six sonatas to the Princess of Nassau - Weilberg.

Beethoven was somewhat inconsistent in this respect, at times dedicating a work with the definite expectation of a return favour and at other times declaring that he would never lower himself to make such an act. It was, nonetheless, beginning with Beethoven that music was inscribed to aristocrats as a mark of friendship and hence as a sign of comparative equality. The composer dedicated his "Missa Solemnis" and his "Sonata in E-flat" (1811) to the Archduke Rudolph as to a friend; and he had the unique and flattering social experience of royalty dedicating music to him, in the Archduke's "Forty Variations". But a letter of Jan. 1819, thanking the Archduke for this gesture, shows Beethoven rather unusually conscious of a lower social position (though we must make allowance for the language customary in writing to superiors, implying more humility than likely was actually felt): "The gratitude I feel for the ... honour you have done me, I dare not venture to express either verbally or in writing for I am too far beneath you even if I could or wished ever so ardently to return like for like."⁽⁹⁾ Beethoven ignored the custom of asking the permission of royalty to allow the dedication of a work; he sent his "Victory March" (1813) directly to the Prince-Regent of England and was highly annoyed that he was never graced with even a reply.

The dedications of Schubert's works were mostly bourgeois in range; these included his Op.10 (1818), a set of Variations on a French Air, to Beethoven; and his Variations on the opera "Marie", by Herold, (1827), to Professor Neuhaus, of Linz. The most significant exception was that of the "Fantasia in F minor" (1828), to the Countess Caroline Esterhazy, mentioned above as

the object of his hopeless love. When she once complained that he had dedicated nothing to her, the shy but gallant composer replied : "Why should I, when everything is dedicated to you." (10) Weber's dedications were also predominantly bourgeois, such as the "Polanaise in E-flat", 1808, to the singer Margarethe Lang; however he dedicated his "Euryanthe" to Francis II in 1825, who rewarded him with the honour of a private audience.

Mendelssohn's music was similarly inscribed to honour the middle class; and among the recipients of his favour were Goethe, Zelter, Klingemann, Moschèles, the doctors Schleinitz and Schlemmer, and his brother Paul; and his "First Symphony in C major" 1824, was dedicated to the Philharmonic Society. The dedication of his "Scotch Symphony" to Queen Victoria was an exception; and in connection with this he was received by royalty in 1842. Schumann dedicated the majority of his works to his bourgeois wife. Exceptions of interest were his "Theme and Variations on the name of Abegg", 1830, to Countess Pauline Abegg; and his "First Symphony", 1841, to King Frederick Augustus of Saxony, who sent him in return a valuable snuff-box. Again in bourgeois context was the dedication of his "Fantaisie in C major", 1836, to Liszt; and his "Concerto in A minor", 1846, to the pianist Hiller.

The most distinguished aristocratic names figured in the dedications of Chopin's compositions : these tokens of honour however were distinct marks of friendship, not petitions for favour. It is sufficient to mention among the recipients the names of Prince Radziwill; the Princesses of Würtemberg, de Beauveau, and Czartoryska; the Countesses Esterhazy, d'Agoult,

and Potocka; and the Baroness Rothschild, to realize the quality of his aristocratic ambiance.

As a concrete example we may cite the "4 Mazurkas", Op. 50 (1836-37), to the Princess of Württemberg; but there were also significant bourgeois dedications, such as his "Ballade in F", Op.38,(1840), to Schumann.. Bourgeois to bourgeois, Liszt dedicated his "Faust Symphony", 1853-61, to Berlioz; and in the upper range we may quote part of his dedication of his "Poèmes Symphoniques", (1840-83) to the Princess Wittgenstein as evidence of a very close relationship : " ... à celle qui demeure la compagne de ma vie ..."

The attitude to dedications, typical of the composer establishing himself in bourgeois society, was well summed up by Spohr in 1807; he took pleasure in dedicating works to artists and amateurs as a token of respect, but "my artistic pride would never permit me to dedicate them to Princes for profit's sake, though even at their express desire". (11) Of similar stock was the reply of the ~~xp~~ proud Berlioz to Princess Wittgenstein, when she advised him to offer the dedication of his opera "Les Troyens", 1863, to the Emperor, in the hope of solving the difficulty of performance : "La dédier à l'Empereur qui n'a pas seulement daigné assister à une représentation ! non, non, pourquoi donc? Ce serait une platitude."(12)

This change then in the style of dedications corresponds to the change in the composer's status. Those of the 18th century were mainly from artisan musicians to the aristocracy as a mere formality and usually with the hope of a return gift or other favour :

those of the 19th century were from bourgeois composers to the aristocracy as friends or comparative equals; but mostly to friends and professional acquaintances (including often fellow musicians) in the middle class of which he now formed a part.

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SECTION III

ORIENTAL COMPARISON AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 9.

ORIENTAL COMPARISON

It is the purpose of this brief survey to bring into question the position of the musician in the society of India-Pakistan making relevant comparisons with the status of his counterpart in Western Europe. To bring this subject into relief we will deal with a larger historical period inasmuch as less sociological documentation is available regarding Oriental musicians and as society did not change basically as often or as completely as in the West.

We will use the term musician, rather than composer, as the two are inseparably linked throughout most of Indian musical history: the extempore nature of Indian music is at the basis of this identity. (It is pertinent to recall that composer and virtuoso were similarly linked in Europe till well into the 18th century.) The composer, until recent times, was not only a musician but often a poet as well. Composition thus was not a distinct profession; and music was not written down to any extent before the last century.

What we have said previously (Chapter 1) regarding the musician in Primitive society - his undifferentiated place in the tribe - applies equally to the East.

Again as in Europe, the attitude of society to music was the principal determining factor in the social rating of the musician. In the Ancient period of Indian history music was highly regarded because of its supposedly divine origin and its power to aid man in self-realization of the divinity. Two views developed however regarding music in this early phase.

The first was quite positive and apparently prevailed; it found some support in Kautilya's (or Chanakya's) "Arthashastra", dating from 321 to 296 B.C., which held that those who know and can teach music (dancing, acting and the like) should be provided with a livelihood by the state. This same book, however, grouped the ordinary musician with the artisan, whose duties fell within the province of the Sudra caste. (1) The second view, more limited, puritan and negative in attitude, derived in part from the "Anugita", a section of the "Asvamedha Parva" in the "Mahabharata", which declared that attachment to dancing, instrumental music and songs were to be avoided as belonging to Passion; (2) and also from the laws of Manu, according to which the student of Veda must forego dancing and music, as these were considered in the light of a sin. (3).

The musician however was often a priest (and therefore of Brahman caste) and as such held a more respected position. (We have seen that many early Medieval composers were priests in Europe - though usually of the lower orders.) In this capacity he made use of music for its mantra value; some of these priest-musicians also had considerable medical knowledge. By virtue then of this regard for music as divine in origin the higher categories of its practice came to be confined to the Brahmans or other high castes.

State patronage, as under the Guptas, 320-600 A.D., was a bulwark of musical development and meant also a stable position for the musician. It was apparently thought fit at this time for ladies of the upper class to learn to sing and to dance. (4)

In later years music lost much of this high class standing; its practice became a trade and it was left mostly in the hands of the lower classes. Let us look then in more detail at this degeneration of the position of the musician at the junction of the Ancient and Medieval periods of Indian history, about the 8th century A.D.

As in the Western Medieval era, and at roughly the same time, there was a certain split, in social terms, between the musician with more theoretical knowledge and general education, and the merely practical musician, illiterate and usually a wanderer from house to house. And again, exactly as happened in Europe, the musician who was attached to some court of a raja or lesser nobleman had - in this fixed situation - a distinctly higher social position than the itinerant performer. (5) It was the latter, in the licentious way of his living, who brought music into much disrepute, to the extent that both upper and middle classes tended to disdain the art. As S. N. Tagore declared: "Music became synonymous with all that is abominable." (6) The same rule applied to priest-musicians: the one attached to a temple had more claim to position than the wandering mystic musician; the latter usually became a mendicant.

A further social division was registered between the players of string as opposed to wind instruments. Strings, significantly metal rather than gut, were used by the Brahman and were favoured by the upper classes. The players of wind instruments (possibly because the Hindu was repulsed by saliva) seem to have been in a much inferior class. Dubois lists them among Pariahs and barbers. (7) We may note here that the "gursees",

players of reed pipes in the Mahratta country, held the post as a hereditary office in the villages. Pointing up their low class was the added duty imposed on them of having to sweep the temples and light the lamps. (8) We may recall that many artisan musicians in Europe had to perform non-musical chores of a menial nature; and the post of parish organist was often hereditary or passed on through a marriage connection.

The Medieval period, lasting till the 18th century, saw little basic change in this pattern - either in feudal society itself or in the role of the musician. Comparable to Europe from the time of the Roman Empire, the upper classes, as a whole, both Hindu and Muslim, no longer indulged in music directly themselves but preferred to hire performers to entertain them. The arts of music and dancing now came to be regarded as unfit for respectable Indian girls and to be rather relegated to women of low caste and even to prostitutes. This attitude persisted until well into the modern era. (9)

The scarcity of names that have been recorded of Indian musicians in this early period is another indication of their low class: there is a parallel here with the anonymous musicians of the early feudal era in Europe. Their identities, in both instances, were lost in the non-individualistic culture of a religious and upper class feudalism. In addition Hindu music, and the ragas, had - like Hindu religion itself - no individual founders.

Most authorities agree that the position of the average musician continued to be low throughout this long Medieval epoch. All arts and crafts were apparently shown the same lack of social esteem and were grouped with "other despised callings such as snake-charming, acting, dancing and music". (10) (We are

reminded of the jongleur in Europe classed with circus performers.) Dubois gives it as his opinion that the mechanical and liberal arts, such as music, painting and sculpture, were not on a much higher level than the trade of tanning and similar servile occupations; their function was left to the lower castes of the Sudras. (11) Basham states that even in the late Medieval period music was largely "the preserve of professionals who were of low caste". (12) Capt. Day, speaking of Northern India, claims that many Muslims were skilled musicians but "rarely men of any social position or educational attainments". Of the Hindus, he says that whereas they still regarded music as divine, it had become a degraded employment "fit only for strollers and dancing girls". (13) Several writers considered the status of musicians in Southern India to have been somewhat higher in this period : Day, for example, says many were men of education and were poets; Dubois notes that many were Brahmins but (as we saw above) played only on special instruments. (14)

Evidence of the artisan nature of the musician's profession also lay in the fact that he was usually obliged to belong to some school or sharana (a school that carried on a family tradition). Instruction was oral or by means of a sort of craft-gild : there is a strong resemblance here to the apprentice system and the guilds of pre-Industrial Europe. We may recall that Bach, Mozart and Beethoven learnt music from members of their own family; and Haydn was apprenticed to an established musician. Master founders of schools or families, like Tansen, remind us again of the Bach group.

Let us now examine two major historical events of this extended era that were of consequence to both society and to

the musician - the Muslim conquest and the Bhakti movement. The Muslims began to enter India as early as the 8th century A.D.; and the equality propounded in their religion was the first great counter to the caste system of the Hindus. Many converts were made because of this democratic outlook, especially in East Bengal.

The Muslim attitude to music was somewhat of a contradiction. The religious teachers emphasized its illegal status but rulers in India paid little attention to this canon, as a whole, and were often in high repute as patrons, and even as performers. From the first, however, the Muslim mystics - the Sufis - fostered music and made use of it, as did most of the Protestant sects in Europe, to help spread their cult. Music was not considered of divine origin and therefore was not sacrosanct, in contrast to the early Hindu concept: it became on the contrary a decidedly secular and sensuous art and an amusement for the ruling class. As we shall later discuss in more detail, the Khural, a secular form that was neither heroic nor devotional (nor yet of revolutionary content) began to replace the stern Dhrupal of the Hindu caste society. It was in this sense a manifestation of art for art's sake.

Music was also a symbol of royalty for the Muslim rulers: art sponsored, as by the aristocracy in Europe, to bolster the prestige of its own class. The Mauhat, a kind of military band used to celebrate the sovereign's power on special occasions, was an example of this. (We are reminded that the use of certain long trumpets in Europe was for a time restricted to royal fanfares: similarly in India the Kurna, a large trumpet, was the prerogative of high princes and priests.)

All this royal interest in music and court patronage meant at least some security for the musicians attached in service, but despite signal honours, it is unlikely that many held more than a servant status.

The Bhakti movement, beginning in the 15th century, whilst primarily a religious revival, had such force of social ferment in it that it may be compared with its contemporary, the Renaissance in Europe. And like Protestantism it meant a step forward towards humanism. In somewhat similar fashion to these Western movements it championed individuality, both of person and of soul; and it sought to raise the positions both of women and of the outcastes. Chorus singing was encouraged in the local dialect, a reminder here both of the Protestant and of the bourgeois use of the vernacular and the chorus. The movement ended in the manner of an aborted French Revolution because the middle class, the commercial element, lacking the cohesion and stability of the bourgeois in the West, failed to give it adequate support. Religion reverted to orthodoxy and society remained feudally static. The music of the Muslim courts became highly ornamental and distant from the people. (Cf. the rococo of 18th century courts in Europe.) Makerji considers that it was at this point that the musical histories of India and of the West ceased to follow quite parallel lines(15)

Let us turn now for detail to an analysis in historical sequence of the origin and position of some of these musicians. The best known musician in the 13th century was Amir Khusraw, b. 1253. His father was in service; but his mother was the daughter of a Delhi nobleman, so he was not of humble origin. As a musician at the Court of Alauddin Khalji he was given the

title of Navak, indicating proficiency in the theory and practice of music, past and present. (As it was a cultural rather than a political honour, it is difficult to make a social evaluation.) In South India, Narasimha Tirtha was a swami and a Sanskrit scholar. But the fact that he also tended his father's cattle does not indicate a lofty social position. (16)

In the 15th century we may mention three rulers who were at once musicians themselves and patrons of music; Sultan Hussein Sharqui of Jajampur, Sultan ~~Skander~~ⁱ Lodi, and Raja Mansingh of Gwalior. It was only through such royal patronage, we may well repeat, that most musicians of the time had any chance of a stable position.

The most prominent figure of the 16th century was Mian Tansen, born in 1553, poet, practical musician and composer. He was born into a poor Gaud Brahman family near Gwalior, where his father owned a small garden. His teacher was a priest, Swami Haridas. Tansen later became converted to Islam. The Emperor Akbar made Tansen leader of the Harapan, the nine jewels (a group of musicians) of his Court; and the monarch organized teams of musicians, one for each day, a relatively democratic arrangement giving each man a chance to show his talents. This same Emperor awarded Tansen two lacs of rupees after his debut before him. The musician, like Haydn, had the honour of having his portrait painted by Court artists. (17) Tansen was thus greatly distinguished at Court and his position was unusual for the times. (Many of the leading virtuosi in Europe were similarly singled out for exceptional treatment.) He founded a famous Gharana, his descendants being mostly musicians. It is

interesting to note that one musician in the service of Akbar, Machapater, was sent on a diplomatic mission to the King of Orissa. (Dusseck in Europe was entrusted with a similar undertaking.)

An early South India musician, Purander Doss (1480-1566), called the "Father of Karnatic Music", may be considered middle class in origin at least as his father was a diamond merchant.

Baz Bahadur, the last King of Malwa, famous for his romantic love with Rujmati, a Hindu singer and dancer, was himself a musician of note.

An important name in the early 17th century was Mirza Zulqarnain, the Christian Armenian poet and musician in service at Akbar's Court. His father was a merchant from Aleppo; and the musician himself held a post as superintendent of salt works, and in 1648 was even made Governor of Lahore. Both in origin and activity then he may be considered as of the middle class. In 1648, Shah Jehan, for a composition written to honour him, gave this musician a reward of 4000. rupees.

It is illuminating to examine the duties of a musician in service at the Court of Shah Jehan, himself an accomplished singer; the musician had to perform (both compose and play or sing) for all Court festivals, such as a marriage, a birth, a return from battle, the anniversary of an accession, or the recovery of a member of the Royal family from some illness; he also had to celebrate great religious festivals, like the "Ids". (18) This Emperor honoured two singers, Dirang Khan and Jagannath, by awarding them their weight in silver; and to

Em'1 Khan Kalawant he gave the title of "Gun-Samudr" (Ocean of virtues or knowledge), and he rewarded him with an elephant for composing songs in his name at a coronation ceremony. (This may be compared with the gifts and honours given to European composers by kings to whom they had dedicated some work.)

The last part of the 17th century was marked by the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1708). It would appear that he was quite fond of and encouraged music till about 1698 when he came under strong orthodox influence and applied the Muslim law against music with great severity. Musicians, now without royal patronage, found their position insecure in the highest degree. This Emperor went so far as to offer land for maintenance to any musician who would be ashamed enough of his profession to renounce it. (One is reminded of the early Puritan reaction in European Protestantism which also attacked music and actually led to the destruction of some church organs.)

From the early 18th century we may mention Hi'mat Khan, a Court musician to Bahadur Shah, who was the son of a musician; and Lala Bangali, a Khyal composer, who was in the service of Muhammad Shah.

In South India, one Maharaja of Tanjore, Shahaji (1684-1710) was not only a patron of music but composed a Telugu opera. Here also two famous families of music (again like the Bachs) were developing - the Dixits and the Iyers. Outstanding among them was Ramaswami Dixitar (1735-1817); and Pallavi Iyer (1752-1816), a Court musician of Tanjore and grandson of a musician.

In the Modern period of Indo-Pak history, from the mid

18th century, the British conquest (1757-1947) dominated the political scene; although it did little to alter the basic feudal fabric of society, the middle class slowly came to more power through education and the beginnings of industrialization. (These same weapons of learning and money-making, we recall, were used by the bourgeois of Europe to gain control in society.) As far as music and the musician were concerned the British seem to have ignored both : for the most part they considered Indian music as primitive and undeveloped (in the European sense of musical grammar). The break-up of the Mughal Empire meant a great loss to the Court musician who was forced to leave Delhi and to find refuge in smaller provincial courts to maintain any sort of position. Or he might have to wander from one petty court to another, an even more insecure situation. Both Muslim and Hindu writers agree that under British rule music lost much of its respectability as an art. (19) In the wake of this of course the social status of the musician declined.

The British, to some extent, encouraged moral laxity in the local rulers in order to undermine their resistance. Hence the Indian princes and upper classes tended to develop an enervating passion for drink, gambling and a sensual type of light music, Thumri and Tanna, that reflected the impotence and frivolity of the time. (We may liken this, as with Khval, again to the empty ornamental rococo style linked with the effete European aristocracy prior to the French Revolution; and also to the flourishing of Italian opera and, later, the Strauss waltzes.) One British writer is also of the opinion that this gradual fading away of the old feudalism under British sway

sapped Indian music of its principal patrons, reduced its social status and was the seed of the degeneration that lasted to the present century. (20)

An outstanding figure in the light of the social development of the musician was Tyagaraja (1767-1847) of South India, who has been termed the Beethoven of Indian music. His father was also a composer and a learned man. Tyagaraja managed to avoid patronage but to do so he lived as a beggar. This musician was somewhat of a social reformer himself. His brothers, like those of Beethoven, tried to take advantage of his genius to gain wealth and improve their own positions, but he would have ~~no~~ no part in this scheme. When ordered to attend the Rajas of Tanjore and of Mysore, Tyagaraja refused to go. Indeed a truly Beethovenian touch permeated his relationship with the feudal lords : thus when the Maharaja Sarabhoji of Tanjore actually begged him to come and perform before these nobles the religiously devout composer replied in song : "Are these kings greater than my Rama ?" (21) This was an important assertion of an independent position in the history of Indian musicians; and except for his material situation he might be rated as middle class.

We may cite three movements in the 19th century that indicated at least some sign of social ferment. The Baul singers of Bengal were aiding in the spread of humanism in their wanderings : they fostered a certain individuality in their religious outlook, conceiving of God and man as eternal lovers and relying like the Protestant - on their own conscience. In 1828 the Brahma Somaj reform movement was founded : it promulgated a new spirit of liberty and worked towards the emancipation of women

(as were contemporary Romantic poets and musicians in Europe) and the abolition of the caste system. And in 1875 the Arya Samaj sought also to abolish caste but more from the standpoint of religion than of society.

Though many names are to be found of 19th century musicians there are surprisingly few details available that would give an indication of class position, so it would be irrelevant merely to catalogue them here en masse.

Musicians in Madras, 1800, depended on either religious or upper class patronage. Musicians and scholars (along with courtesans and dancers) were usually attached to some temple and patronised by the Pharmakarta, a group of hereditary temple trustees coming from either the feudal lords or the rich merchant class. They also gained a living by entertaining at receptions held by their feudal patrons. (22)

Syama Sastri (d. 1827) was attached in service to a temple. The Raja of Tanjore once came to his humble home behind the temple to ask his blessings and his counsel. His son, Subraya Sastri (1803-62) was in turn a musician and likewise his grandson. Another notable name was Maharaidya Dyer (1844-93), son of a musician descended from the family previously mentioned.

Perhaps the greatest of the Tamil composers was Bharati Gopala Krishna (1810-96), who came of a family of musicians. Though a Brahman his position would not appear very elevated as he served as a cook, as well as musician, in the temple of Tanjore. (23)

Siva Ramaswaya (1815-97) may be noted as of a Brahman

family; and Koneriraja Vaidyanatha, also a Brahman, who showed middle class origin in the fact of his father being a landlord. It is interesting to record that the Maharaja Swati Tirunal of Travancore was a composer of Kirtana.

In North India we may cite Ramkesava, son of a music teacher, who served a Zamindar, Abatu Babu, in Calcutta; Ganguharain Goswami, in service at the ^a place of the Maharaja of Mysingsh; Ksitra Goswami, appointed teacher of music in the palace of Maharaja S.M.Tagore; and the families of Banik and Basak, musicians patronised by the Nawab of Dacca. The positions of all these musicians obviously still depended on serving the upper classes.

We may sum up the usual servant servant situation in this century with a reference to Loti who, on a visit to the Maharaja of Travancore in 1906, described the action of the Court musicians - entering bare-footed with noiseless steps, bowing ceremoniously and sitting on a carpet : "They belong to the Maharaja." (24)

By the 20th century a long brewing nationalism was finding much vital expression. A leader in this movement was the great rebel poet and composer Nazrul Islam (born 1900) whose songs helped to stir up the people and make even the sluggish and long dormant middle class take notice. Social and national oppression have always been a strong stimulus to ballad creation : Islam's songs were pointedly nationalistic, for example the anti-British "Raise the Call of the Triumph". Like the music of the German bourgeois national composers who

turned to a past glory to spur on their people to a new freedom, these national songs harked back to the days of the Gupta, Mughal and Rajput Courts. Islam's identification with the national movement to independence and his general situation, as poet, political rebel and social reformer, were quite middle class.

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) was of aristocratic origin, but his career as composer, poet, painter, educationalist and social reformer was in the middle class sphere. It is noteworthy that, like the rising bourgeois composers of Europe, he turned to the folk music of his country for the vitality of a new expression.

Most musicians however still depended on patronage and were in the service of the upper classes; but this patronage, as we noted earlier, gradually weakened until it practically disappeared at Partition. Musicians of today are still often from a family of musicians in the artisan Gharana tradition and many have but a low social position.

Mangudi Bhagavatar (1880-1938), son of a Court musician of Tanjore; and Gaysika Bhagavatar (1877-1945), also son of a musician, and patronised by the Raja of Ramnad, were connected with the development of Katha, a kind of opera with some content of contemporary social and political life. (The socially-conscious bourgeois composer in Europe, we remember, often used opera as a means of social criticism.)

Alauddin Khan (b.1862) descendant of a family of musicians, had a dismal beginning in the setting of the present era. To get his education he wandered here and there, often having to live on charity. Seeking help from a Dr. Kedarnath of Calcutta

he was turned away with the remark that music "is no gentleman's profession". (25) As a tabla player at the Minerva Theatre in Calcutta Khan earned only 10 rupees a month. When he was an apprentice musician to his patron-teacher, Ustad Ahmad Ali Khan he also had to serve him as a servant and cook for some four years. (26) (How strongly reminiscent is this position of that of the 18th century artisan Haydn likewise having to perform domestic chores for his teacher Porpora.) Khan later entered the service of the Maharaja of Maihar.

Other contemporary musicians who give proof that the Chhrana tradition is still widespread are Ustad Wazir Khan of East Pakistan and his sons; and Ustads Sardur Khan of Lahore and Ramzan Khan of Karachi, of the family of Tansen.

Before concluding this chapter of comparison we may review on broad lines the evidence of social evolution in the music itself. Sacred music, Marga ("the sought") tended to solidify into fixed forms linked with an unchanging feudal society. Deshi ("regional"), folk music, was more fluid and closer to the people and their problems. Dhrupad (from "pole star", meaning unchangeable) portrayed the divine and sought to arouse devotion; its subject matter was limited to praise of God or of feudal kings. (We may recall that European 18th century opera was similarly conditioned in content by feudal society.) The Brahmins opposed the humanistic element, the entertainment outlet and the use of the vernacular in popular music : similarly in Europe the Church discouraged pagan song and dance and kept Latin as the language of religion and education. The humanistic development of modes, the 14 murchangs derived from the basic

sa - and ma-gramas, in India, also corresponds somewhat to the introduction of major and minor scales, replacing Church modes, in Europe.

The Muslims, as we have seen, brought a more secular attitude to music and even a touch of romanticism. Dhrupad was largely replaced by Khval ("whim"), a music to amuse. A more human element was introduced and this new music appealed to the more progressive sections of society: (27) but the content, we repeat, remained socially unprovocative and it degenerated into the empty too ornamental style that we compared previously with the European rococo, set in a similar social context. Dadra and Ghazal songs tended now to have more appeal to the middle and lower classes. But essentially no new form of socially significant music developed after the 15th century, the emphasis remaining on refinement, because of the oft-mentioned stagnant nature of Indian society itself. (28) The position of the musicians, as we have emphasized throughout this essay, was similarly static.

Dedications of the compositions, as the music was not written down, cannot be compared in this context with Europe. But we may take the afore-mentioned composition in the name of an emperor, by La'l Khan Kalawant; and the invention of the Bahaduri Todi Raga, in the name of his patron Bahadur Shah, by Nayar Baiju in the 16th century, as types of dedication.

In summary we may examine the conditions which make it possible for the musician of contemporary India and Pakistan to live as a bourgeois in the middle class setting of these new democratic republics. Firstly we may note the spread of public interest in music, greatly stimulated by conferences (such as the All India

music conferences); the growing popularity of public concerts (some two centuries later than in the West); and the signal honours, accompanied by practical rewards, given to outstanding musicians by the leaders of their countries. In this context we may mention the case of the brothers, Ustads Salamat and Nazakat Ali of Multan, of a musical family of Punjab, granted the "Pride of Performance" award (of a value of 5000 rupees) by the President of Pakistan. Secondly, we may stress the healthy competitive spirit of these new democratic societies. Thirdly, we underline the importance of the great increase in both government and private colleges and schools of music, offering secure and respected teaching posts. Finally, there are the many new opportunities offered by radio and by film production.

Chaubey feels that the musician in this setting has become an "ostracized individual" and is not highly regarded in this new bourgeois position. (29) Certainly in the villages the artists still often have a hard time to achieve social recognition. (30) Halim is more optimistic about the achievement of the musician in this bourgeois society : " Singing and playing have become paying professions and noble too". (31)

To conclude then we may state that most musicians in India-Pakistan ultimately ran a parallel course with their Western counterparts - by becoming bourgeois - after a similarly long history of patronage and of servant status.

Chapter - 10.

CONCLUSION.

In bringing this discussion to a close it may be well to glance at two theories concerning the ideological and material position of the composer that arose from his bourgeois status and from the nature of bourgeois capitalist society : "Art for Art's Sake" as opposed to "Social Art"; and "Necessary Conflict" as opposed to "State Support". They are a radiation of the basic split between the extremes of capitalist "laissez-faire" and that of state control and aid implicit in socialism.

It is not our concern here to resolve the question raised by these theories but merely to show that the composers' awareness of the controversy was a further indication of their bourgeois standing; and these theories help to evaluate the position actually achieved by the musician in this era.

Art definitely had a social function when, as we have seen, the bourgeois wished to use it to help in his class struggle. Leibniz, early in the 18th century, postulated a social mission for art as a class weapon versus the aristocracy. And most of the composers, from Mozart and Beethoven on, were very class-conscious in the practice of their art. Liszt, influenced by the Saint-Simonian utilitarian motive for art and by Lamennais' declaration that no art exists by itself but is the expression of a social milieu, adopted the bourgeois standard of art for progress; he was a strong advocate of the social mission of art, "la grandeur sociale de l'art, cette noble couronne du génie plébéien", considering its influence and necessity to be beyond question. (1) There was already a strong bias

towards socialism in these attitudes.

On the other hand the composer who accepted the definition of "Art for Art's Sake" was usually at a stage approaching the isolated social and cultural position that followed the separation of the main line materialistic bourgeois development from the sphere of art. Art for these musicians became a world in itself, an exaggerated individualism representing an escape, an ever-increasing social and even political withdrawal, from the Philistine society of capitalism that seemed to set up the millionaire as representing the pinnacle of social achievement. For many Romantics, like Keats and Heine, beauty became its own *raison d'être*, independent of utility. The road was pioneered that was to lead away from bourgeois dramatic realism to surrealism and abstraction. In the period under question it suffices to mention one composer, J. Fétis, who held to a seemingly negative position : he felt that the artist should keep to his art "*dégagées de toute considération sociale*". He went so far as to claim that it was bad for art if the artist sought fortune, title and honours, and he was resigned to there being always an unattainable caste above him. (2) A modern writer, however, considers that this "Art for Art's Sake" is a sign of the consciousness of a small group of their status as a spiritual elite. (3)

The theory of "Necessary Conflict" to stimulate the best in artistic creation, as in business, stems from the bourgeois stress on individual competition. Physical suffering however may greatly retard this very artistic creation; and society

must take most of the blame for the incalculable cultural loss involved in the early deaths of Mozart and Schubert. These two composers, in their untimely and unsuccessful attempts to live as free bourgeois, certainly experienced their share of (necessary?) conflict. Listen to this plea of Mozart, in a letter to his father, Mannheim, Feb.19, 1778 : " I can scarcely write from actual hunger."(4)

The idea of state support, engineered and to some extent practiced by bourgeois capitalist society, reaches a high point in the basic security afforded artists in the socialist states of today. In such a society, with production for use rather than profit, all may study art and art is conceived as being for the enjoyment of all. We have seen that as early as the 4th century B.C. the notion of state support for artists was adumbrated in India. And in early 19th century Europe the French socialists Fourier and Saint-Simon (again note his influence on Liszt) proposed that artists and men of learning should be paid by voluntary contributions of the "phalanges" and live in community houses ("phalantheres"). (5) Beethoven was conscious of a high duty to society and conversely felt society owed something to him. Berlioz called for definite state support. The problem seems to be to keep the hard-won bourgeois individuality while regaining something of the corporate sense and social security of feudal times. In the opinion of the present writer only some form of limited socialism (or controlled capitalism), as an avenue to an eventual classless or élite society, is likely to produce such an ideal position for the artist.

It follows then, from this preamble, that the difficulties experienced by the composer in society, in this new bourgeois position he gained in the period of our discussion, are essentially those of the composer in the capitalist world of today - a fundamental lack of material security (as we have underlined throughout) despite the achievement of social, political and religious liberty. We have only to compare the statements of musicians of the epoch with those of contemporary artists (as we did also in reference to their material situation in a previous chapter) to see the similarity of position. It was thus that Berlioz refused to write a symphony, such was his miserable situation; and he wrote sadly towards the end of his life : " My musical career will become all that I could wish by the time I am a hundred and forty ! (6) Liszt made an equally negative declaration concerning musicians as a whole "Mais, hélas, la musique et les musiciens ne vivent encore que d'une vie factice et truquée à la surface des sociétés. Condamnés, par je ne sais quelle fatalité, à végéter sans bien commun, sans dignité, sans consécration, les artistes dans leur existence matérielle même, sont à la merci du premier venu." (7) Similarly, as late as 1847, a notice of the "Artistes-Musiciens de Paris" read : "La position des artistes, dont la renommée est modeste, est devenue précaire plus que jamais." (8) In the opinion of Turner circumstances have not improved : he suggests that Mozart's situation in the 20th century would have been worse than in 1777. (9) In the same vein is the conviction of a modern musician, Honegger, that a symphonic composer cannot live without accepting "une situation à côté".

(10) This overall failure to reach positive social liberty is of course the crux of the whole problem of the individual in general in society today.

In brief summary of our principal composers we may consider Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven as musicians in a process of social transition. Haydn began and ended his life essentially as an artisan in service; the most bourgeois aspect of his career, both as to public and as to situation, was his London period. Mozart himself ruptured the chains of his servile status but was unable to compete successfully as a free bourgeois. Beethoven may be taken as the most significant figure in this evolution; setting out as a rather lowly artisan he became the first great man in musical history to achieve a self-sufficient professional - and thus essentially bourgeois - position as a composer. Schubert and Weber, to some extent, still showed the need of adequate Court patronage at a time when the old aristocracy was disintegrating. Of mixed petty bourgeois and artisan origin, their positions became mainly middle class; though Schubert, if judged from a strictly material standpoint, could be reted almost a *déclassé*. Schumann and Mendelssohn were solidly bourgeois both in origin and position; and the same may be said of Chopin and Liszt, but with an added emphasis on their aristocratic relationships.

As a final conclusion we may clearly state, from the predominance of middle class factors in the totality of groupings, that there was a gradual movement upward in the position of the composer from an artisan in service to a bourgeois professional throughout the mid-18th to the mid-19th centuries in Europe.

This is a distinct illustration of ascending vertical social mobility, the transition of the composer group from a lower to a higher social stratum. (11) By the constant process of infiltration many individual composers, of course, had moved up the social scale before this period; but the group movement from a position of fixed status in a static feudal society to a mobile class position in a dynamic bourgeois society took place in this epoch that centred on the French Revolution; and it was based, as we have indicated throughout, on a double causation - the reciprocal process by which the bourgeoisie used music as part of their cultural force to ascendancy, and that by which the composers sought entry into the middle class to improve their own social position. Thus the composer became functionally a member of the middle class.

A similar pattern may be traced in India-Pakistan but the pace was much slower due to the more rigid nature of the caste system; the relative weakness of the middle class; and the difficulties of transition to an industrial society. Significant parallels are to be registered in regard to artisan status in feudal (Court or religious) service; the apprentice system and family schools; the interest of many rulers in music as both patrons and performers; and the upward social movement of a number of musicians before any group ascendancy. We should bear in mind that high caste often did not mean a high social position; though very low caste was usually associated with an inferior social status. Indo-Pak musicians then did not move up as a whole to a bourgeois position until the 20th century,

with the gradual bourgeois dominance that culminated in independence; and many musicians still live at a level not much changed from feudal times. The musicians of East and West today then are in a comparatively similar social position in a society that is becoming increasingly of the same nature.

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A P P E N D I C E S.

(A) LIST OF COMPOSERS.

1. Principal.

Haydn, (1732-1809); Mozart, (1756-91); Beethoven, (1770-1827); Schubert, (1797-1828); Weber, (1786-1826); Mendelssohn, (1809-47); Schumann, (1810-56); Chopin, (1810-49); Liszt, (1811-86).

2. Minor.

Classical : (Germany-Austria) Michael Haydn, (1737-1806); Dittersdorf, (1739-99); F.W. Rust, (1739-96); Vogler, (1749-1814); Reichardt, (1752-1814); J. Schenk, (1753-1856); Winter, (1754-1825); Zelter, (1758-1832); Zumsteeg, (1760-1802); Weigl, (1766-1846); Wenzel Müller, (1767-1835); Gyrowetz, (1763-1850); Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia (1772-1806); and Dussek, (1760-1812); (France) J.L. Duport, (1749-1818); Lesueur, (1760-1837); Cherubini, (1760-1842); Mehul (1763-1817); Rode, (1774-1830); Isouard (1775-1818); and Boieldieu (1775-1834); (Italy) Piccini, (1728-1800); Sarti, (1729-1802) Paisiello, (1740-1816); Boccherini, (1743-1805); Cimarosa, (1749-1801); Clementi, (1752-1832); Viotti, (1753-1824); Mayr, (1763-1845); Paer, (1771-1839); and Spontini (1774-1851). (England) Field, (1782-1837); .

Romantic : (Germany-Austria) E.T.A. Hoffmann, (1776-1822) J.N. Hummel, (1778-1837); K. Kreutzer, (1780-1849); Spohn, (1784-1859); Silcher, (1789-1860); Meyerbeer, (1791-1864); Marschner, (1795-1861); J.K. Loewe, (1796-1869); Lortzing (1801-51); and Nicolai, (1810-49). (France) Auber, (1782-1871); F.J. Pétis, (1784-1871)

Hérold, (1791-1833); Halévy, (1799-1862); de Bériot, (1802-70); A. Adam, (1803-56); and Berlioz, (1803-69); (Italy) Paganini, (1782-1840); Rossini, (1792-1868); G. Donizetti, (1797-1848); and Bellini (1801-35); (Russia) Glinka, (1804-57).

(B) Table of Cost of Living
and of Comparative Wages

1. Cost of Living.

It should be emphasized here that there was a general rise in the cost of living in Europe between 1750 and the early 19th century due to the rise of bourgeois industrial capitalism and to the Napoleonic wars.

(A) GENERAL.

Robespierre, humanely clinging to the ideal of economic equality, felt that no person should have much more or less than 3000 francs a year. (It is interesting to note that this figure is identical with the 3000 francs annuity of the "Prix de Rome", 1803, mentioned under "Economic Situation".) Schiller, in 1790, estimated that a single man could live decently in Jena on 400 gulden a year; and in Dresden on 600. Mendelssohn, in 1846, claimed that one could live well on 1800 to 2000 thalers per annum.(1)

(B) DETAIL.

Germany-Austria :

Middle class : Viennese bachelor : Viennese bachelor : 1800

	1706	-	1804	-	1933
Room	60 Florins		128 Fl.		650 Sch.
Board	180 Florins		500 Fl.		1900 "

Cost of maintaining a labouring class family in Prussia : 1850
£. 31.10s. (3)

Daily food in Vienna : 1826 : 1 florin. (4)

Room per month in Vienna : 10 florins (5)

3-room apartment in Vienna: 1830 : 25 Fl.(6)

Piano in Augsburg : 1777 : 300/Fl.(7)

France :

Cost to maintain small family,1789: £15 per annum.

Cost to maintain small family,1840: £.19 " " (8)

Average bed and supper in 1790 : 2 francs. (9)

Cost to maintain a peasant family, about 1750 : 9 shillings
a week (10).

Italy :

Lodging and 8 good meals, Ancona, 1776 : 6 pauls a day. (11)

Modest apartment in private house, Rome,1817 : $\frac{1}{2}$ a piastre
a day. (12)

England :

Cost of loaf of bread, 1766 : 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Cost of loaf of bread, 1812 : 6 d. (13)

2. Comparative wages.

(A) ARTISAN.

Germany-Austria :

Unskilled labourer, Frankfort-on-Main,1750 : 6 to 7 d. a day.

(1 gulden = 2 shillings : 1 thaler = 3 s.) (14)

Indoor labourer in Austria, 1835 : £.8 per annum.

" " Germany " : £.4 " " (15)

Servant in Leipzig, 1846 : 100 thalers per annum. (16)

France :

Workman's wages from 1751-75 : £2, 8 s. 1776-1800 : £3, 16s.

1826 - 50 : £8, 5s. (17)

An ordinary soldier in early 18th century : 1170 Francs annual (18)

Italy:

Workman in Rome, 1769 : 1 paul a day. (19)

Indoor labourer, 1835 : £2 per annum. (20)

England :

Labourer in 1750 : £5 - 1800 : £12 - 1850 : £20 annual wage (21)

A useful class comparison table gives the average income in 1800 as : Gentry = £770, Middle = £315, Trades = £150 and

Working = £70. (22)

(B) B O U R G E O I S :

Germany-Australia:

A schoolmaster (father of Schubert): maximum = 400 Fl. a year (23)

Tutor in 18th century : 50 thalers, plus room and board ; schoolmaster, in Prussia, by end of 18th C. : 200 to 400 thaler.

Average income of country Pfarrer (clergyman): 50 to 70 Fl. (24)

France:

Schoolmaster, in Burgundy, 1760 : 81 francs a year.

Professor, at Paris, 1760 : from 292 to 1040 francs a year (25)

England:

Jeweller, 1830-39 : 20 pence a day

Printer, " " : 22 " " " (26)

For additional material the reader is referred to d'Avenel's Vol. 4, P.60 et seq. : "Honoraires et pensions d'Artistes et gens de lettres" (see reference (9) above).

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