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Eingriffe des Verlegers in Haydns Bearbeitungen  
schottischer Lieder

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**Marjorie E. Rycroft**

**Eingriffe des Verlegers in Haydns Bearbeitungen  
schottischer Lieder<sup>1</sup>**

George Thomson (1757–1851), ‘The Friend of Burns’,<sup>2</sup> served as Clerk to the Board of Trustees for the Arts and Manufactures in Scotland (based in Edinburgh) for more than 58 years, retiring in 1839. Today he is better known as the editor and publisher of three collections of national song: six volumes of Scottish airs published between 1793 and 1845; three volumes of Welsh airs (1809–1817) and two volumes of Irish airs (1814–1816). The Welsh and Irish collections were published only once, but Thomson dabbled continuously with the Scottish volumes, issuing them, re-issuing them, adding some songs and subtracting others as each new volume appeared.

It was on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1799 that Thomson wrote<sup>3</sup> to Alexander Straton, Secretary to the British Legation in Vienna, enclosing “a packet for Haydn” containing 16 Airs. Haydn accepted Thomson’s commission to write “Symphonies and Accompaniments” to the Scottish Airs and between June 1800 and October 1804 he sent Thomson a total of 208 songs and 6 sets of variations, plus revisions to individual songs and variations as requested by Thomson.

Thomson’s extensive collection of manuscripts, correspondence and letter books, now preserved in the British Library, confirms that he sent batches of untitled, textless melodies (or airs)<sup>4</sup> to Haydn. Haydn responded by sending back his arrangements for voice (or voices) accompanied by violin, cello and piano. These arrangements, usually in the hand of Haydn’s trusted copyists such as Johann Elßler, served either as engraver’s copies (Stichvorlagen) or as master copies from which Thomson

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to record my grateful thanks to the Leverhulme Trust for the award (in 1999) of a Research Fellowship. The Fellowship supported a year’s study leave, which enabled me to prepare, in collaboration with Drs Kirsteen McCue and Warwick Edwards, two volumes for the Gesamtausgabe of Joseph Haydn Werke [=JHW], XXXII/ 3–4. Together they contain all 208 Scottish, Welsh and Irish folksongs and 6 Variations commissioned from Haydn by Edinburgh publisher George Thomson.

<sup>2</sup> Cuthbert Hadden, *George Thomson the Friend of Burns. His Life & Correspondence*, London 1898.

<sup>3</sup> London, British Library (= Lbl) Ms. Add. 35263, ff. 79–80.

<sup>4</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35272, f. 16<sup>r</sup> has the first verse of “My mither’s ay glowrin o’er me”, Hob. XXXIa:70 [JHW 182] written (in ink) by Thomson below the stave for “Voce”.

selected songs “To be copied”<sup>5</sup> for the engraver. None of these second copies has survived.

My paper investigates discrepancies between the manuscript and printed sources of songs published by Thomson and variations published by Preston. Evidence gleaned from the correspondence, and from the manuscripts, indicates that while some of the discrepancies unique to the printed volumes are indeed Thomson’s, others are almost certainly Haydn’s revisions. Until now it has generally been assumed that all variants or discrepancies between the manuscript sources and the published volumes represent revisions made unilaterally by Thomson or Preston, without Haydn’s authority.

Close study of the music manuscripts<sup>6</sup> shows that Thomson was a meticulous editor. On receipt of the manuscripts he added the title of each Song and/or Air in black ink above the first system, sometimes renumbering songs in order to fit his sequence as opposed to Haydn’s. He checked each song arrangement thoroughly, correcting wrong notes and obvious copying errors, changing tempo marks, scoring out repeat marks and writing alternative passages if he felt Haydn’s original parts were too difficult or too high for the voice or instrument. These amendments, most of which are in pencil, were generally observed by the engraver and are to be found in the printed editions.

One of the best examples of a revision by Thomson, presumably without Haydn’s authority, is his cello part for the final bars of “Bannocks o’ barley meal”, Thomson evidently did not believe that amateur cellists would be able to play Haydn’s virtuosic part, and he duly reduced it to the barest harmonic outline. Thomson’s published cello part follows this simpler version, which he had written (in pencil) on the empty staff at the bottom of the manuscript.<sup>7</sup> (See appendix to this essay, example 3/bars 24–26.)

Thomson sometimes added violin cues in red ink to the right hand of the piano – usually by means of paste-overs, since the cues inevitably required a change of stem direction in the piano part. These violin cues were duly engraved and are to be found in the printed voice and piano scores. Paste-overs were also used for Thomson’s more substantial revisions, such as the coda of “The broom of Cowdenknows” (example 1). This old Scottish Air ends with an imperfect cadence. Haydn had no dif-

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<sup>5</sup> Thomson’s handwritten instruction (in pencil) appears on some folios (e.g. Lbl Ms. Add. 35273, f. 38<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35272–5.

<sup>7</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35273, f. 77<sup>r</sup>.

ficulty with this, as can be seen from the way in which he begins his coda on the dominant chord. Thomson, it would appear, found the ending of the song unsatisfactory and set about concluding it with a perfect cadence. His solution, which is a very crude one, is not only dull, but it also distorts the phrase structure and balance of the original song. Having recomposed the song's ending he then had to revise, and cut, Haydn's coda. The manuscript<sup>8</sup> has traces of glue over the first four bars of Haydn's coda, indicating that something has been pasted over the score. Unfortunately the paste-over has since become unstuck and lost, so that we can only assume that it must have been Thomson's revision that was engraved for publication.

Occasionally Thomson commented on the merits (or otherwise) of Haydn's arrangements. For example he wrote "Admirable" at the top of "My Love she's but a lassie yet",<sup>9</sup> one of the songs for which there is also an autograph<sup>10</sup> in Paris. However on the duet arrangement of "My Nanie O"<sup>11</sup> he wrote "P[iano] F[orte] Acc[ompaniment] won<sup>l</sup>t do", while on "O gin my Love were yon red rose"<sup>12</sup> he wrote "This is learned[,] dry & ugly". Thomson appears to have noticed that this last song was not up to Haydn's usual "admirable" standard and he delayed publishing it until 1826.<sup>13</sup> Discerning though he was, Thomson did not know then what we know now – namely that the song is probably by Neukomm, not Haydn. There is strong evidence leading to the conclusion that it is one of the two songs referred to in Haydn's note to Neukomm of 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1804 in which he wrote :

„Liebster Freund

Haydn bittet dringend, beyliegende zwey Lieder sobald möglich zu machen, und meinem Bedienten zu sagen, an welchen Tag er sie abholen kann.“<sup>14</sup>

The next day (4<sup>th</sup> April 1804) Neukomm made an entry in his *Werkverzeichnis*<sup>15</sup> – „Zwey schottische Lieder pour le Pianoforte (für Vater

<sup>8</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35272, f. 4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35273, f. 55<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (= Pn) Ms. 139.

<sup>11</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35273, f. 82<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35274, f. 7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, Vol. I (1826), 4.

<sup>14</sup> The letter is in private hands. I am grateful to the Haydn-Institut, Köln, for providing me with a photocopy. N.B. Landon and Bartha are mistaken in dating this letter 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1803 (Bartha, No. 325).

<sup>15</sup> Rudolph Angermüller, Sigismund Neukomm. *Werkverzeichnis, Autobiographie, Beziehungen zu seinen Zeitgenossen*, München 1977, 59.

Haydn)“ and on 6<sup>th</sup> April 1804 Haydn wrote to Thomson „Ho l'onore di mandarvi dodici Arie e le ultime due che ho ricevuto poco fa ...“<sup>16</sup>. With this letter Haydn sent Thomson a batch of 14 songs, the last two („le ultime due“?) of which are No. 13 “O gin my love were yon red rose” and No. 14 “Johny Faw”. This last song survives in two versions, the earlier version by Neukomm (published by Thomson in Vol. IV, 1805, No.196) and a later revision authenticated by Haydn<sup>17</sup> and sent to Thomson on 30<sup>th</sup> October 1804. Thomson noted on the letter<sup>18</sup> – “Dr Haydn / With a single Air, w.<sup>t</sup> an easier Accomp.<sup>l</sup>”. Haydn’s revision was never published by Thomson.

Where there is an authenticated copy of Haydn’s work – still more so an autograph – one’s first instinct is to dismiss out of hand all readings which are at variance with it, especially if publication is outwith the composer’s control. In our case the supposition would be that we should dismiss Thomson’s or Preston’s printed version in favour of the manuscript. But can we be sure that all the printed revisions are the publisher’s? What evidence is there that might suggest Haydn had a hand in some of them?

Thomson’s correspondence with Kozeluch and Beethoven proves that he did not shy away from asking them to revise their arrangements – much to Kozeluch’s and Beethoven’s annoyance. In his correspondence with Haydn, however, there are very few such requests. It would appear that Haydn’s arrangements generally met with Thomson’s approval, though this was not always the case, and 29 songs, some of which may admittedly be by Neukomm, were never published.

None of the folksong exemplars Thomson sent Haydn survives except for a bifolium,<sup>19</sup> on which Thomson asks Haydn to supply small symphonies and eight new violin accompaniments<sup>20</sup>. To assist Haydn, and to remind him of the songs requiring new symphonies, Thomson wrote out incipits and cues in full score for five songs, leaving sufficient space on the manuscript for Haydn to add his revisions. (Haydn appears to have written the new introduction for a sixth song, “Muirland Willy”, without prompting from Thomson.) However there are no clues as to which eight songs were to have the new violin accompaniments. All that survives are the printed violin parts for Thomson’s Vol. III (1802) and the

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<sup>16</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35263, ff. 225–6.

<sup>17</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35274, f. 44<sup>f</sup> has Haydn’s signature, “Dotr=Haydn<sub>mpria</sub>” at the top of the page.

<sup>18</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35263, ff. 244–5.

<sup>19</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35272, ff. 21–22.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.* f. 22<sup>v</sup>.

correspondence between Thomson and Haydn. From these sources it is possible to identify the eight songs.

#### THE EIGHT VIOLIN PARTS

In the summer of 1801, probably at the beginning of July shortly after receiving the 16 songs Haydn had sent him in mid-June, Thomson sent Haydn the bifolium mentioned above, on which he wrote:

„À Haydn Se voleste mandarmi il nuovo Accomp<sup>o</sup> di Violino per gli 8 Arie; insieme con le piccole Sinfonie sopra questo foglio presto mi obligerete di molto. – G.T.”<sup>21</sup>

Haydn returned the bifolium on 7<sup>th</sup> October 1801, with a letter in his own hand, and enclosing the revised violin parts. Haydn wrote:

„Vi mando fra tanto l'Accompagnamento del Violino per l'Arie desiderate e Segnate Numero 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6 – 7 – 8. Sperando che ho trovato il vostro gusto: ho cangiato ancora il Rittornello del N<sup>o</sup> 15 e 16 ed ho aggiunto la Coda del N<sup>o</sup> 2 – 9 – 24 – 25 come lo vedrete.”<sup>22</sup>

The numbering of the two ritornelli and the four codas correspond to songs Thomson had received in two separate mailings earlier in 1801. The songs with new introductions, No. 15, “Fy ! gar rub her o'er wi' strae”, and No. 16, “Muirland Willy”, are numbered 15 and 16 respectively in the batch of 16 songs sent from Vienna in mid-June 1801. The four songs for which Thomson requested codas are “Auld Rob Morris”; “Woo'd and married and a”; “Peggy, I must love thee”; “The death of the linnet” (Nos. 2, 9, 24 and 25 respectively from the batch of 25 songs Haydn had sent on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1801). Haydn's sequential numbering of the violin parts on the other hand does not correspond to numbering in the original manuscripts. Seven of the eight songs are from the first batch of 32 *Airs* which Haydn sent Thomson on 18<sup>th</sup> June 1800 (Nos. 1, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 24 respectively). The eighth song is No. 12 of the 25 songs sent on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1801.

In contrast to his correspondence with Kozeluch and Beethoven, Thomson rarely discussed musical matters with Haydn, an indication of his general satisfaction with Haydn's settings. No letter survives detailing the kind of revisions he wished Haydn to make to the violin parts. There is however a copy of a letter Thomson sent to Kozeluch on 15<sup>th</sup> November 1799 in which he says:

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<sup>21</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35272, f. 22<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> The letter is in private hands. I am grateful to the Haydn-Institut, Köln, for providing me with a photocopy.

"Your Violin part is also pleasing, but I beg leave to make one remark on it. I observe you frequently give it the Air from beginning to end – and sometimes one half, the Air, & the other half, Accompaniment. I confess I like it far better in this varied form, where at least one half is literally an Accompaniment. – I think likewise when you see it proper to give the Violin the octave of the Air, it were better the octave below, than the octave above the Air, because it would thus be less open to overpower a delicate voice."<sup>23</sup>

This is of relevance to the eight new violin parts – and note there are only eight printed violin parts which differ from the manuscript sources.

In seven of the eight songs, Haydn's original violin parts had doubled the voice either at the unison ("Waes my heart that we should sunder"; "William and Margaret"; "Saw ye my father?"; "Maggie Lauder"; "The blathrie o't") or an octave higher ("The ewie wi' the crooked horn"; "Rothiemurcus rant"). Haydn gave each of the revised violin parts greater independence from the voice and piano. In "Waes my heart" and "William and Margaret" he composed a new introduction and coda, retaining the original violin accompaniment which doubles the voice.

For the verses of "The ewie wi' the crooked horn" and "Maggie Lauder" he composed a new violin accompaniment, retaining his original introduction and coda, while in "Saw ye my father?", "The blathrie o't" and "Rothiemurcus rant" he revised the entire violin part. His revisions to "Saw ye my father?", "The ewie wi' the crooked horn" and "Maggie Lauder" are, in effect, variations (or divisions) on the vocal melody, as the following example shows (example 2).

The eighth song, "Bannocks o' barley meal", stands apart from the other seven in two respects. Firstly it belongs to a later group of songs (sent on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1801 compared with 18<sup>th</sup> June 1800), and secondly its original violin part was unlike any of the earlier seven songs, being independent of the voice and technically more demanding. Hence it is the only violin part which Haydn *simplified* (example 3). It may be that as an amateur violinist Thomson took fright at the technical difficulties of the part and therefore asked Haydn to avoid them. While the revisions are simple, changing a note here (bars 10 & 15) or cutting notes there (bars 19–20), they are the sort of refinements which remove the technical difficulties while maintaining the musical spirit and character of the part. This is the song I mentioned above in connection with Thomson's revision of the cello part. Thomson, however, made no amendment to the difficult violin part on the manuscript copy. Had he wished to sim-

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<sup>23</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35263, ff. 74–75.

plify it, he would surely have done so on the manuscript in the same way, and at the same time, he pencilled in his alternative the cello part.

Other works which underwent revision before publication, are the six sets of variations that Haydn sent Thomson on 26<sup>th</sup> May 1802<sup>24</sup>. They are all based on songs he had arranged in 1800 and 1801, songs published in Thomson's Vol. III of 1802. Comparison of the original variation manuscripts with the edition published by Thomas Preston in 1805<sup>25</sup>, reveals major discrepancies. Haydn had conceived the variations as vocal works, scored for the same forces as his song arrangements. The variations published by Preston, however, are instrumental works, for piano and violin (or flute), without a voice. Who was responsible for revising the variations?

### THE VARIATIONS

Unlike the eight violin parts, there is no autograph letter from Haydn to confirm that he did (or did not) revise the variations as Thomson requested.

The story begins with a letter from Haydn, in his own hand, to Thomson, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1802, in which he writes:

„...vi mando con questa l'Aria favorita The blue Bell of Scotland, e vorrei, che questa piccola Aria fosse Stampata tutta Sola, e dedicata in Nome mio come un piccolo, piccolo Dono d'Accompagnamento alla rinomata Mrs Jordan, ... io non volevo far un'accompagnamento più Brillante per non Scoprire l'espressione e la bella voce d'una virtuosa si garbata.”<sup>26</sup>

Thomson noted on the back of the letter: “Haydn with Symph.<sup>s</sup> Accomp.<sup>t</sup> & Variations to the Blue bell”. In defiance of Haydn's instructions Thomson extracted the theme with its instrumental symphonies, and published it as a conventional song arrangement in Vol. III<sup>27</sup>, without reference to the dedicatee, Dora Jordan. The volume, the first of Thomson's to contain arrangements by Haydn, must already have been at the engraver's, and printing must have been well advanced.<sup>28</sup>

Haydn's autograph score (voice and piano only) of “The blue bell” is preserved, along with Elßler's copy of the violin and cello parts and five

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<sup>24</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35263, ff. 156–7.

<sup>25</sup> The volume was entered at Stationers' Hall on 16<sup>th</sup> May 1805.

<sup>26</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35263, ff. 138–9.

<sup>27</sup> A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs, Vol. III (1802), 35.

<sup>28</sup> The Preface to Vol. III is dated December 1801. The volume was entered at Stationers' Hall on 28<sup>th</sup> April 1802.

further sets of variations<sup>29</sup> Haydn had forwarded on 26<sup>th</sup> May 1802<sup>30</sup>. The cover note<sup>31</sup>, which was subsequently added by Thomson, indicates that he sold all six works to his London associate, Thomas Preston, in 1805. Preston published them, with significant changes, as "Six / Admired Scotch Airs / Arranged as / RONDOS / for the / Piano Forte / with an Accompaniment for the Violin & Flute / by / Dr HAYDN". Roger Fiske reported that "he [Preston] cut introductions and made other excisions, with the result that these pieces lose some of their quality"<sup>32</sup>.

Yet one cannot lightly dismiss Preston's versions as inauthentic, nor assume that Preston undertook the revisions. Turning again to the correspondence, we find that on 8<sup>th</sup> June 1802 Thomson returned "Haydn's Manuscript of 6 Variations to Scots Songs to be altered"<sup>33</sup>. Just over a year later, on 18<sup>th</sup> June 1803, Thomson wrote to Charles Stuart, Secretary to the British Legation in Vienna, regarding 45 songs and the 6 variations. Thomson informs Stuart he has written to Haydn urging him

"in the strongest manner to do my aforementioned 45 Airs, ... I have likewise requested him to send back the 6 Airs with Variations as they stand, in case he finds it disagreeable to retouch the Variations. For these 6 he received 30 guineas long ago which was the price agreed on for the Variations. ...

PS Should it unfortunately happen that the 45 Airs cannot be got done by Haydn, it is my wish that you would get those very 45 Airs, which are all number'd in a regular series, put them in a Letter for Beethoven, and then deliver it. But if there is any probability of Haydn doing them, I would certainly let them remain with him. I beg to hear from you soon."<sup>34</sup>

Stuart replied on 6<sup>th</sup> August 1803 confirming that Haydn had completed the 45 Airs:

"Of the 45 airs 11 were sent by Haydn himself by the Post & 34 through me by Messenger. The 6 to be altered were also returned."<sup>35</sup>

Rudolph Angermüller<sup>36</sup> has proved that 23 of these 45 songs are Neukomm's arrangements, sent by Haydn to Thomson on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1803. The

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<sup>29</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35275, ff. 27–42.

<sup>30</sup> Lbl Ms. Add., 35263 ff. 156–7.

<sup>31</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35275, f. 27.

<sup>32</sup> Roger Fiske, *Scotland in Music*, Cambridge 1983, 73.

<sup>33</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35263, ff.150–1. Endorsement by Thomson on a letter dated 4<sup>th</sup> March sent to him by Charles Stuart from Vienna.

<sup>34</sup> Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland (= En) Ms. 3112, ff. 215–6.

<sup>35</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35263, ff. 178–80.

<sup>36</sup> Rudolph Angermüller, *Neukomm's schottische Liedbearbeitungen für Joseph Haydn*, in: *Haydn-Studien*, Vol. III (1974), 151.

23 songs survive both in Neukomm's autograph score<sup>37</sup>, and also in Elßler's copies<sup>38</sup>, which Haydn must have authorised. Evidently Haydn preferred to subcontract his work to one of his pupils rather than have the songs taken away from him and redirected to Beethoven ! While Stuart's letter confirms that Haydn had sent the outstanding 45 songs as requested, it is not clear whether he had also completed the revisions on the "6 to be altered". On the other hand, had Haydn found the task of revising them "disagreeable" and chosen to return them unaltered, one would imagine Stuart might have said as much in his letter to Thomson. In addition, Thomson, who always noted the contents of each letter on the reverse, would surely have commented on Haydn's unwillingness to revise the variations. This, after all would have been the first occasion on which Haydn had not complied with Thomson's wishes. Instead Thomson notes on the back of Stuart's letter that Haydn admits to having "harmonised some Scottish Airs for White [sic]" and that his "age & ill health will oblige him to decline farther [sic] commissions"<sup>39</sup>.

The correspondence does not reveal what kind of revisions Thomson required, but it does compel us to ask whether Preston's edition might not represent Haydn's intentions after all. It is even possible that Haydn, having approved and dispatched Neukomm's songs just one month earlier, approached Neukomm again with regard to altering the variations.

Haydn's autograph of "The blue bell" and Elßler's copy of the other variations prove that they were conceived as vocal works in which the theme appears first as a song arrangement, before being subjected to three variations featuring elaborate keyboard and violin divisions. The theme then returns *Da capo*. They were large-scale, extended works for voice accompanied by violin, cello and piano, and as such did not fit into Thomson's planned series of "Original Scottish [sic] Airs". It is therefore not beyond the bounds of possibility that he asked Haydn to "re-touch"<sup>40</sup> the variations as instrumental works.

Converting them from vocal to instrumental works would not have required extensive revisions to the violin and piano parts, since the voice was often doubled by the instruments. However, there are some passages in the manuscript version where the voice part is not doubled, and here revisions were required.

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<sup>37</sup> Pn Rés. Ms. 17354.

<sup>38</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35273, ff. 2-29.

<sup>39</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35263, ff. 178-80.

<sup>40</sup> En Ms. 3112, ff. 215-6.

Consider the variations on “My Love she’s but a lassie yet”. Haydn had sent Thomson the “admirable” song arrangement at the end of January 1802. By analogy with “The blue bell”, that would have served as the theme for the variations he later sent on 26<sup>th</sup> May 1802. Elßler had no need to copy the song arrangement out again; hence the manuscript begins with *Variazione 1<sup>ma</sup>*. Note that it includes a voice part, one that forms an integral and essential part of the texture (example 4). The version printed by Preston includes the theme, but not the instrumental introduction of Haydn’s original song arrangement. More significantly there is no voice part; and herein lies the difference between the two versions. The original *Variazione 1<sup>ma</sup>* had the theme in the voice with independent accompaniments on violin and piano. The revision (here in small notes) incorporates the song melody into the piano and completely reworks the accompaniment.

Without a singer there is no longer any need for the original instrumental introduction. The dropping of the cello part may also be one of Haydn’s revisions, for Thomson did not give Preston the manuscript cello part when he sold him the variations. On the title page<sup>41</sup> of the “Original M.S. of Six Airs with Variations” Thomson noted “The Violin part only sent to Preston”.

A similar reworking of the vocal melody into the piano part is apparent in the variations on “Maggie Lauder” (example 5). Even more interesting, however, is the violin part. It is, of course, the same violin part Haydn had revised and sent to Thomson on 7<sup>th</sup> October 1801 (compare example 2). Two more variations (“Bannocks o’ barley meal” and “Saw ye my father?”) are also common to the eight songs with new violin accompaniments. In both cases Preston published Haydn’s revised violin parts. Thus the variations and the violin parts are inextricably linked. The authentication of the eight revised violin parts as Haydn’s work provides another piece of evidence to support the hypothesis that Haydn did supply Thomson with revisions to the variations after all, and like all good composers he re-used music he had written earlier. This extended to the variations on “Killiecrankie”. In the original version the violin had doubled the voice and piano right hand at the unison. In the revised version printed by Preston, the violin part for the opening theme is identical to the independent violin part of the earlier song arrangement.<sup>42</sup>

There is another possibility that merits consideration, and that is the possibility that Neukomm undertook the revisions for Haydn. In addition to

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<sup>41</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35275, f. 27.

<sup>42</sup> Killiecrankie, Hob XXXIa:169 [JHW 244], sent by Haydn on 27<sup>th</sup> October 1801 and published by Thomson in Vol. III, 27.

the 23 songs, which Neukomm arranged for Haydn between spring and summer 1803<sup>43</sup>, there are entries in his *Werkverzeichnis*<sup>44</sup> confirming that he continued to arrange Scottish songs “für Vater Haydn” between 20<sup>th</sup> March 1804 and 5<sup>th</sup> November 1805. The possibility that Neukomm, having completed the 23 songs to Haydn’s satisfaction by the end of June 1803, then undertook revision of the variations, cannot be discounted.

Finally, to return to the chronology of the variations, there follows a nice twist. In the first week of 1805 word reaches Thomson that Haydn has died. Thomson writes a letter of condolence on 7<sup>th</sup> January to Haydn’s bankers, Fries, in Vienna, whereupon Haydn instructs them to send Thomson his autograph score of “The blue bell”, duly signed and dated 6<sup>th</sup> February 1805, “pour mieux prouver, qu’il est encore de ce bas monde”<sup>45</sup>. Later in the year, having decided that the instrumental variations would not, after all, fit into his series of Scottish songs, Thomson sells the “altered” variations to Preston. As an inveterate record-keeper, he (Thomson) decides to keep Haydn’s autograph of “The blue bell” along with Elßler’s original copies of the other five variations for his own records. It seems improbable that the manuscripts sold to Preston would have found their way back into Thomson’s possession. It is much more likely that the manuscripts Preston bought from Thomson were those of the revised variations, which have since disappeared. Thus, the only surviving source for Haydn’s “altered” variations is Preston’s edition of the “Six Admired Scotch Airs Arranged as Rondos”.

In conclusion, the assumption that all revisions printed by Thomson and Preston are the work of the publisher, and not the composer, is no longer tenable. Surviving correspondence, coupled with authenticated manuscripts, such as the bifolium containing Haydn’s autograph symphonies and codas, or the signed manuscript sheet<sup>46</sup> with revisions for “Johny Faw” on recto and for “The red piper’s melody” and “The shepherd’s son” on verso, prove that Haydn did revise some of his work at Thomson’s request. Haydn’s letters also indicate his willingness to compose works that would please Thomson and be to his taste (see Haydn’s letter dated 7<sup>th</sup> October 1801 above). Thomson’s own revisions, presumably made without Haydn’s knowledge or authority, can be identi-

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<sup>43</sup> Neukomm’s autograph score (Pn Rés. Ms. 17354) has the dates “Im Hornung 1803” and “im März 1803”. Furthermore we know that Neukomm’s 23 songs were sent to Thomson on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1803.

<sup>44</sup> Angermüller, Sigismund Neukomm, 59–60.

<sup>45</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35263 f. 254.

<sup>46</sup> Lbl Ms. Add. 35274, f. 44.

fied from his amendments (usually in pencil), his cues (in red ink) and his paste-overs on the manuscripts he had received from Vienna. In the absence of such evidence one is justified in assuming that printed revisions such as the transposition of a song into another key, added ornamentation, slurs, dynamics etc are Thomson's rather than Haydn's. In the case of the variations Preston was probably responsible for the revised sequence of songs, and also for adding the flute as an alternative instrument to the violin.

The following list provides a summary of revisions made to Haydn's Scottish folksong arrangements and identifies those which are by i) George Thomson, ii) Haydn, iii) Haydn – or possibly Neukomm?

## SUMMARY OF REVISIONS

(The songs are identified by their numbers in Hoboken's group XXXIa.)

### i) Thomson's

The following revisions were published in Thomson's folio volumes entitled "A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs" (= Ts):

#### a) Introductions and Codas

The broom of Cowdenknows, Hob. No. 170 [JHW<sup>47</sup> 157] – revised coda (Ts Vol. III (1802), 28)

My mither's ay glowrin o'er me, Hob. No. 70 [JHW 182] – introduction omitted (Ts Vol. IV (1805), 194b) and later re-instated (Ts Vol. IV (1831), 196<sup>48</sup>)

Edinburgh Kate, Hob. No. 69<sup>bis</sup> [JHW 192] – introduction and coda omitted (Ts Vol. IV (1805), 194a)

#### b) Transpositions

The learig, Hob. No. 31<sup>bis</sup> [JHW 152] – a tone higher (Ts Vol. IV (1805), 195)

Jingling Johnie, Hob. No. 263 [JHW 259] – a tone lower (Ts Vol. II (1817), 79)

Bonny grey-ey'd morn, Hob. No. 101<sup>bis</sup> [JHW 261] – a minor third lower (Ts Vol. V (1818), 224)

#### c) Ossia

Thro' the wood, laddie, Hob. No. 181 [JHW 156] – two notes ( $f^2/a^2$ ) are printed in bar 19 with the instruction 'When the Voice cannot reach this A, the F may be substituted'. (Ts Vol. III (1802), 43)

Bannocks o' barley meal, Hob. No. 171 [JHW 194] – simpler cello part (Ts Vol. III (1802), 29)

#### d) Ornamentation, tempo, dynamic, expression and phrase marks

Thomson frequently added ornaments (trills, appoggiaturas), cadenzas, expression marks, slurs etc principally to the voice part.

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<sup>47</sup> The JHW numbering corresponds to the numbering of the songs and variations in the forthcoming volumes of Joseph Haydn Werke (XXXII/3 and 4).

<sup>48</sup> The arrangement in Vol. IV (1831) is transposed down a tone.

ii) H a y d n ' s

The following revisions were requested by Thomson and supplied by Haydn. Most of the revisions were published either in Thomson's folio volumes entitled "A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs" (= Ts), or "A Select Collection of Original Welsh Airs" (= Tw).

a) Introductions and Codas

Fy! gar rub her o'er wi' strae, Hob. No. 7<sup>bis</sup> [JHW 222] – introduction (Ts Vol. II (1803), 53)

Muirland Willy, Hob. No. 242 [JHW 223] – introduction (Ts Vol. IV (1805), 177)

Auld Rob Morris, Hob. No. 192 [JHW 184] – coda (Ts Vol. I (1803), 17)

Woo'd and married and a', Hob. No. 38<sup>bis</sup> [JHW 191] – coda (Ts Vol. III (1802), 50)

Peggy I must leave thee, Hob. No. 167 [JHW 206] – coda (Ts Vol. III (1802), 24)

The death of the linnet, Hob. No. 138<sup>bis</sup> [JHW 207] – coda (Ts Vol. III (1802), 39)

b) Violin parts

Wae's my heart that we should sunder, Hob. No. 155 [JHW 151] (Ts Vol. III (1802), 9)

William and Margaret, Hob. No. 153 [JHW 159] (Ts Vol. III (1802), 5)

Saw ye my father?, Hob. No. 5<sup>bis</sup> [JHW 160] (Ts Vol. III (1802), 2)

The ewie wi' the crooked horn, Hob. No. 116<sup>bis</sup> [JHW 162] (Ts Vol. III (1802), 6)

Maggie Lauder, Hob. No. 35<sup>bis</sup> [JHW 164] (Ts Vol. III (1802), 25)

The blathrie o't, Hob. No. 162 [JHW 165] (Ts Vol. III (1802), 19)

Rothiemurcus rant, Hob. No. 165 [JHW 174] (Ts Vol. III (1802), 21)

Bannocks o' barley meal, Hob. No. 171 [JHW 194] (Ts Vol. III (1802), 29)

c) Songs

Johny Faw, Hob. No. 251 [JHW 340] (unpublished)

The red piper's melody, Hob. b:34 [JHW 303] (Tw Vol. II (1811), 56 1<sup>st</sup>)

The shepherd's son, Hob. No. 106<sup>ter</sup> [JHW 363] (unpublished)

iii) H a y d n ' s - o r N e u k o m m ' s ?

The revised variations (Hob. No. 176) were published by Preston as "Six Admired Scotch Airs":

The blue bell [of Scotland] [JHW 263] (Preston, No. 1)

My Love she's but a lassie yet [JHW 264] (Preston, No. 3)

Bannocks o' barley meal [JHW 265] (Preston, No. 5<sup>49</sup>)

Saw ye my father? [JHW 266] (Preston, No. 2)

Maggie Lauder [JHW 267] (Preston, No. 4)

Killiecrankie [JHW 268] (Preston, No. 6)

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<sup>49</sup> Entitled: Argyle is my Name.

Ex. 1:

23 <sup>9)</sup>

hame to tend the ewes.

hame to tend the ewes.

*dolce*

29 *dolce*

*dolce*

*f*

*dolce*

*f*

<sup>9)</sup> bars 24-29 = Thomson's conclusion published in Ts III; almost certainly attributable to Thomson

24 *dolce*

ewes O the broom the bon-ny bon-ny broom

ewes O the broom the bon-ny bon-ny broom

*dolce*

*f*

*dolce*

*f*

*The broom of Cowdenknows.*

Ex. 2:

Allegretto spiritoso

(Haydn's revision)

Violino

4

7

10

13

16

Maggie Lauder.

Ex. 3:

(Allegretto)

Violino

Violoncello

5

9 Haydn's revision

13

17

The musical score is written for Violino (Violin) and Violoncello (Cello). It is in the key of G major (one sharp) and 3/8 time. The tempo is marked '(Allegretto)'. The score is divided into four systems. The first system contains measures 1-4. The second system contains measures 5-8 and ends with repeat signs. The third system, starting at measure 9, is labeled 'Haydn's revision' and features triplets in the violin part, with a piano (*p*) dynamic marking. The fourth system contains measures 13-17, also featuring triplets in the violin part. The bass line consists of a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

21

Musical score for measures 21-23. The score is written for three staves: Treble, Alto, and Bass. It features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes and triplets. The key signature has one sharp (F#). Measure numbers 21, 22, and 23 are indicated at the beginning of their respective staves.

24 Haydn's revision

Musical score for measures 24-26. The score is written for three staves: Treble, Alto, and Bass. It features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes and triplets. The key signature has one sharp (F#). Measure numbers 24, 25, and 26 are indicated at the beginning of their respective staves. The text "Haydn's revision" is written above the first staff.

Thomson's revision

Musical score for Thomson's revision, written on a single Bass staff. It features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes and triplets. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

*Bannocks o' barley meal.*

Ex. 4:

31

V. *Ossia*

Kl. *Ossia*

Variazione 1<sup>ma</sup>

V.

Voce

Kl.

Vc.

35

Reverts to Ms

Reverts to Ms

*Variations on My Love she's but a lassie yet.*

Ex. 5:

Allegretto spiritoso

Violino

Voce

Fortepiano

Violoncello

V. Ossia

Kl<sup>o</sup> Ossia

*Variations on Maggie Lauder.*

Armin Raab

Ich fand es sehr überzeugend, was Sie über die Eingriffe sagten, glaube aber nicht, dass die Preston-Fassung der sechs Variationen von Haydn stammt, aus einer ganzen Reihe von Gründen. Zum einen wegen der Art der Bearbeitung. Es handelt sich um sehr simple Eingriffe, die auch irgend jemand im Verlag vorgenommen haben kann; wenn der Komponist selbst sein Werk bearbeitet, würde er wahrscheinlich ein bisschen weiter gehen. Zum andern: Im Beispiel „Maggie Lauder“ ist es selbstverständlich, dass Preston die bereits überarbeitete Violinstimme, die er schon für den Stich in London zur Verfügung hatte, und nicht die originale verwendete, auf die er gar nicht zurückgreifen konnte, da sie bei Thomson in Edinburgh lag. Mein drittes und Hauptargument ist die Quelle, die wir haben, die Abschrift von Elßler. Sie befindet sich zwar in London, aber in dem Nachlass von Thomson. Das heißt, diese Quelle blieb im Besitz von Thomson. Ferner: Dass Haydn sich 1803 noch einmal mit den Variationen beschäftigt hätte, ist unwahrscheinlich, da er um diese Zeit kaum mehr komponierte. Schließlich: Sie haben das Argument gebracht, Thomson habe sonst immer notiert, ob Haydn geändert oder nicht geändert hatte. Nachdem Thomson diese Stücke sowieso nicht publizieren wollte, war es nicht notwendig zu notieren: „Haydn hat nicht geändert“.

Marjorie E. Rycroft

There is a lot to reply there. Why do we not have Elßler's copy of the "Blue bell", which must have been sent to Thomson in 1802? That is the only thing out of the more than 200 songs that is missing from Thomson's Nachlass. That was published by Preston. If Thomson asked Haydn to alter the songs, Thomson must have known that Haydn still had his autographs. Haydn did not ever send Thomson autographs. He only sent Thomson "The blue bell" as a proof that he was still alive. So Thomson must have asked for a revision as instrumental works. In order to comply with that request, Haydn did not need to make large-scale revisions, because the voice was always doubled. They are just a few bars, sometimes only eight bars long. I know we don't have them but it seems to me that the manner in which the divisions have been done are the simplest and the most direct way of complying with Thomson's request for instrumental variations. Perhaps one can hold both views, but I don't think one can ignore the possibility, or the probability, that Preston's may be

Haydn's revisions. Haydn sent the 45 songs. Why would he then not also send the six variations as requested?

Armin Raab

Direkt zu der Frage: Wo ist Elßlers Kopistenabschrift von „The blue bell“? Ich glaube, sie ist an Preston geschickt worden.

Marjorie E. Rycroft

But it must all have been sent to Preston, because Preston published all the songs.

Armin Raab

Ich glaube nicht, dass, wie Sie gesagt haben, die Abschriften, die erhalten sind, nämlich die von Haydn an Thomson geschickten Elßler-Kopien, als Stichvorlage gedient haben, denn Thomson hat in ihnen keinen Text eingetragen. Ich glaube nicht, dass ein Stecher in der Lage ist, eine sinnvolle Sticheinteilung vorzunehmen, wenn er den Text nicht hat. Thomson hat Tempobezeichnungen durchgestrichen, hat eine neue hingeschrieben, im Druck steht wieder eine andere. Es muss also eine vermittelnde Quelle gegeben haben. Thomson muss an Preston eine von ihm revidierte Abschrift der Elßler-Kopie geschickt haben, eine Abschrift, die verloren gegangen ist. Und kurz bevor Thomson an Preston 1805 die Variationen verkaufte, so vermute ich, hat er von Haydn das Autograph von „The blue bell“ bekommen. Er brauchte deshalb für sein Archiv die Elßler-Abschrift dieses Stücks nicht mehr und hat sie zusammen mit Abschriften, die er von den anderen fünf Stücken anfertigen ließ, an Preston geschickt.

Marjorie E. Rycroft

There are some pencil marks in the same way that there are pencil marks in songs. The pencil marks in the variations correspond to what Preston published.

Eva Badura-Skoda

I have only the question how Haydn understood the text?

Marjorie E. Rycroft

Haydn didn't ever get the text. He didn't have the titles, he didn't have the text. He only had numbers. I am amazed that he was as sensitive in his settings. His settings in general fit the Scottish text much better than Beethoven's, which are positively eccentric; but Haydn's are never eccentric, they are just right.

James Webster

Ich wollte dabei eben fragen, was hatte es aus Thomsons oder Haydns Sicht für einen Sinn, einen sozusagen abwesenden, nicht zur Kenntnis genommenen Text zu vertonen?

Marjorie E. Rycroft

Haydn did ask Thomson several times for text and there is one letter in which seven songs were sent in a German translation. But we don't know which seven those were. On the whole Haydn did not know what he was setting.

James Webster

Preston, wenn ich mich recht erinnere, veröffentlichte ein Klaviertrio von Haydn Hob. XV:32 ohne Cello; es ist erst jüngst klar geworden, dass das eigentlich ein Klaviertrio gewesen ist. Ich frage mich daher, ob es bei Preston das gewöhnliche Verhalten war, bei Klaviertrios oder begleiteter Klaviermusik die Cellostimmen wegzulassen?

Marjorie E. Rycroft

I think it probably comes down to performance practice. If a cellist wished to play the bass line then he could do so by looking over onto the stand of the pianist.

Georg Feder

Noch etwas zu der Textfrage. Haydn hatte nur die Melodien und keinen Text, aber die Melodien selbst sind ja ausdrucksvoll, manchen merkt man sofort an: Das ist ein lustiger Text, das ist ein fröhlicher Tanz; und bei anderen merkt man: Das sind melancholische Melodien. Also er war nicht in einer absurden Situation. Und zweitens wurden die Texte von Thomson ja zum Teil neu zugefügt, es waren gar nicht die originalen

schottischen Texte, die zu der Melodie ursprünglich gedacht waren, sondern zum Teil neu gedichtete, die von dem alten Text sich inhaltlich unterscheiden konnten. So bedeutete es keinen großen Unterschied, ob Haydn einen Text bekam oder nicht. Die wesentliche Botschaft wurde ihm durch die Melodie vermittelt. Könnte man das vielleicht so sehen?

Marjorie E. Rycroft

That could be. I think the melodies were folk-like, Haydn was in tune with Volkslieder, and the music spoke for itself. And therefore he arranged it as such. You're right, Thomson did commission poets of his own day to write texts for the songs. Sometimes he printed the original text as a second text. In some cases the alternative text was an English poem or an anglicization because some of the old Scots words are ganz schwierig, auch für mich; and Thomson wanted his volumes to be bought by a very wide public.

