Eighteenth-Century Music 16/1, 9–29 © Cambridge University Press, 2019
doi:10.1017/S1478570618000325

JAMES CERVETTO AND THE ORIGIN OF HAYDN'S D MAJOR CELLO CONCERTO

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ABSTRACT

Haydn's D major cello concerto has traditionally been associated with Anton Kraft, a performer in Haydn's orchestra at Eszterháza during the 1780s. Before Haydn's autograph came to light in the 1950s, many authorities had accepted apparent evidence that Kraft was the concerto's composer. Even after the autograph's rediscovery, the seeming connection of the concerto with Kraft appeared so compelling that it was widely assumed he participated in the compositional process. This article demonstrates that Kraft's connection with the concerto was actually fabricated in the 1830s. Contemporary reports show that the concerto was in fact composed for the distinguished virtuoso James Cervetto, who performed it in London in 1784. Both the distinctive characteristics of the concerto, often regarded by commentators as indications of compositional weakness, and also its exceptional technical challenges are here interpreted as responses to Cervetto's singular musical temperament and exceptional proficiency, communicated to Haydn through the commission.

A 'NEW' CONCERTO BY HAYDN

On 24 March 1784 an advertisement in the London press announced a concert that evening, one in a series organized by Lord Abingdon. As customary with this series, 'the Hanover-Square Grand Concert', the advertisement featured programme details. While performances of Haydn 'overtures' (symphonies) were usual by this date, this concert featured a Haydn composition in a genre new to England: 'A new Concerto Violoncello, Mr Cervetto, composed by Haydn.'[1] This concerto was repeated at the following week's concert, allowing the same audience (this being a subscription series) a second opportunity to appreciate a work previously unheard.[2]

During the course of two seasons organized by Abingdon, 1783 and 1784, the cellist who performed this concerto, James Cervetto, played three further concertos, while his instrumental colleague in 1783, Jean-Louis Duport, performed four concertos in one season. As usual at this date, no advertisement specifies the name of any of the composers of these works. Solo concertos were rarely identified in newspapers by composer, the only names worthy of mention being the soloists, occasionally with the implication that a soloist had

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1 *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (24 March 1784). This and all subsequent references to newspapers of the time have been sourced from the 17th–18th Century Burney Newspapers Collection www.gale.com/uk/c/17th-and-18th-century-burney-newspapers-collection. None of the newspapers are paginated. For a tentative identification of the concerto in question with Haydn's D major cello concerto see Simon McVeigh, 'The Professional Concert and Rival Subscription Series in London, 1783–1793', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 22 (1989), 34. McVeigh's identification has hitherto not been explored further.

2 *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (30 March 1784). No longer 'new', the second performance was advertised as 'Concerto Violoncello, Mr Cervetto, composed by Haydn'. For background to the London concert scene of the time see Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

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also composed the work.[3] The specific claim that the concerto performed in March 1784 was 'composed by Haydn', Abingdon's 'first composer in the world',[4] therefore signalled something exceptional. Widely reported to have been in correspondence with Haydn, and with a public profile to safeguard, Abingdon could hardly promise a composition 'by Haydn' in a series designated the 'First Concert in the World' were it not what it purported to be.[5]

The advertisement of 24 March emphasizes that the concerto was 'new', a word implying both first performance and recent composition. Furthermore, 'new' here probably conveyed the sense that it was written especially for Abingdon's series, as advertisements for other compositions in the series appear to show unequivocally.[6]

JAMES CERVETTO

The soloist in both London performances of Haydn's concerto, James Cervetto (1748–1837), was one of England's leading instrumentalists during the 1780s.[7] Taught by the noted cellist Jacob Cervetto (died 1783), James quickly eclipsed his father in ability.[8] According to Burney, while the elder Cervetto had 'infinitely more . . . knowledge of the finger-board' than most cellists of his generation, his 'tone . . . was raw, crude, and uninteresting'.[9] By contrast,

> [James] when a child had a better tone, and played in a manner much more *chantant* than his father. And, arrived at manhood, [James's] tone and expression were equal to those of the best tenor voices.[10]

Burney later recounted that 'in riper years, [Cervetto] was as much noticed at the opera for his manner of accompanying recitative, as the vocal performers . . . were for singing the airs'.[11] Even the Prince of Wales, taught cello by Cervetto's friendly rival John Crosdill (1751–1825), recognized James's superior beauty of tone:

> Although his Royal Highness was so partial to Crossdill [*sic*], it did not prevent his . . . appreciating the merits of Cervetto, his talented competitor. Speaking of the performances of these eminent

3 For example, concertos by Wilhelm Cramer, leader of Abingdon's band, were published during the 1770s and were presumably performed by him: Chappell White, *From Vivaldi to Viotti: A History of the Early Classical Violin Concerto*, second edition (Langhorne, PA: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 275–277.

4 *The European Magazine* 2 (1782), 15.

5 *The European Magazine* 2 (1782), 15. For further press references see McVeigh, 'Professional Concert', 26 and 31. For a well-known 'Haydn' symphony in London that was not what it purported to be see Brian Robins, ed., *The John Marsh Journals* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon, 1998), 513–514. Gyrowetz explains how his own symphonies came to be attributed to Haydn in *Biographie des Adalbert Gyrowetz* (Vienna: Mechitharisten-Buchdruckerei, 1848), 46–48.

6 Advertisements featuring compositions by Friedrich Hartmann Graf (1727–1795), Abingdon's resident composer in 1783 and 1784, help establish this point. For example, 'A new Concerto for Bassoon and Hautboy . . . composed by M. Graff' (*Public Advertiser* (21 April 1784)) means that Abingdon presented the work in question as though it had been specifically composed for his series, which was almost certainly the case. The same may reasonably be assumed to apply to Haydn's concerto.

7 On Cervetto's career see Marija Đurić Speare, 'Cervetto, James (1748–1837)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* www.oxforddnb.com (12 June 2017).

8 Michael Talbot, 'Some Notes on the Life of Jacob Cervetto', *Music & Letters* 94/2 (2013), 207–236.

9 Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, four volumes (London: Becket and Robinson, 1776–1789), volume 4, 669.

10 Burney, *General History*, volume 4, 669.

11 'Cervetto', in *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, ed. Abraham Rees, thirty-nine volumes (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1819–1820), volume 7, unpaginated. For an account of how the twenty-year-old James Cervetto performed 'delightfully' see Lars E. Troide, ed., *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, volume 1: *1763–1773* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 42.

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> men, [the Prince] was heard to say that the execution of Crossdill had all the fire and brilliancy of the sun, whilst that of Cervetto had all the sweetness and mildness of the moonbeam.[12]

When a rumour circulated that Crosdill might replace Cervetto as principal cellist at the Italian opera, commentators were dismayed:

> The professional ability of both these masters is undisputed: all we would say is, that for the accompaniment of the recitative, no violoncello could be more perfectly excellent than Cervetto's. We wish Crosdill may be as good.[13]

The rumour proved false, but the very thought of it left critics reeling: 'If *Cervetto* had been displaced to have made Room for Crosdill, we should have considered that as a Change to be . . . regretted'.[14]

What opera audiences in the 1780s appreciated about Cervetto's style of accompaniment is signalled in an account charting changes in performance practice of Handel recitatives:

> [When] some delay intervened in the rhythmical proceeding of the music, [Cervetto] played arpeggios and other florid figures on his violoncello, which were much admired by lovers of the instrument and enthusiasts for the artist. Cervetto went to the Ancient Concerts full of the praise he had received for his operatic exhibitions, and inserted such arpeggiated arrangements into the recitatives until he was stopped[.] . . . no such thing as the prominence of the violoncello could be allowed in the recitative as the playing of double stops on the cello, or running up divided notes on the chord, which were entirely out of character [for earlier music].[15]

As another admirer expressed it, Cervetto was adept at 'taking and sprinkling chords . . . as an accompaniment in *recitative*, an art [now] almost lost'.[16] Despite criticism of his manner of accompanying recitatives at the Ancient Concert, audiences were delighted by the beauty of Cervetto's tone in vocal music.[17] At a concert in the 1790 season of the Ancient Concert, for example, he played the cello obbligato in the aria 'Gentle Airs' from Handel's *Athalia*. Although one critic berated the singer's 'raw, unfinished, and inexpressive' recital, the aria succeeded because

> [It] gave Cervetto an opportunity of enrapturing his hearers with a captivating performance on the Violoncello: – the cadenza, which was finely fancied, displayed the great master [Handel], and the execution was in the first style, – it was perfection![18]

CERVETTO'S TECHNIQUE

A caricature dated 1789 drawn by John Nixon provides a visual token of Cervetto as accompanist (Figure 1), together with the celebrated castrato Luigi Marchesi. Both men (identified through inscriptions) appear on a

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12 Robert Huish, *Memoirs of George the Fourth* (London: Kelly, 1830), 46; John Banvard, *The Private Life of a King. Embodying the Suppressed Memoirs of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV of England* (New York: Literary and Art Publishing Company, 1875), 42–43.

13 *Morning Herald* (25 October 1782).

14 *Public Advertiser* (4 November 1782).

15 George Macfarren, 'Discussion', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, twelfth session (1885–1886), 40–41. For comment see Richard King, 'Who Does What? On the Roles of the Violoncello and Double Bass in the Performance of Handel's Recitatives', *Early Music* 44/1 (2016), 45–58. Compare Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, volume 1: *The King's Theatre, Haymarket, 1778–1791* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 285–286.

16 *Whitehall Evening Post* (7 January 1794).

17 For anticipation of Cervetto's contribution to the Ancient Concert see the *Morning Post* (22 September 1784).

18 *The Diary, or Woodfall's Register* (8 May 1790). Handel's marking 'Violoncello ad libitum' presented Cervetto with the kind of occasion when, by means of improvisation, his talent could shine even in adverse circumstances.

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Figure 1 (Colour online) John Nixon, *A Bravura at the Hanover Square Concert* (1789). Original inscriptions identify the singer as Luigi Marchesi and the cellist as James Cervetto. Pen and ink and brown wash, 23.5 x 16.8 cm. London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 5179. Used by permission

platform matching descriptions of the Hanover Square concert room, suggesting the scene was drawn from life. In 1789 Cervetto and Marchesi contributed to all twelve fixtures comprising the Professional Concert series at Hanover Square, at the close of which Nixon published his caricature as 'A Bravura at the Hanover Square Concert'.[19] Since all Marchesi's identifiable music required orchestral accompaniment, it seems likely

19 *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires* [by Frederick G. Stephens, volumes 1–4, and Mary Dorothy George, volumes 5–11 (London, 1870–1954)], No. 8268; McVeigh, 'Professional Concert', 75–79.

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Figure 2 (Colour online) *Nosee* (M. Darly, 1 January 1774). A satirical portrait of Jacob Cervetto. Etching, 5.5 x 11.7 cm. London, British Museum, BM J,2.70. Used by permission

that Nixon's decision to depict Cervetto as the only instrumentalist was an indication of the latter's popularity with audiences. As the season's star attraction, Marchesi is the focus. Cervetto's complementary status implies a favourite London performer, his distinctive profile rendering him easily recognizable.

Here Cervetto had something in common with his father, a popular performer with a significant following.[20] A caricature captioned 'Nosee', Jacob's nickname, depicts the elder Cervetto playing the cello (Figure 2).[21] Based loosely on a print reproducing a portrait of Jacob by Johan Zoffany (1733–1810) (Figure 3),

20 For Cervetto anecdotes see Talbot, 'Jacob Cervetto', 208.

21 *British Museum Catalogue*, No. 5269.

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Figure 3 Mme Victor Marie Picot, after Johan Zoffany, *Jacob Cervetto* (Picot & Delattre, 16 April 1771). Zoffany provides an insight into Jacob Cervetto's celebrated fingerwork on the fingerboard. Mezzotint, 35.2 x 24.7 cm. London, British Museum, BM 1912,0416.216. Used by permission

the image arguably mocks the 'raw, crude' aspects of the elder Cervetto's playing noted by Burney.[22] By contrast, caricatures of the younger Cervetto convey more polish and ease in his performance.

22 On Zoffany's portrait of Jacob Cervetto see Mary Webster, *Johan Zoffany, 1733–1810* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1976), 45. On the portrait print of Jacob Cervetto derived from Zoffany's portrait see John Chaloner Smith, *British Mezzotinto Portraits from the Introduction of the Art to the Early Part of the Present Century*, four volumes (London: Henry Sotheran, 1883), volume 3, 998–999 (misattributed to the artist's husband).

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Figure 4 (Colour online) *A Sunday Concert* (M. Rack, 4 June 1782). The cellist is James Cervetto. It seems clear that the caricaturist depicts him performing in thumb position. Etching, hand-coloured, 35.0 x 49.0 cm (image). Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 782.06.04.04

'A Sunday Concert' (1782) depicts James in the company of several celebrity musicians (Figure 4).[23] Private concerts were a feature of later eighteenth-century London musical life, where professional musicians supplemented incomes and, like their hosts, consolidated reputations.[24] 'A Sunday Concert' satirizes this form of social affectation, already a dubious convention when (as seems likely here) music inappropriate to the Sabbath was performed, by ridiculing its participants through their performance. In Cervetto's case the fingers of his left hand are shown extremely high on the fingerboard. While Zoffany's portrait of Jacob (Figure 3) shows the conventional means of performing in the cello's higher register, his thumb locked behind the fingerboard, his son's performance as here depicted, with the thumb placed across the strings higher up, evidences a greater mastery of their instrument, here depicted as an element of the pretentiousness of the occasion.

In the caricature James reads the harpsichordist's part as he accompanies the castrato Pacchierotti. Cervetto therefore notionally follows the bass line, which would not normally require the use of any higher registers. There is, however, no doubt that James had a reputation for performing in the upper register of his instrument so comfortably that he could easily play the parts of higher stringed instruments should the occasion require, at sight if necessary. In chamber music, for example, he readily took the viola part on the cello, leaving Crosdill the designated cello part.[25] John Marsh records an occasion in 1778 when Cervetto

23 *British Museum Catalogue*, No. 6125. Identities are recorded through contemporary inscriptions.

24 On Cervetto's participation in 'Those very magnificent Concerts at private Houses on Sunday Evenings' see *Public Advertiser* (1 January 1783).

25 For an example from 1780 see Philip Olleson, ed., *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney: Music and Society in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 131.

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> was so obliging as to take either fiddle, tenor [viola], or bass upon the violoncello as happen[e]d to be wanted; particularly an obligato fiddle accomp[imen]t to a harpsich[or]d lesson of Boccherini's . . . w[hi]ch he played inimitably well.[26]

This was a formidable test of technique. The 'lesson' in question is identifiable as one of Boccherini's Op. 5 sonatas (G25–30), first published in London *c*1770.[27] Even for a competent violinist the set makes considerable demands, with many spread chords involving double and triple stopping, and a range on the violin extending to e⁴. In 1783 an edition of this set was published in London, 'with alterations, which render their execution more easy; from perceiving the great, and almost insuperable difficulties . . . scholars formerly experienced, in attempting to play them, as originally composed'.[28] The editor was chiefly concerned with the keyboard part; but his phrase 'almost insuperable difficulties' applies equally to the violin, made yet more demanding by performance on the cello. For Cervetto to play this part at pitch (which the context implies) and create an acceptable sound – he 'played inimitably' – was a formidable feat of virtuosity.

A portrait by the painter Zoffany, executed little more than a year before James performed Haydn's concerto, also depicts the player's fingerboard technique (Figure 5).[29] Noted both for truthfulness of detail and for his musical understanding, Zoffany has a special claim to have captured accurately the technicalities of musical performance.[30] Zoffany's picture is an elaborate group portrait, with James at its centre drawing his bow across the strings of his instrument. James's enthusiastic gaze, looking out of the picture and radiating self-confidence, is a means of engaging the attention of viewers, creating an audience for his impromptu performance. The image, though silent, implies the music James plays and his effortlessness in creating it. To the right of the composition is Jacob – depicted in profile, though clearly the same sitter Zoffany portrayed in the late 1760s (Figure 3). In the later portrait, Jacob's pose shows him looking directly at his son's performance. Jacob's right hand is held to the side of his head, less for support than to indicate how intently he listens to James's playing, implying something exceptional.

On the left stands the painter, his features familiar from other self-portraits. Zoffany portrays himself in front of a canvas, entirely blank except for the shadow of his palette and brushes, which falls such that it appears behind the upper part of the fingerboard of James's cello, a pictorial contrivance that encourages a parallel to be drawn between James's dexterity in playing his instrument and the painter's in setting about his work. The parallel is encouraged by the way the composition is organized so that the motif of James holding his right arm around his instrument in order to play is also echoed by Zoffany's depiction of himself with his right arm supporting a young girl, identifiable as his own daughter Maria Theresa. She stands on the footrest on which James is seated, permitting her a view of his performance. In his right hand Zoffany holds a brush, which both points to James and parallels how James holds his bow.

The composition implies that Jacob is sitting for his portrait, with Zoffany poised to begin. James has accompanied his father to the sitting, but chooses this moment to perform. Jacob's chair, drawn close to Zoffany's canvas, indicates his readiness for the sitting. But instead of facing the painter, Jacob places one arm along the back of his chair, enabling him to turn sideways towards James. Jacob's concentrated expression and the arrested pose of Zoffany and his daughter show them momentarily captivated by James's

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26 Robins, ed., *John Marsh Journals*, 184 (entry for 15 September 1778).

27 First published as *Sei Sonate di Cembalo e Violino Obbligato Dedicate a Madama Brillon de Jouy da Luigi Boccherini . . . Opera V* (Paris: G. B. Venier[, 1768]). The first London edition was published by Longman & Lukey.

28 Joseph Diettenhofer, ed., *Six Favourite Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with an accompaniment obligato for a Violin, first Composed by the Celebrated Signor Luigi Boccherini* (London: Skillern, 1783), Preface, unpaginated.

29 This portrait is discussed and reproduced in Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 138–139, and Mary Webster, *Johan Zoffany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 401–404.

30 For insights into the accuracy of Zoffany's representations see Oliver Millar, *Zoffany and His Tribuna* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1966). For evidence of private concerts organized by Zoffany see Victoria Manners and G. C. Williamson, *John Zoffany, R. A.* (London: John Lane, 1920), 68–70.

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Figure 5 (Colour online) Johan Zoffany, *Self-portrait with his daughter Maria Theresa*, *James Cervetto, and Jacob Cervetto* (*c*1782–1783). Zoffany's composition is arranged so that Jacob Cervetto looks intently at his son's left hand, showing the use of thumb position with an extended fourth finger depressed on a string. Oil on canvas, 193 x 164.5 cm. Courtesy of Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, New Haven, Connecticut

performance, their enchantment conveyed through rapt attention and James's beaming face. Zoffany's composition temporarily suspends the act of painting, giving precedence to music, a tribute to James's artistry.

Recalling, as Zoffany surely did, that Jacob was a cellist formerly noted for dexterity in the upper fingerboard implies the significance of the pose. As Zoffany shows, James is so mesmerizing that even Jacob is absorbed by his performance. Zoffany's depiction of James's finger positions is exceptionally precise. Comparison with representations of noted cellists of the period in performance – like Boccherini, Cirri and Hebden – by other artists suggests, once more, that Zoffany's powers of observation are unprecedented.

Instead of depicting the thumb *behind* the neck of the instrument with the fingers stretched along the fingerboard to reach higher notes, as in Figure 3, Zoffany shows James's thumb being pressed against the

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upper strings in the middle of the fingerboard, in the position where theoretically the harmonic occurs.[31] Since the 1780s this technique has been known as 'thumb position'.[32] It entails a shift of the whole hand to the lower half of the fingerboard, locked in place by the thumb in order to find notes that cannot be attained in conventional positions along the instrument's neck. Zoffany also shows all James's fingers, including the fourth, engaged with the strings in a challenging passage, probably signalling three or more notes sounding (near-)simultaneously. This explains Jacob's astonishment. He leans forward to look closely, a motif that was probably meaningful because, as Zoffany's earlier portrait of him shows, Jacob needed spectacles for music. His concentration helps convey the vibrancy of his son's musicality.

Thumb position had first developed in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.[33] The composer Michel Corrette (1707–1795) first explained it in a treatise published about 1741. A second edition appeared in 1783, the year before the London performance of Haydn's concerto.[34] Between the dates of these editions many composers showed an understanding of the technique, including Haydn, whose writing for the solo instrument often implies use of the thumb position, including the C major concerto.[35] Cello composers documented in London at this time, like Cirri and Francesco Zappa, composed with an understanding of the technique, suggesting that Jacob Cervetto also practised it, though amateur cellists avoided its use until well into the nineteenth century.[36]

What probably distinguished James's technique from that of his fellow cellists is, as Zoffany shows, that he made use of the fourth finger in thumb position, a matter of difficulty. The finger is clearly depressed to create a sound when bowed, as the painter represents. Corrette comments that the use of the fourth finger was only practical in higher positions on the neck, not in thumb position, where it was too short and, if stretched, produced only unsustainable sound.[37] Zoffany's representation, however, shows a further detail suggesting that James had strong fourth fingers that were used to overcome technical challenges. In holding the bow, Zoffany shows the fourth finger of James's right hand on the same side of the bow as his thumb, contrary to traditional recommendations.[38]

In Duport's treatise for cellists of 1806, which employs a method of fingering distinct from Corrette's, thumb position is explained in relation to all scales, strings and double stops, with the use of the fourth

31 Zoffany depicted cellists as performers on several occasions, showing familiarity with the relevant techniques and poses. See, for example, *The Gore Family with George, Third Earl Cowper* (Yale Center for British Art), discussed in Martin Postle, ed., *Johan Zoffany RA: Society Observed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 234–235. No other representation depicts the position adopted by James Cervetto.

32 For an account of the term and the associated technique see John Gunn, *The Theory and Practice of fingering the Violoncello Containing Rules & Progressive Lessons for attaining the Knowledge & Command of the Hole compass of the Instrument*, first edition (London: author[, 1789]).

33 For extensive discussion of the use of thumb position in eighteenth-century music see Feng Zhao, 'The Expansion of Cello Technique: Thumb Position in the Eighteenth Century' (DMus dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2006).

34 Michel Corrette, *Méthode théorique et pratique pour apprendre en peu de tems le Violoncelle dans sa Perfection* (Paris: author, 1741).

35 A further example is the obbligato cello part in the second movement of Symphony No. 31 in D major ('Hornsignal'), composed in 1765, bars 20–22.

36 Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, eds, *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen. Gesamtausgabe*, four volumes (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962–63), volume 1, 193 (on Cirri, 'Cyri') and 195 (on Zappa). Resistance to the use of thumb technique is evident from an accomplished drawing by Edward Burney entitled *Amateurs of Tye-Wig Music*, a satire on the taste for 'old' music (Handel and Corelli) at the expense of 'the new' (Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven), created soon after 1817. The drawing features an invented diatribe: 'Against Thumb Passages for the Violon-Cello'. See Patricia Crown, 'Visual Music: E. F. Burney and a Hogarth Revival', *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* 83/4 (1980), 435–472.

37 Corrette, *Méthode*, 14–15, 24, 33.

38 For further observation's on James's technique as portrayed in Zoffany's painting see Brenda Neece, 'The Cello in Britain: A Technical and Social History', *The Galpin Society Journal* 56 (2003), 104–105.

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finger occasionally advocated, showing that this usage was then gaining adherents.[39] Between the treatises of Corrette and Duport it seems clear that significant developments took place in cello technique, with James Cervetto among the pioneers. Since he and Duport were instrumental partners at Abingdon's concerts throughout the 1783 season, it seems likely some exchange took place between them concerning matters under consideration.

Although Zoffany's picture is undated and undocumented, circumstantial evidence indicates that its execution overlapped with this very concert season, raising the possibility that in part it paid tribute to an aspect of Cervetto's technical proficiency then only recently perfected. That this was to do with his left thumb is implied by Zoffany's use of this motif as a focal point of the composition, underlining its significance by emphasizing his own left thumb holding the palette, immediately above James's head, a motif used only in this picture. The painter certainly completed the picture before leaving for an extended stay in India in March 1783, though not necessarily before Jacob's death in January. Since Zoffany's daughter Maria Theresa, born in April 1777, looks at least five years old in the picture, sittings were probably held late in 1782.

A plausible reason why Zoffany left England in 1783 was a lack of prestigious commissions.[40] The prominence of the painter and his daughter in the picture suggests that it is unlikely to have been a commissioned work, but was perhaps executed speculatively, drawing on long-standing acquaintance between the families and on James's celebrity at the time. The picture not only contrasts painting with music, it also presents parallels between two fathers and their respective offspring, commenting on the transfer of creative powers between generations. Zoffany, who cultivated friendships with many musicians, here celebrates the flourishing of James's career and technical innovation. Meanwhile Zoffany's empty canvas implies his own career has drawn a blank.

HAYDN'S CELLO CONCERTO IN D MAJOR

Haydn's catalogue of his own compositions, assembled in about 1805, features three concertos for cello.[41] Since the incipit for the third concerto (HVIIb:3) essentially repeats that for the first, contradicting Haydn's customary avoidance of compositional repetition, it is accepted today that this entry was an inadvertent mistake, leaving Haydn with two authentic concertos for cello.[42]

The first of these, in C major (HVIIb:1), is known from a set of early parts rediscovered in 1961.[43] Scholars agree on the basis of its listing in a catalogue Haydn started to keep soon afterwards, the *Entwurf-Katalog*, that this composition dates to the period *c*1761–1765. It seems unlikely therefore that the 'new' cello concerto 'by Haydn' performed in 1784 was the one in C major, then approximately two decades old. Although the evidence of surviving parts suggests that this concerto was played at venues beyond Haydn's immediate control early in its history, the same parts point to transmission only within regions closely connected with Haydn's homeland, as was usually the case with the composer's music in the 1760s.

The concerto performed in London in 1784 may therefore reasonably be equated with Haydn's second concerto, in D major (HVIIb:2), today known from two sources dating from the composer's lifetime: first, Haydn's autograph, which he inscribed '[1]783' on its cover page, a date consistent with the designation 'new' attached to the concerto performed in London in March 1784; and secondly, its first publication (as Op. 101) by the Offenbach firm of André, probably in 1804.[44]

39 Jean-Louis Duport, *Essai sur le doigté du violoncelle et sur la conduite de l'archet* (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, 1806), 20–30.

40 See, for example, Postle, ed., *Johan Zoffany RA*, 125.

41 Jens Peter Larsen, *Three Haydn Catalogues: Second Facsimile Edition with a Survey of Haydn's Oeuvre* (New York: Pendragon, 1979), 77.

42 For a discussion of authenticity issues in Haydn's concertos for cello see Sonja Gerlach, ed., *Konzerte für Violoncello und Orchester*, Joseph Haydn Werke, series 3, volume 2 (Munich: Henle, 1981), Kritischer Bericht.

43 For this and what follows see Gerlach, ed., *Konzerte für Violoncello und Orchester*, Vorwort.

44 The autograph is now in the Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek: Leopold Nowak, 'Ein Haydn-Autograph und sein Schicksal: Das Cello-Konzert in D-dur op. 101', *Biblios: Österreichische Zeitschrift für Buch- und Bibliothekwesen*

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Unlike the Concerto in C major, no parts for the D major concerto survive prior to its eventual publication. For an orchestral composition performed in London during this period, this is unsurprising. While manuscript parts made for publication purposes survive, no manuscript parts are extant relating to performance in London of any Haydn composition from the 1780s, despite the well-documented regularity of such events. When performances of such compositions ceased, manuscript parts were probably disposed of, possibly to protect copyright interests once agreed performances had been given.

However, the fact that no manuscript performance materials from Continental Europe survive is significant, the earliest evidence of interest in the D major concerto being its publication in about 1804.[45] Although this is no proof of total non-performance beyond London before the concerto was printed, the fact that no trace of performance exists is uncharacteristic of Haydn's compositions from the 1780s and is clearly relevant to the concerto's early history.

Before rediscovery of the concerto's autograph in the mid-twentieth century the work was associated with the cellist Anton Kraft (1749–1820), a performer in Haydn's orchestra at Eszterháza between 1778 and 1790.[46] This association was first made in print in an entry published in a volume issued in 1837, part of the *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften*, edited by Gustav Schilling. The entry makes the bold claim that the concerto, identified through the name of the 1804 publisher, was actually composed by Kraft. The *Encyclopädie*, an authoritative work of musical reference, states that the concerto was Kraft's earliest composition, 'submitted to Haydn for review':

> Haydn, die Vorzüglichkeit desselben erkennend, glaubte, aus angeführtem Grunde, dem jungen Künstler sein Urtheil darüber lieber schuldig bleiben, als dasselbe gegen seine Ueberzeugung aussprechen zu müssen, und ließ daher das Manuscript unter seinen Papieren liegen, das K[raft], in der Meinung, nichts Gutes geschaffen zu haben, weil Haydn ganz darüber schwieg, aus gewissermaßen künstlerischer Schaam auch nie wieder zurückverlangte. Wir halten uns nicht ohne Grund so lange bei diesem Gegenstande auf: es ist der Vorfall wichtig, zum wenigsten bibliographisch interessant, denn eben dieses Concert Kraft's ist dasjenige Violoncellconcert, welches später, nach Haydn's Tode, als Nachlaß von ihm auch unter seinem Namen (Offenbach bei Andre) gedruckt wurde, und bis zur Stunde noch allgemein für ein wirkliches Werk Haydn's gehalten wird, während es doch, was Schreiber dieses aus bester Quelle weiß, unserm Kraft angehört. Es ist das einzige Violoncellconcert, das wir unter Haydn's Namen besitzen, und es kann daher keine Verwechselung statt finden.[47]

> Haydn, who recognized its excellence, decided on questionable grounds to hold back his opinion on it from the young artist, rather than having to offer a view that went against his inner conviction, and so he left the manuscript lying around amongst his papers. Kraft, in the belief that what he had

3–4 (1954), 80–86, and 'Das Autograph von Joseph Haydns Cello-Konzert in D-dur, Op. 101', *Österreichische Musik-Zeitschrift* 9 (1954), 274–278. Hoboken lists two publications of Haydn's concerto in the composer's lifetime, both of which are incorrectly dated. One of these, issued by Vernay in Paris, is actually derived, with permission, directly from the one issued by André. The Vernay edition cannot therefore be used as an independent source.

45 See H. C. Robbins Landon and David Wyn Jones, *Haydn: His Life and Music* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988), 212: 'rather unusually, [the concerto] did not circulate widely'.

46 For a resumé of Anton Kraft's career see János Harich, 'Das Haydn-Orchester im Jahr 1780', *Haydn Yearbook* 7 (1971), 22–24.

47 *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst*, ed. Gustav Schilling, first edition, six volumes (Stuttgart: Franz Heinrich Köhler, 1835–1838), volume 4, 207–208. My translation. Opinion in the early twentieth century often credited Kraft with the concerto's authorship: see, for example, Hans Volkmann, 'Ist Haydns Cellokonzert echt?', *Die Musik* 24 (1931–1932), 427–430. Wilhelm Altmann, who edited the concerto for the Eulenburg miniature score edition (London: Eulenburg, 1935), tentatively accepted that the concerto was by Kraft. Donald Tovey thought that Kraft's authorship explained what he saw as traits in the concerto divergent with Haydn's 'great' compositions: *Essays in Musical Analysis: Concertos* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), xi.

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> written was no good, on account of Haydn's total silence, never asked for the manuscript back – out of artistic shame, so to speak. We record this information here at length for a very good reason: it is an important fact, of significant bibliographical interest, that this concerto by Kraft is the very one that later, after Haydn's death, was published posthumously under Haydn's name (by André at Offenbach) and which hitherto has been considered a genuine work of Haydn's, whereas the writer of this article understands from the best of sources that it is actually by our Kraft. This is the sole violoncello concerto that we possess with the name of Haydn, and from now on this misattribution need not be maintained.

It is not difficult to identify the perpetrator of this misinformation, 'the best of sources' referred to by the article's author. He is the subject of the very next entry in the *Encyclopädie*, an article on the cello virtuoso Nicolaus Kraft (1778–1853), Anton's son. Despite the fact that Anton had worked with Haydn in the 1780s, it is telling that the younger Kraft was unaware that Haydn had written an earlier concerto for the instrument, arguably evidence of a more circumspect relationship between Haydn and Anton than the *Encyclopädie* sought to convey.

In the 1830s both Nicolaus Kraft and Schilling were based in Stuttgart, so identification of Nicolaus as Schilling's source is unproblematic.[48] Nicolaus's principal motivation in this deception was evidently to exaggerate his father's reputation as well as his own. For his version of events to be credible, Nicolaus had to have assumed that Haydn's autograph was unavailable – in fact knowledge of its existence may be traced throughout the nineteenth century[49] – and that André's publication postdated Haydn's death in 1809, a means of implying that the concerto only came to light in Haydn's estate after he died.[50]

In fact, though André's publication (Haydn's Op. 101) is undated, the approximate date of publication, probably early in 1804, may be deduced from its plate number and its position within the publisher's sequence.[51] In 1804 Haydn was still very much alive. In the years immediately before this, André (1775–1842) had been actively negotiating to publish original compositions by composers in Vienna. The best known of these are by Mozart, those that in 1799 remained unpublished. For these André entered into an agreement with Mozart's widow to purchase the composer's autographs.[52] Constanze's correspondence shows that André was pursuing these interests in Vienna before 1800. He probably took the trouble to see Haydn, whose compositions his firm had regularly published in unauthorized editions. Although no record of direct contract between André and Haydn survives, there is little doubt that André was actively seeking original compositions by Haydn by 1801, since the composer mentions this in correspondence. An André associate was – somewhat irritatingly, according to Haydn – trying to negotiate rights to publish *The Seasons* in score, a clear indication of André's desire to acquire new Haydn compositions.[53]

Although Haydn sold *The Seasons* to a rival firm, Breitkopf & Härtel, André persisted. His publication of Haydn's concerto features the phrase 'd'après le Manuscrit original de l'auteur' (from the composer's original

48 Wilhelm Altmann, Preface to the Eulenburg edition of the concerto, unpaginated.

49 On the history of the autograph from the early nineteenth century until the 1930s see Nowak, 'Ein Haydn-Autograph', 82–86.

50 Nicolaus Kraft was on close terms with the composer Hummel, who, on instruction from Nicolaus Esterházy II, played a significant role in the dispersal of Haydn's estate in 1809. The younger Kraft therefore probably knew something of the circumstances of Haydn's papers at that time.

51 On the dating of André's publication see Walter Leberman, 'Zur Frage der Eliminierung des Soloparts aus den Tutti-Abschnitten in der Partitur des Solokonzerts', *Die Musikforschung* 14/2 (1961), 200, note 1 (correcting the date given by Hoboken), and Wolfgang Matthäus, 'Das Werk Joseph Haydns im Spiegel der Geschichte des Verlags Jean André', *Haydn Yearbook* 3 (1965), 84.

52 See Bauer and Deutsch, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 4, 281–496 and *passim*, and Wolfgang Rehm, *Mozarts Nachlaß und die Andrés: Dokumente zur Verteilung und Verlosung von 1854* (Offenbach am Main: Johann André, 1999).

53 See Haydn's letters to George August Griesinger of 3 and 10 July 1801: Dénes Bartha, ed., *Joseph Haydn: Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 368–370.

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manuscript) on the title-page. Similar phrases appear on title-pages of André's early editions of the Mozart works that had been supplied by Constanze. In the case of Haydn's concerto, comparison between André's publication and the autograph indicates that the assertion is correct, strongly suggesting that André either acquired the autograph, like those by Mozart, or had access to it. Whatever the case, it seems likely that publication was a result of André's dealings with Haydn, who evidently retained the autograph, only copies having been sent to London in 1783, in line with Haydn's usual practice.

Correspondence from 1803 shows that Haydn was then systematically going through autographs of his earlier unpublished compositions with a view to selling them. In June there is mention of an organ concerto (HXVIII:1), which Haydn was still trying to sell early the following year.[54] Although an earlier work than the cello concerto, its history during the early 1800s suggests the way Haydn was then thinking. There is, however, a significant distinction between this and the 1783 concerto. When the organ concerto was written (possibly 1756), there was no prospect of publication in print. By the 1770s, however, evidence suggests Haydn had begun negotiating with publishers, a situation formalized in 1779, when his contract with his princely patron was changed to permit this, reflecting the new commercial reality. The fact that a work written in 1783 took twenty years to reach publication therefore requires an explanation.

ABINGDON'S CONCERT SERIES

The documented performances of Haydn's concerto in 1784 were in concerts organized by Abingdon, amateur flautist and dilettante composer. Abingdon's collaborations with Haydn in London in the early 1790s are well documented, arguably an outcome of a dialogue already established in the 1780s.[55] Although Abingdon considered the series that featured the concerto insufficiently remunerative to support a further season (1785), both concert series he organized (1783 and 1784) were critically successful.

From July 1782, when preparations for Abingdon's first series were underway, it was regularly reported that the Earl was in negotiation with Haydn.[56] Although Haydn never appeared in London at this time, subscribers were informed that compositions written specifically for performance in London had been received from Haydn and that these were performed at Abingdon's concerts.[57] No correspondence between Haydn and Abingdon survives from this period. However, in a letter to a Parisian publisher written in July 1783, Haydn mentions symphonies commissioned for London in 1782, which tends to confirm the London reports.[58] Abingdon was experienced in negotiating with composers, having already commissioned music for personal use from such figures as Grétry, J. C. Bach and Abel.[59]

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54 Edward Olleson, 'Georg August Griesinger's Correspondence with Breitkopf & Härtel', *Haydn Yearbook* 3 (1965), 41–44.

55 On Abingdon's musical interests see the articles by Derek McCulloch, '"Und wer war Lord Abingdon": Some Light on Haydn's Enigmatic Colleague and Companion', *Haydn Society of Great Britain Journal* 20 (2000–2001), 13–31, and 'The Musical Oeuvre of Willoughby Bertie, 4th Earl of Abingdon (1740–99)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 33 (2000), 1–27.

56 Audiences were explicitly informed that Abingdon had directly approached Haydn for new works: '*Haydn* is among the foreign composers, to whom Lord Abingdon has applied for new music at his grand Concert' (*Morning Chronicle* (17 March 1783)).

57 That the Earl succeeded in obtaining 'new' music from Haydn is clear from comments made in the press. For example, 'Hayden's Overture, performed last Night, was, as we understand, *some of the New Music* of that great Master [my italics]' (*Public Advertiser* (20 March 1783)).

58 On this letter see Armin Raab, 'Haydns Briefe an den Verleger Boyer', *Haydn-Studien* 8/3 (2003), 237–252. Haydn avoided stating whether any compositions had actually been sent.

59 For an account of how Abingdon set about commissioning a concerto for his own performance see [André-Erneste-Modeste] Grétry, *Mémoires ou essais sur la musique* (Paris: author, 1789), 129–130. For further discussion see John Solum, 'Concerning the Authenticity of Grétry's Flute Concerto', *Revue de la Société liégeoise de Musicologie* 7 (1997), 75–85.

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Burney preserved a note of terms that Abingdon reached with Haydn for the 1783 season:

> [Haydn] was engaged to Compose for L[or]d Abingdon's Concert and was expected in England ab[ou]t the end of the year 1782; but did not come, as the security of his money: (£300, & travelling expenses from Vienna; & at the end of the season [that is, 1783] £100 more for Copy-right of the 12 Pieces he was to compose for the concert, of whatever kind he pleased, if he c[oul]d not dispose of them more to his advantage.)[60]

Although Haydn certainly supplied music for Abingdon's first season of concerts, the extent to which the terms recorded by Burney were met is unclear, though the terms as set out here can hardly have been Burney's invention. An independent source, however, implies that Haydn was dissatisfied with them, leading to fresh negotiations for the 1784 season. An account of 'Milord Abingtons Concert [*sic*]' dated December 1783, published in Cramer's *Magazin der Musik*, records that 'In Absicht Haydens, von dem ich Ihnen lezthin schrieb, muß ich nunmehro sagen, daß alle Hofnung, ihn hier bey uns zu sehen, verschwunden ist. Er hat uns unser Gesuch in einer cathegorischen Bitte abgeschlagen, uns aber doch versprochen, uns alles, was wir wänschten, zu componiern, wenn man ihm die Summe von 500 Pfund Sterling geben wollte'. (Hayden's intention . . . to come here [to London] has turned out to amount to nothing. He has categorically turned down our [that is, Abingdon's] offer but promised to compose anything we wish if he receives the sum of £500)'.[61] For his first season in charge it seems Abingdon left it to Haydn to decide what to send; but for the second season, when perhaps a better dialogue had been established, it appears Haydn put it to Abingdon that he would compose whatever was desirable for the requisite fee.

This evidence suggests how the commission for a cello concerto for London probably came about. Several (unidentifiable) cello concertos were performed during the 1783 season, showing how concertos for this instrument were a much-appreciated feature of Abingdon's concerts, showcasing the virtuosity of the cellists he employed. Sitting alongside Cervetto in 1783, often performing as a soloist, was Duport, whose distinction as a performer is attested not only by his later treatise, but also by Beethoven's cello sonatas Op. 5 (1796), which Ferdinand Ries says the composer wrote for Duport and first performed with him. Employing such distinguished cellists in 1783 helps explain Abingdon's commitment to commission a new work for this instrument.

As Burney's summary of terms relevant to 1783 indicates, copyright featured in negotiations. Haydn was to receive a fee for what would today be understood as performance rights for this season, at the end of which, had he not secured separate contracts for publication meeting the composer's remunerative expectations, Abingdon would purchase the copyright for the agreed amount, supplementing Haydn's fee. Since such copyright would only have been effective within British territories, Haydn was free to make separate agreements, were this possible, in other countries for the same compositions.[62]

Whatever compositions the composer sent to Abingdon, Haydn sold publication rights for them (probably several times over) quite separately to his arrangement with Abingdon, with the result that the Earl neither paid for nor held copyright for any Haydn work composed for the 1783 season.

While symphonies published soon after the seasons in question probably formed the core of the music Haydn sent to Abingdon, the cello concerto, unpublished for two decades, was evidently in a different situation. Unlike the symphonies, it seems there was no commercial interest in a concerto requiring such

60 Yale University Library, Osborn Collection, shelves c 100, p. 7, quoted in Alvaro Ribeiro, ed., *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney*, volume 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 382, note 53.

61 *Magazin der Musik* 2 (1784), 109; trans. H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, volume 2: *Haydn at Eszterháza: 1766–1790* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 596.

62 On copyright legislation see especially John Small, 'The Development of Musical Copyright', in *The Music Trade in Georgian London*, ed. Michael Kassler (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 233–386.

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virtuosity that few players could perform it.[63] In general, only instrumental music with the potential for performance by able amateur musicians made it into print.

Even cello music written for publication by noted virtuoso cellists, like Anton Kraft and James Cervetto, was not intended primarily as demonstrations of their own skill but to meet the expectations of talented players, working within prevailing limits of technical possibility.[64] While a general tendency towards increased difficulty in solo cello writing is evident in music published late in the eighteenth century, only Boccherini's concertos approach the level of virtuosity in Haydn's concerto. One of Boccherini's most challenging such works, published as Op. 34 and advertised in London in August 1783, was possibly among the unidentified concertos performed in Abingdon's 1783 series.[65] If so, its availability in print only served to emphasize the exclusivity of Haydn's concerto, technically accessible only to the most outstanding soloists. The concerto's difficulty therefore arguably excluded it from publication, leading Haydn to take the option of selling his rights to it to Abingdon, who had no practical use for them. Thereafter Haydn would have been prevented from selling the concerto to a British publisher for fourteen years, the period stipulated in copyright law of the time.

By the time Abingdon died (1799) the hypothetical arrangement posited here would have lapsed. Only when his creative activity ceased, forced on Haydn by deteriorating health around 1803, one might suggest, did he reconsider its commercial potential. Since 1784 several cello concertos by former Haydn associates had been published, perhaps encouraging him to reassess his own concerto.[66]

THE KRAFTS AND CERVETTO

Hitherto the distinctive technical aspects of Haydn's concerto have consistently been associated with Anton Kraft. Even after Haydn's autograph resurfaced in the early 1950s, indisputably demonstrating authorship, the Kraft connection was so entrenched that commentators speculated that Haydn's supposed inexperience meant he required help writing for the cello, thereby accounting for the 1837 attribution to Kraft.[67] Musicologists explicitly suggested a parallel with the contribution made by Joseph Joachim to the solo part of Brahms's violin concerto, well documented in correspondence and in Brahms's autograph.[68]

The suggestion of collaboration, however, fails to take account of Haydn's autograph. In contrast to Brahms's autograph, Haydn's provides no indication that the composer responded to advice from an instrumentalist preparing to perform it. Had Kraft been the intended soloist from the outset, he was on hand to shape the concerto as work progressed. But any alterations to Haydn's autograph are clearly minor

63 See Landon and Jones, *Haydn*, 213: 'cello concertos had a much more restricted market than did concertos for piano or violin, not to mention symphonies and quartets'.

64 The earliest published compositions by James Cervetto (*Opera prima[:] Six Solos for the Violoncello, with a Thorough Bass*, first advertised for sale in the *Public Advertiser* (14 April 1768)) and by Anton Kraft (Hummel's edition of the three cello sonatas, Op. 1, *c*1788) are good examples.

65 *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (23 August 1783). The concerto was published by Artaria in 1782 or early 1783 and imported by Longman & Broderip: Rupert Ridgewell, 'Artaria's Music Shop and Boccherini's Music in Viennese Musical Life', *Early Music* 33/2 (2005), 182–183.

66 Anton Kraft's concerto, Op. 4, was published in 1792. Pleyel had published four cello concertos by this time, including Op. 4, issued by both André and Artaria in 1789. Paul Wranitzky's concerto, Op. 27, was issued by André in 1794.

67 On the concerto's later nineteenth-century reception see George Kennaway, 'Haydn's (?) Cello Concertos, 1860–1930: Editions, Performances, Reception', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 9 (2012), 177–211.

68 Boris Schwarz, 'Joseph Joachim and the Genesis of Brahms's Violin Concerto', *The Musical Quarterly* 69/4 (1983), 503–526. The notion that Kraft contributed to the form of Haydn's concerto along the lines of Joachim's advice to Brahms persists in writings by modern scholars and performers. For example, see Anner Bylsma's liner notes accompanying his recording of Haydn's cello concertos with Tafelmusik, directed by Jean Lamon (Deutsche Harmonia Mundi 7757-2-RC, 1990).

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self-corrections, not responses to technical advice.[69] As usual with Haydn autographs, his intentions suggest confidence and are easily followed, something essential to ensure accuracy of copying.[70] None the less, even after the rediscovery of the earlier cello concerto demonstrating unequivocally Haydn's competence in cello writing without any help from Kraft, then unknown to the composer, the notion that Kraft contributed to the D major concerto persisted.[71]

Nicolaus Kraft, however, surely knew the truth of the concerto's origin, from his father.[72] As an advisor to Schilling, Nicolaus provided further misinformation that led astray readers of the *Encyclopädie*. Its article on the Cervettos, signed 'K', showing Kraft contributed it himself, includes the statement that, 'after Mara, [James Cervetto] was the greatest virtuoso violoncellist in the whole of England' ('James C., der seiner Zeit, nächst Mara, für den größten Violoncell-Virtuosen in ganz England galt').[73] Although this seemingly flatters Cervetto, it really demeans him. Johann Baptist Mara (1746–1808), though deemed 'a good player', was as likely to be called a 'bad' one.[74] He was barely noted for any distinctive musicality during the periods he was in Britain (1784–1788 and 1792–1799). At concerts in Westminster Abbey commemorating Handel in 1784, Mara was specifically mentioned as occupying the 'second' desk of cellos, while Cervetto and Crosdill occupied the first desk, evidence flatly contradicting the *Encyclopädie*.[75] Mara was better known for exploiting the success of his wife, one of the greatest singers of the age, and, as 'an idle drunken man', for general bad behaviour.[76] Mozart, writing in 1780, provides an account of Mara's contemptible conduct towards other distinguished musicians, describing him as 'a wretched violoncellist, as everyone here [in Munich] says' ('ein elender Violoncellist wie alles hier sagt').[77] Haydn, observing Mara in London in the 1790s, records similar antics.[78] Implying that James ranked below Mara might be construed as humiliating.

'1741', the year of James's birth supplied by the *Encyclopädie*, prematurely ages him by seven years. Since James's actual birth is clearly documented, this misinformation looks like a calculated attempt to undermine his status as a prodigy. His first public appearance was in 1760, when James was claimed to be 'eleven Years old' (he was actually twelve) in a concert of 'young Performers' that included the future Madam Mara.[79]

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69 See Gerlach, ed., *Konzerte für Violoncello*, 124. The autograph features articulations added subsequently (not by Haydn), here ignored.

70 It was not Haydn's customary practice to send autographs to commissioners. The case of the London publisher Forster, with whom Haydn was in contact by the early 1780s, is well documented: see Edmund H. Poole, 'Music Engraving Practice in Eighteenth-Century London: A Study of Some Forster Editions of Haydn and Their Manuscript Sources', in *Music and Bibliography: Essays in Honour of Alec Hyatt King*, ed. Oliver Neighbour (New York: Saur, 1980), 98–131.

71 For a typical example in modern scholarship of the notion that the concerto resulted from 'a high degree of collaboration between Kraft and Haydn' see Othmar Wessely and Suzanne Wijsmann, 'Kraft Family: (1) Anton Kraft', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), volume 13, 858.

72 Nicolaus Kraft was nine years old when his father left Esterházy service. He was therefore old enough to remember Haydn in the 1780s.

73 *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften*, ed. Schilling, first edition, volume 2 (1835), 175. See also Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonküstler*, two volumes (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1790–1792), volume 1, column 266.

74 Mara 'was a good player, but a drunken fellow, and behaved ill to his wife': William Sandys and Simon Andrew Forster, *The History of the Violin* (London: Reeves, 1864), 228. Mara was 'an idle drunken man, and bad player on the violoncello': [Richard Edgecumbe,] *Musical Reminiscences*, second edition (London: Clarke, 1827), 81.

75 See Mrs Delves Broughton, ed., *Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte: Being the Journals of Mrs Papendieck*, two volumes (London: Bentley, 1887), volume 1, 223, and Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances . . . in Commemoration of Handel* (London: Payne and Robinson, 1785), 18.

76 Sandys and Forster, *History of the Violin*, 228; [Edgecumbe,] *Musical Reminiscences*, 81.

77 Mozart, letter to his father, 24 November 1780: Bauer and Deutsch, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 3, 31.

78 Entry for 24 March 1795 in Haydn's third London notebook: Bartha, ed., *Gesammelte Briefe*, 530.

79 *Public Advertiser* (23 April 1760).

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The *Encyclopädie* proceeds to mention a well-known Continental tour that concluded in 1770, a fortune inherited from his father and an account of James's participation in the concert series of 'Lord Abingdon', beginning in 1780. This mistake – Abingdon's first series was in 1783 – might be explained as inadvertent. However, unintentionality certainly cannot explain the *Encyclopädie*'s most glaring inaccuracy concerning Cervetto. After stating erroneously that the latter part of his career was unsuccessfully devoted to composition – James's first opus, a set of accompanied cello sonatas, was successfully published when he was nineteen[80] – the *Encyclopädie* gives the year of James's death as 1804.[81] Cervetto was actually still living when this very report of his demise was published (1835). In 1836 Cervetto's attendance at a London rehearsal was reported, noting that he had then been 'a member of the Royal Society of Musicians for *seventy-one years!*'.[82] Cervetto's death in 1837 prompted several obituaries.[83] But when a revised edition of the relevant volume of Schilling's *Encyclopädie* appeared in 1840, the mistake was left uncorrected, despite the event having been widely published elsewhere.[84]

The thirty-three years that James lived after 1804 was a period spent largely in retirement. Among the last recorded occasions when he performed for an audience was at a private concert given in London in 1795 by Haydn, attended by members of the royal family.[85] Not unsurprisingly, Cervetto was on affable terms with the composer. Although Cervetto does not appear on Haydn's list of pre-eminent cellists drawn up in London in 1791, his retirement from professional engagements provides an explanation.[86] Having lost his favourite cello in a fire in 1789, he honoured his contract for the 1790 season; thereafter he only performed privately.[87] One occasion was a performance before George IV: 'the *last* musical treat the king enjoyed . . . was the performance of Corelli's sonatas by that *mighty master* of the violoncello, the admired and unrivalled Cervetto, with Schram, and Dragonetti'.[88] Performing trios intended for two violins and bass (from Corelli's Opp. 1–4) was clearly a special feat of virtuosity, demonstrating Cervetto's command of his instrument into the 1830s.

A LONDON CONCERTO

The *Encyclopädie*'s false information about Cervetto, undermining his standing, was clearly contrived to support Nicolaus Kraft's fabricated account of Haydn's D major cello concerto. Contemporary reviews of the 1784 concerts at which Cervetto performed the concerto, however, stress how Haydn's score was ideally matched to Cervetto's expressive powers, opening up the possibility that Haydn specifically conceived the concerto with knowledge of Cervetto's known strengths: 'Cervetto's violoncello concerto brought with it (as we expected) the grace, the solemn strength, and the sublimity of music'.[89]

80 *Opera prima[:] Six Solos for the Violoncello, with a Thorough Bass: Composed by James Cervetto* was advertised in 1768.

81 *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften*, ed. Schilling, first edition, volume 2 (1835), 176.

82 *The Musical World* 1 (25 March 1836), 30 (original italics). A portrait of Cervetto 'aged 86' playing his instrument, dated 8 March 1832, survives in the British Museum (1922, 1017.5).

83 For example, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, 7 (1837), 437–438, and *Morning Post* (9 February 1837).

84 Later encyclopedias published in Germany correct the error: see, for example, Hugo Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon*, first edition (Leipzig: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1882), 155.

85 William Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, two volumes (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1830), volume 1, 196.

86 'Violoncellisten: Grossdill – Menel – Mara – Sperati – Schramb': Bartha, ed., *Gesammelte Briefe*, 500.

87 On the loss of Cervetto's cello see *Whitehall Evening Post* (18 June 1789). On 11 December 1790 the *Gazetter and New Daily Advertiser* reported that 'Cervetto has resigned his practice on the *Violoncello*'. A review of Gunn's *Theory and Practice of fingering the Violoncello* (*Whitehall Evening Post* (7 January 1794)) confirms Cervetto's retirement.

88 *The Musical World* 4 (23 December 1836), 7. For corroboration see Huish, *Memoirs of George the Fourth*, 46.

89 *Morning Herald* (1 April 1784). A German reviewer used equivalent language (*Magazin der Musik* 2/1 (1784–1785), 230): 'Ein Violoncell-Concert von Cervetto ward mit der Würde, feyerlichen Stärke und Hoheit der Music vorgetragen, als man es von demselben gewohnt ist'.

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Grace, dignity, solemnity, strength and sublimity are hardly qualities applicable to any cello concerto of this period. They help to capture the singular eloquence of Haydn's concerto as realized by its first performer. In 1784, these qualities had strong associations with Handel, whose famous Commemoration began the following month. In particular, 'sublimity' was in London connected near-exclusively with this composer's revered choruses in the elevated style. Alluding to sublimity in connection with Haydn's concerto marks the beginning of a willingness to sense this mode in Haydn's music, which thereafter intensified.[90]

'Grace' represents a separate strand in British aesthetics, an aspect of the Beautiful, the main category contrasted with the Sublime. Identifying both grace and sublimity within a single work suggests an innovative way of conceiving musical composition befitting both Haydn's concerto and Cervetto's skill in performing it.

Haydn's D major cello concerto is exceptional in other ways. Noticeably less condensed than most eighteenth-century concertos, all three movements unusually combine a sense of intense expressivity with a relaxed, expansive lyricism. A premium is placed on gentle reflective beauty of sound ('grace') and leisurely unfolding of melodic material rather than any striving after dramatic effects or concision of form, qualities generally recognized as representative of Haydn's instrumental compositions of the 1780s. Cervetto's playing was particularly admired for the very traits played up in the D major concerto – the strengths on which his reputation was built – emphasizing delight and expression over tension and rapidity of execution. Although the available evidence does not permit a conclusive case, it seems plausible to suggest that Haydn was here responding to Cervetto's special forte, his power to conjure up 'all the sweetness and mildness of the moonbeam'.

Despite its leisurely character, the concerto is one of the most demanding to be found in the entire eighteenth century, posing distinct technical difficulties. In addition to double stopping, Haydn featured specialized effects not found in his earlier concerto, perhaps specified when commissioned in 1783. One is the instruction to employ natural harmonics at the top end of the cello range, in bar 175 of the first movement. Notated conventionally with small circles above the relevant notes, Haydn marked these passages 'flautino' in the autograph (Figure 6), indicating a special resonant flute-like sound, unique within Haydn's output but arguably responding to Cervetto's reputation for 'sweetness and mildness'. Another special timbre is indicated by Haydn's instruction to use low strings in some high passages, a special test of a soloist's skill, one that Cervetto would have relished: 'sul G' and 'sul D' in the first movement at bars 50 and 153 respectively.

Despite its lack of dramatic pacing, no cello concerto of the period has a greater claim to brilliance, remarkably well suited to a soloist with a reputation for 'arpeggios and other florid figures' and 'running up divided notes'. All three movements provide generous opportunities for the solo part to sing, placing a premium on this above any of the display of technical prowess characteristic of many contemporary concertos. Furthermore, the concerto's solo part calls for extensive use of thumb position, especially in the last movement.[91] In one passage there, a top note (at the end of bar 54) is ideally performed using the soloist's fourth finger, an exceptional technical demand in the 1780s, though one that Zoffany's portrait of Cervetto implies he accomplished shortly before the concerto was commissioned.[92] Indeed, James's temperament as

90 On associations of Handel with solemnity see Donald Burrows, *Handel*, second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 85, 235 and 409. On sublimity in Handel see Claudia L. Johnson, '"Giant HANDEL" and the Musical Sublime', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19/4 (1986), 515–533. On sublimity in Haydn see A. Peter Brown, 'The Sublime, the Beautiful, and the Ornamental: English Aesthetic Currents and Haydn's London Symphonies', in *Studies in Music History Presented to H. C. Robbins Landon*, ed. Otto Biba and David Wyn Jones (London: Thames & Hudson, 1996), 44–71, and James Webster, 'The *Creation*, Haydn's Late Vocal Music, and the Musical Sublime', in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 57–102.

91 Valerie Walden, *One Hundred Years of Violoncello* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 132.

92 For a discussion of this passage and the necessary technique see Zhao, 'Expansion of Cello Technique', 56–57. The note in question may be taken with the third finger, but this requires an awkward shift in position, which is clearly not what Haydn expected.

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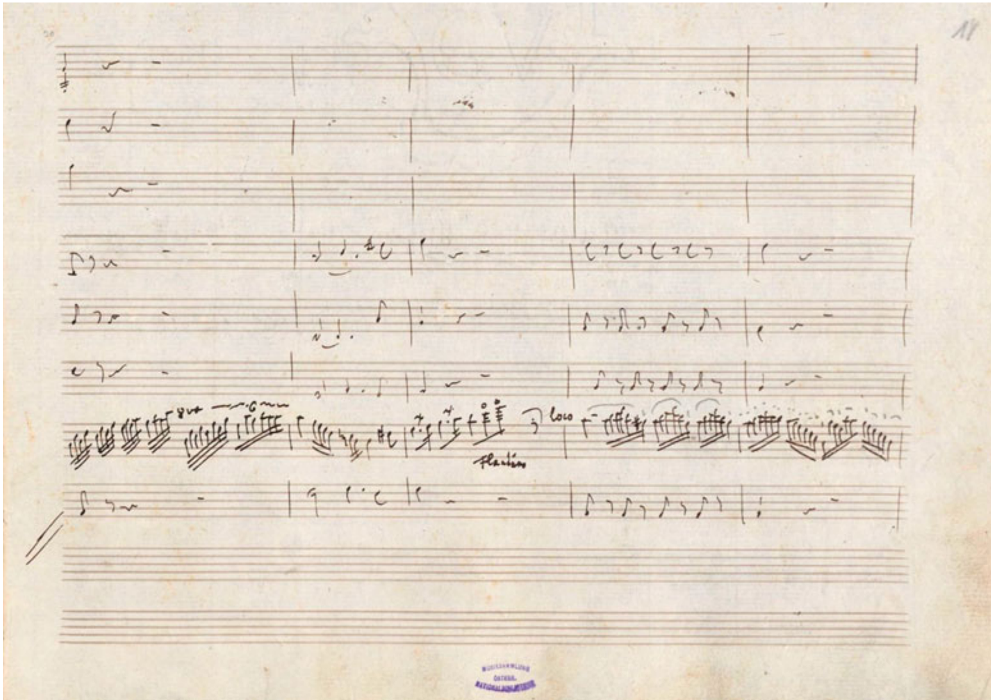

Figure 6 (Colour online) Haydn's autograph of the D major cello concerto, fol. 18r (first movement, bars 173–177). Haydn's marking 'Flautino' may be seen in the third bar beneath two notes marked to be played as harmonics. Articulation marks in the solo part in the subsequent two bars are later additions to the score. These appear in André's edition of *c*1804. Courtesy of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

a performer, his ability to hide a phenomenal technique such that difficult music sounded relaxed, matches well the unparalleled sound world of Haydn's concerto.

One aspect of this is the concerto's use of melodic content suggestive of folk idioms. Although Haydn often drew on themes derived from Eastern European traditions, commentators have noted that the main theme in the concerto's last movement has a contour reminiscent of a traditional air known only in the British Isles, later sung to the words 'Here we go gathering nuts in May'.[93] Haydn's tune is not precisely the same, but, as scholars have pointed out, there are clear resemblances in character and motive, hitherto interpreted as evidence either of Haydn's lack of inspiration, or of Anton Kraft's intervention.[94] A more likely explanation lies in the idea that Haydn received thematic suggestions from London to help him shape a concerto for an English audience. The 'nuts in May' theme appears in various guises in published sources from eighteenth-century Britain, including one in a successful ballad opera first performed in London in 1762.[95] Cervetto and

93 Tovey, *Concertos*, xi; Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 571.

94 Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 571; Landon and Jones, *Haydn*, 213.

95 See Aloys Fleischmann, ed., *Sources of Irish Traditional Music, c.1600–1855*, two volumes (New York: Garland, 1998), volume 1, Nos 757, 1627 and so forth, and 'A Medley' in [Thomas Arne,] *Love in a Village. A Comic Opera. The Music by Handel, Boyce, Arne . . .* (London: [Walsh,] 1763).

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Abingdon certainly knew the theme in this form. They were also familiar with the use of traditional tunes in composing for public concerts.[96]

The idea that Haydn refashioned melodic material furnished by Abingdon is not far-fetched; this was precisely what happened at a later date. A movement from a trio for two flutes and bass that Haydn composed in about 1795 (HIV:2) uses the tune of a song by Abingdon as the theme of a set of variations.[97] Similarly, a set of 'Twelve Sentimental Catches and Glees' was 'Melodized' by Abingdon with 'Accompaniments' by Haydn.[98]

Haydn thought Abingdon a poor composer.[99] He probably used Abingdon's melodic material in the interests of cordiality, important when business transactions were involved. Other composers found themselves in similar positions. Grétry recalled composing a concerto that he says made use of themes by Abingdon, implying that the Earl expected composers he commissioned to make use of melodic material that he himself had furnished.[100] Grétry's situation – his concerto dates from the late 1760s – therefore presents a precedent for what probably happened to Haydn in 1783. What have sometimes been viewed as old-fashioned features for a concerto composed in 1783 may perhaps also be best understood in the same light, as Haydn's interpretation of Abingdon's commission.

CONCLUSIONS

Recognition that Haydn's D major cello concerto was a London commission, and a vehicle for Cervetto's distinctive mode of performance, satisfactorily explains those aberrant qualities that have often been detected in it.

Instead of viewing it as 'an uncomfortable composition for the 1780s, displaying . . . misjudgments of dramatic timing',[101] it may be suggested that the concerto was deliberately composed like this to suit the temperament of its original soloist. What have been considered negative traits – the first movement 'proceeds laboriously'; the second lacks 'a feeling of spontaneity'; and the third 'sounds staid and melodically short-winded'[102] – may instead be seen as intentional objectives (rather than failings) of the composer, interpreting specific demands that came with the commission. Supposed 'weaknesses' hitherto explained by postulating intervention from Anton Kraft may alternatively be understood as Haydn's responding to Abingdon's requirements.

Acknowledging that the concerto was intended for London also enables us confidently to contradict the frequent assertion that the cello concerto was alone among Haydn's instrumental music of the 1780s in not owing its origins to an external commission.[103] Finally, appreciating its London origin allows the concerto to take its place as a forerunner of Haydn's later London compositions, and indicates that Haydn's connections with London around 1783 were more substantial than hitherto acknowledged.

96 Johann Christian Fischer, for example, used the folk song 'Gramachree Molly' in the last movement of an oboe concerto. In 1773 John Marsh attended a concert in which this concerto was played, noting Cervetto among the performers: Robins, ed., *John Marsh Journals*, 112.

97 McCulloch, 'The Musical *Oeuvre*', 5 and 12–13; Derek McCulloch, 'Die charmante Dame im Spiegel: Zu dem Lied Hob. XXXIc:17', *Haydn-Studien* 7/3–4 (1998), 398–403.

98 McCulloch, 'The Musical *Oeuvre*', 16–17.

99 Entry in Haydn's third London Notebook: Bartha, ed., *Gesammelte Briefe*, 543.

100 Grétry, *Mémoires*, 129–130.

101 Landon and Jones, *Haydn*, 212.

102 Landon and Jones, *Haydn*, 212–213.

103 Landon and Jones, *Haydn*, 215. See also János Malina, 'On the Venues for and Decline of the *Accademies* at Eszterháza in Haydn's Time', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 13/2 (2016), 278.

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