

# A Critical Transition in Joseph Haydn's Reception in Japan: The Case of the Dissemination of the *Sonaten-Album*, along with Other Categories of Compositions, and Recent Developments in Haydn Scholarship\*

TATSUHIKO ITOH

## Introduction

This is an interim result of my larger, ongoing research on Haydn reception in Japan from mid-19th century to the present. Since the days of 1977-78 when I took Haydn's String Quartets Op. 20 as topic for my B.A. thesis at International Christian University in Tokyo, his music and personality have always been of great interest to me. In the past several years, I have started once again with a naïve but haunting question, that is, why and how Haydn is represented in the *Sonaten-Album* of the Peters edition in the way set by its editors, Louis Köhler (1820-1886) and Adolf Ruthardt (1849-1934), two German piano pedagogues of the 19th century.<sup>1)</sup> According to

---

\* This essay is a considerably revised version of my paper read for Guest Lecture at National Conference, Western Music Research Institute, held in Seoul National University, 19 September 2009, 10:40-11:30, and its earlier version read at an annual conference of the International Musicological Society, held in Zurich, 13 July 2007, 12:30-13:00. I am grateful to Mr. Tanaka Nobuaki, doctoral candidate specializing in Franz Benda studies at University of Music in Würzburg, Germany, for his assistance in preparing Plates and Tables. I would also like to thank Prof. Paul Wadden for his linguistic advice and interest in my research as well. Dr. Wadden teaches English language and literature at Juntendo University, Faculty of International Liberal Arts, Tokyo, Japan.

1) Christian Louis Heinrich Köhler was a German composer, conductor and piano teacher, born in Braunschweig and died in Königsberg; Adolf Ruthardt was a German piano teacher, composer and music editor, teaching piano at the Leipzig Conservatory from 1885 to become professor there in 1910.

Hofmeister's *Handbuch*, a tool to identify publication of printed music in the German countries, the volume 1 of the albums seems to have been published between 1880-85, listed as *Sonaten-Album f. Pfte. Sammlung der beliebsten Sonaten (5 v. Haydn, 5 v. Mozart u. 5 v. Beethoven) progressive geordnet v. Louis Köhler, Leipzig, Edit. Peters, Mk 1.50*, although Peters has never been clear about the dates of publication in their catalogue.<sup>2)</sup>

### **1. The Meaning of Haydn's Position in *Sonaten-Album* by Edition Peters**

Reproduced here are the Front Page (Plate 1) and Table of Contents (Plate 2), which are probably familiar to the Japanese readers, of the *Sonaten-Album* by the Edition Peters. In the TOC of Volumes 1 and 2, we can see which sonatas by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven were selected by the editors and how they were ordered. In Volume 1, contained are: five sonatas by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven respectively, in the order of appearance: one in C major (Hob. XVI: 35), G major (Hob. XVI: 27), D major (Hob. XVI: 37), C-sharp minor (Hob. XVI: 36), and E minor (Hob. XVI: 34) by Haydn; one in C major (KV 545), two in F major (KV 547a and 332), one in G major (KV 283) and one in A major (KV 331; the so-called "Turkish March") by Mozart; and one in G minor (Op. 49 No. 1), two in G major (Op. 49 No. 2 and Op. 79), one in E major (Op. 14 No. 1) and G major (Op. 14 No. 2). In Volume 2, contained are: one in G major by Haydn (Hob. XVI: 40), two in E-flat major (Hob. XVI: 49 and 28); one in F major (KV 280), one in B-flat major (KV 333), one in F major (KV 533), and one in A minor (KV 310); and one in C minor (Op. 13, The "Pathetique"), one in F minor (Op. 2 No. 1), one in C-sharp minor (Op. 27 No. 2 The "Moonlight"), one in A-flat major

---

2) See Friedrich Hofmeister, *Handbuch der Musikalischen Literatur oder Verzeichniss der in deutschen Reiche und in den angrenzenden Ländern erschienenen Musikalien auch musikalischen Schriften, Abbildungen und plastischen Darstellungen mit Anzeige der Verleger und Preise*. In alphabetischer Ordnung mit systematisch geordneter Uebersicht. Neunter Band oder Sechster Ergänzungsband. Die von Anfang 1880 bis Ende 1885 neu erschienenen und neu aufgelegten musikalischen Werke enthaltend. Herausgegeben und verlegt von Friedrich Hofmeister, Leipzig, 1887, p. 617.

Plate 1: Front Page, *Sonaten-Album I*, Edition Peters, Currently Available One on the Market

# SONATEN-ALBUM

Eine Sammlung von Sonaten für Klavier  
An Anthology of Sonatas for Piano

Band / Volume  
I

Herausgegeben von / Edited by  
Louis Köhler · Adolf Ruthardt

EIGENTUM DES VERLEGERS · ALLE RECHTE VORBEHALTEN  
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

C. F. PETERS

FRANKFURT/M. · LEIPZIG · LONDON · NEW YORK

## INHALT / CONTENTS

## Band / Vol. I

## HAYDN

1. Allegro con brio Hob. XVI: 35 Pag. 3  
 2. Allegro con brio Hob. XVI: 27 Pag. 13  
 3. Allegro con brio Hob. XVI: 37 Pag. 20  
 4. Moderato Hob. XVI: 36 Pag. 28  
 5. Presto. Hob. XVI: 34 Pag. 35

## MOZART

6. Allegro KV 545 Pag. 44  
 7. Allegro KV 547a Pag. 50  
 8. Allegro KV 332 Pag. 56  
 9. Allegro KV 283 Pag. 67  
 10. Andante grazioso KV 331 Pag. 76

## BEETHOVEN

11. Andante Op. 49 Nr. 1 Pag. 86  
 12. Allegro, ma non troppo Op. 49 Nr. 2 Pag. 91  
 13. Presto alla tedesca Op. 79 Pag. 96  
 14. Allegro Op. 14 Nr. 1 Pag. 102  
 15. Allegro Op. 14 Nr. 2 Pag. 110

## Band / Vol. II

## HAYDN

16. Allegretto innocente Hob. XVI: 40 Pag. 4  
 17. Allegro Hob. XVI: 49 Pag. 10  
 18. Allegro moderato Hob. XVI: 28 Pag. 22

## MOZART

19. Assai Allegro KV 280 Pag. 30  
 20. Allegro KV 333 Pag. 38  
 21. Allegro KV 533 Pag. 50  
 22. Allegro maestoso KV 310 Pag. 68

## BEETHOVEN

23. Grave (ruthenique) Op. 13 Pag. 74  
 24. Allegro Op. 2 Nr. 1 Pag. 86  
 25. Adagio sostenuto (Mondschin-S.) Op. 27 Nr. 2 Pag. 97  
 26. Andante con Variazioni Op. 26 Pag. 107

(Op. 26) by Beethoven.

The question to arise here is: what was the editors' rationale for selecting these sonatas, and therefore not others? Since the editors were piano pedagogues, didactic reasons are most likely, but there is no preface or other text to explain their intention for this specific compilation, and no written documents about the publication of Edition Peters' catalogue, so far as I have found. Why are these sonatas ordered in this way, and why are they started with Haydn's? Plausible, perhaps, is the order of the composer's birth dates: Haydn in 1732, Mozart in 1756, and Beethoven in 1770, or one may speculate on the degree of performing difficulty, that is, Haydn, easier and Beethoven, more difficult. As a matter of fact, in the original title of the album, sonatas are specified as "progressive geordnet" in their order as cited above. Despite a lack of clear explanation the edition has been accepted as it was originally published in the 19th century, and as it is still used now in the Japanese milieu of piano pedagogy. A certain 19th-century preoccupation with the evolutionary theory may be pointed out about the compilation, but the validity of the theory itself is now in question as far as we are concerned.

In Japan, this edition by Peters or other domestic editions (Zen-on, Ongaku-no-tomo, Kawai, and Shunju-sha, just to name the better-known publishers), which are not a simple duplication, with certain alterations, but closely related to the Peters edition, have been an important part of piano pedagogy until the present time, though the tradition may be changing recently, as I will discuss later. My informal questioning of amateur and professional piano players, particularly those who were educated in the 1940s to 60s, indicates that they most often started with Beyer's (1803-1863) *Vorschule im Klavierspiel*, an elementary instruction for piano,<sup>3)</sup> and then

---

3) Ferdinand Beyer (1803-1863) published this set of etudes, which was introduced to Japan by Luther Whiting Mason, an American music educator, in 1881 and became best known in Japan and Korea, first in 1850 or 1851 by Schott in Mainz. Also see Yasuda, Hiroshi, *The Mysteries of Beyer: Piano Method to Become Japanese Culture* (Tokyo: Ongaku-no-Tomo-sha, 2012) [安田寛『バイエルの謎：日本文化になったピアノ教則本』東京：音楽之友社, 2012年] for more details of its historical interest.

went on to some of Burgmüller's or Czerny's etudes,<sup>4)</sup> usually alongside with *Sonatinen-Album*, which includes easy (*leichte*) compositions by Kuhlau, Clementi, et al, as well as selections from J. S. Bach's Inventions and Sinfonias.<sup>5)</sup> And of course, this process is accompanied with the Hanon's etude.<sup>6)</sup> Then, the students could step up to the *Sonaten-Album*.

When practicing certain sonatas from these two volumes of the Peters edition or the related publications, the student seems to have been suggested to start with Haydn, the easier or simpler as introduction, then go on to Mozart, the more elegant and pleasing, and then further proceed on to Beethoven, the more complex and profound. This has been certainly a tacit understanding and a strong tradition for a long time in Japanese piano pedagogy, significantly influenced by its German orientation. Haydn was a preliminary step to the more musically important and interesting Mozart and Beethoven, a long prevailing practice. Some students may even express their wish that they should quickly pass the preliminary Haydn and proceed to the more essential or enjoyable Mozart and Beethoven.

## 2. A Historically Biased View in the Aesthetics Related to Haydn and Mozart as Represented in Kobayashi Hideo's Writings

In 1946, just after the WW II, Kobayashi, Hideo (小林秀雄, 1902-1983), a famous Japanese literary critic, wrote in his essay on Mozart as follows (my English translation). Since this passage is well known to have been become quite influential in the appreciation of Mozart and Haydn in the Japanese music culture for a long period of time, I will attach the original Japanese:

- 
- 4) Johann Friedrich Franz Burgmüller (1806-1874) is best known for his 3 sets of etudes for piano, and Carl Czerny (1791-1857), Beethoven's pupil, is also known for his numerous etudes for piano.
  - 5) The *Sonatinen-Album* in 2 volumes was compiled by the same editors of the *Sonaten-Album* and published also by Peters; it contains various short pieces along with *Sonatinen*.
  - 6) The well-known piano exercises *Le Pianiste virtuose* by a French piano pedagogue, Charles-Louis Hanon (1819-1900), was first published in Boulogne, 1873.

I should rather like Haydn's music, too. Its formal perfection and orderliness, as well as its cleanliness of expression, are incomparable. However, when I listen to it after Mozart's, I sense a man who lacks something essential, rather than a man who has another individuality; I sense a man who easily enjoys ostensible decoration with a naïveté of hollow nature. This sense may not always be justifiable, but I am not mistaken in that Mozart's music evokes such a sense in me, and his music certainly has such a marvelous refinement by which even Haydn's delicacy sounds superficial. Once you are touched with this internal sense, with your soul shaken, you cannot leave Mozart any longer.

僕はハイドンの音楽もなかなか好きだ。形式の完備整頓、表現の清らかさという点では無類である。併し、モーツァルトを聞いた後で、ハイドンを聞くと、個性の相違というものを感ずるより、何かしら大切なものが欠けた人間を感ずる。外的な虚飾を平気で楽しんでいる空虚な人の好きと言ったものを感ずる。この感じは恐らく正当ではあるまい。だが、モーツァルトがそういう感じを僕に目覚ますという事は、間違いのない事で、彼の音楽にはハイドンの繊細ささえ外的に聞こえる程の驚くべき繊細さが確かにある。心が耳と化して聞き入らねば、ついて行けぬようなニュアンスの細やかさがある。一度この内的な感覚を呼び覚まされ、魂のゆらぐのを覚えた者は、もうモーツァルトを離れられぬ。<sup>7)</sup>

In fact, this statement has been quite influential, liked or not, in the Japanese aesthetics related to Mozart and eventually to Haydn, up to the present. Whether or not one agrees with this, any music scholar in Japan is supposed to know this essay on Mozart, and even now in the 21st century, this is regarded as a representative work of music aesthetics in Japan and that of the entire oeuvre of Kobayashi.

My original contention is to demonstrate how uncritically such bias has been accepted largely in Japan, as symbolized by the way Japanese

---

7) Kobayashi, Hideo, *Mozart: What Uncertainty Is* [小林秀雄, 『モーツァルト・無常という事』、新潮文庫], p. 52.

pianists were educated, and how uncritically Japanese editors of *Sonaten-Album* followed the way the original editors adopted, and then, further go on to show how badly the Japanese music public, both the audience and performers, were baptized with the misunderstanding of Haydn's music and the misrepresentation of its significance.

Historically, such a biased view of Haydn's music and his personal character must have originated in E. T. A. Hoffmann's writings on Beethoven's instrumental works, published first anonymously in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in 1810 and later as "Beethovens Instrumentalmusik" in 1813.<sup>8)</sup> However, whether Hoffmann literally intended so is not as clear as has been emphasized, according to Bryan Proksch, a brilliant Haydn scholar of the new generation, who points out: "While Hoffmann clearly promoted Beethoven as a successor to Mozart and the recently deceased Haydn, it is less clear that he purposefully tried to diminish the importance of the latter."<sup>9)</sup> In the subsequent history, as a matter of fact, the negative view and evaluation of Haydn's music was amplified and promulgated throughout the 19th and 20th centuries in Europe, and imported implicitly and uncritically in the Japanese music milieu after the Meiji Restoration.

Robert Schumann's initial attack on Haydn's music and its subsequent influence up to the present are summarized by Proksch as: "Schumann's frank assessment of Haydn—that 'it is impossible to learn anything new from him [Haydn]. He is like a familiar friend ... whom all greet with pleasure ... but who has ceased to arouse any particular interest'—similarly paints a picture of the reception of Haydn's music at this time that continues to color our view of the repertoire today."<sup>10)</sup> Criticized in particular by

---

8) "Review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 12 (1810), as translated in Robin Wallace ed., *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions by His German Contemporaries*, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), vol. 2, pp. 95-112.

9) Bryan Proksch, *Reviving Haydn: New Appreciations in the Twentieth Century* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015), p. 9.

10) *Ibid.*, p. 8.



Hoffmann was Haydn's tone paintings of nature, animals, etc., such as most exemplified in his Oratorios. Hoffmann called them "childlike" and "naïve," even "laughable aberrations," and such caricature of "Papa Haydn" was quickly accepted by the public.<sup>11)</sup> Although later in his career Schumann changed his attitude toward Haydn,<sup>12)</sup> other similar expressions adumbrated by Hoffmann abound in the 19th-century critics and well into the 20th-century literature of music.<sup>13)</sup>

### 3. Use of *Sonaten-Album* and Haydn's Position in the Instruction at the Tokyo School of Music and its Successor

Then, my hypothesis is that the *Sonaten-Album* and its biased and uncritical use may serve as a source to prove Haydn's relatively low popularity in Japan and to find out the reasons behind it. That is, by examining the evidence for its usage at piano instruction in the Music Study Committee (音楽取調掛, Ongaku Torishirabe Gakari), a section of the Ministry of Education, which existed in 1880-1887, and its successor the Tokyo School of Music (東京音楽学校, Tokyo Ongaku Gakkou), a Conservatory of Music in Tokyo, which existed in 1887-1949, and then after the WW II, in the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music (東京芸術大学) to the present, I have intended to demonstrate my contention. Fortunately, the basic data of such information has been publicized and available through publications and data base, as will be shown later in this essay.

---

11) Edward Lippman, *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 211. Hoffmann's ideas on music in general are summarized in Lippman, *ibid.*, pp. 210-16.

12) Proksch, *ibid.*, pp. 24-28.

13) This topic has been discussed, for example, by James Garratt, "Haydn and Posterity: The Long Nineteenth Century" in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. by Caryl Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 226-38; Leon Botstein, "The Consequences of Presumed Innocence: The Nineteenth-Century Reception of Joseph Haydn" in *Haydn Studies*, ed. by W. Dean Sutcliff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 1-34; and Matthew Head, "Music with No past? Archaeologies of Joseph Haydn and the *Creation*," *19th-Century Music* 23 (2000): 191-217.

Figure 1: A perhaps best-known photo of the orchestra and choir of the school, consisting of Japanese students with a Caucasian conductor in front, taken in 1905<sup>14)</sup>



In fact, we can see that in the copies of *Sonaten-Album* preserved now in the Library of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music as the oldest extant copy (P.SON 25, and 26 1/2, Plates 3 and 4 below), there are marginal notes in pencil, torn-up dog-ears, and yellowish soil by fingers. For example, on the first page of Beethoven's Sonata in A-flat major, Op. 26 (No. 12 of his Piano Sonatas), the last one of Vol. 2, there are several hand-written notes in pencil in the margin, for example: "Variation Theme (「変奏曲主題」)" at the top of the page, and "Var. 1 is simply an extension of the light character of the theme and has no particular device (「Var. 1は單に主題の明るい性格を敷衍したもので、さしたる工夫は見られない」)," at the second system from the bottom (See Plate 5 below). It is not clear if these notes were written in by the teacher or student, but at least they are the signs that *Sonaten-Album* was actually used for the instruction at the school.

14) Heinrich Schwab, *KONZERT: Öffentliche Musikdarbietung vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Band IV/2 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971), p. 151.

Plate 3: Front Page, *Sonaten-Album, Sammlung der beliebtesten Sonaten*, herausgegeben von Louis Köhler und Adolf Ruthardt, Neu revidierte Ausgabe, 6643 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters), Mus. Inventory No. 1602, Category No. P. Son. 25<sup>15)</sup>



- 15) This volume as well as vol. 2 was inventoried as 1602 and 1603 on September 16, 1905, in the Library of the Tokyo School of Music. The purchase date is usually earlier than the inventory date.



Plate 4: Front Page, *Sonaten-Album, Sammlung der beliebtesten Sonaten*, herausgegeben von Louis Köhler und Adolf Ruthardt, Neu revidierte Ausgabe, 6684 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters), Mus. Inventory No. 1603, Category No. P. Son. 26 1/2<sup>16)</sup>



Plate 5: Beethoven, Sonata in A-flat major, Op. 26, First Page<sup>17)</sup>

形式 変奏曲 五部

Sonate.

BEETHOVEN, OP. 26.

Andante con Variazioni.

Var.I.

17) *Sonaten-Album*, vol. 1, p. 107.



What is interesting about the example above is that the way the Kanji-characters [e.g., 單 instead of 単] were written can show that the marginal entries are not by an individual of the 20th century, nor of the generation after 1950s, but certainly by the hand of the older generation of Japan. Although it is not possible now to determine when these marginal notes were written or torn-up dog-ears, as far as I have examined their present external conditions, the Albums appear to have been under heavy use. Certainly, it is not feasible here to show all pages of all extant copies of the *Sonaten-Album* in the Library, but in general, as far as I have been able to access, more of such marginal notes are found in Beethoven's sonatas than Haydn's or Mozart's.

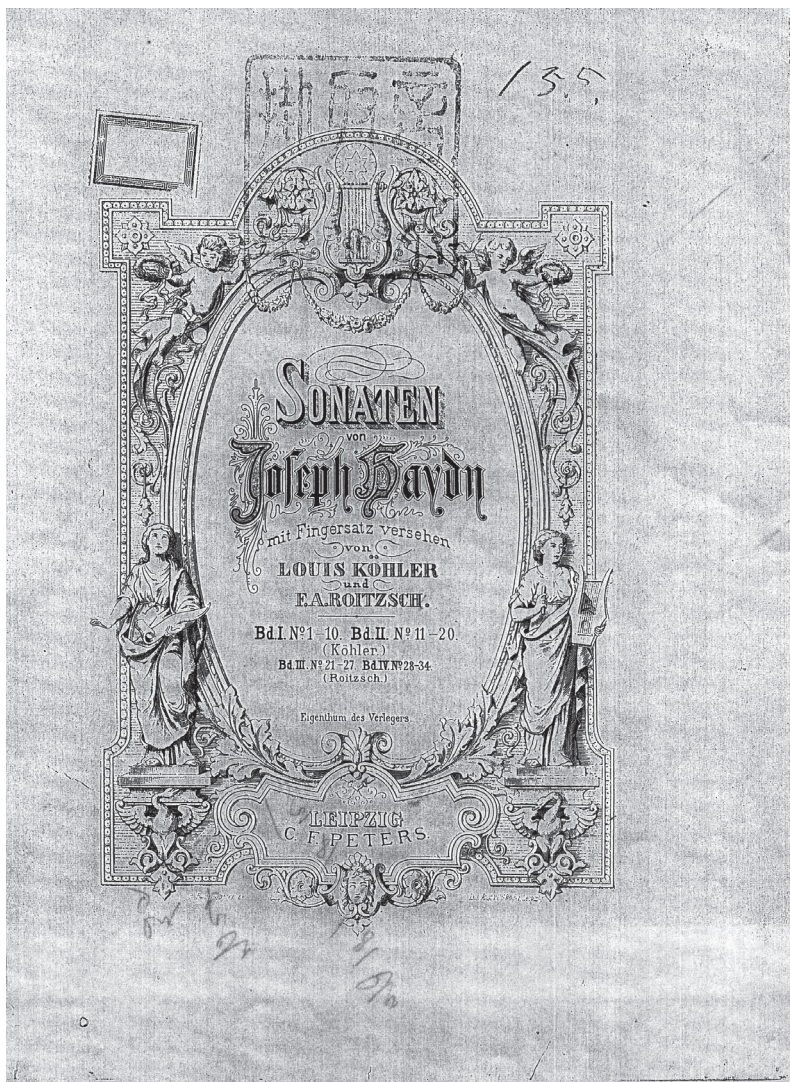
#### **4. Documentation of the Official Purchase of *Sonaten* by Haydn, Its Use in Piano Instruction, and Reception of Haydn**

Through my research of the library holdings, I have found the existence of earlier purchases of Haydn's Sonatas, which are actually the earliest, preceding the purchase of Mozart's and Beethoven's sonatas, even before the purchase of the *Sonaten-Album*. This oldest extant copy of Haydn's sonatas was inventoried on April 1, 1895, ten years before the first copy of *Sonaten-Album* was inventoried as explained above. According to Prof. Kazue Sekine, former chief music librarian, the Haydn sonatas must have been purchased even earlier, before June 8, 1885, another ten years before. And furthermore, in these oldest copies, there are certain specific Haydn sonatas that show a heavier use than I expected. Although Beethoven's sonatas were also available before April 1, 1895, and so were Mozart's, yet this fact could indicate that Haydn's sonatas may have been given certain precedence as introductory materials and had a longer history of use.

In fact, the stamp at the top of the page reads "Ongaku Torishirabe Kakari (音楽取調掛)", that is the predecessor of Tokyo School of Music. This means that this music was purchased and inventoried earlier than the *Sonaten-Album* that has a later Mus. Inventory No. 1602/1603 and Category No. P. Son. 25/26 (See Plate 6 below).

This volume I of Haydn's Sonatas contains ten sonatas as follows: No.

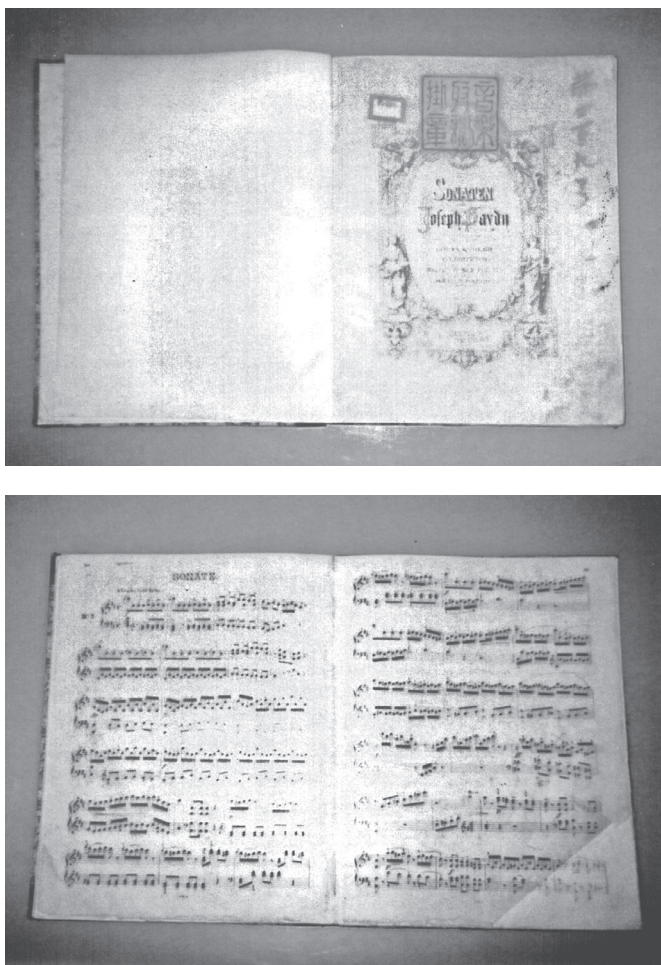
Plate 6: Front Page, *Sonaten von Joseph Haydn mit Fingersatz versehen von Louis Köhler und F. A. Roitzsch*, Bd. I. No. 1-10, Bd. II. No. 11-20 (Köhler), Bd. III. No. 21-27. Bd. IV, No. 28-34 (Roitzsch), Eigentum des Verlegers, Leipzig, C. F. Peters, Mus. Inventory No. 155, Category No. P. Son 4.



1: E-flat major (Hob. XVI: 52), No. 2: E minor (Hob. XVI: 34), No. 3: E-flat major (Hob. XVI: 49), No. 4: G minor (Hob. XVI: 44), No. 5: C major (Hob. XVI: 35), No. 6: C-sharp minor (Hob. XVI: 36), No. 7: D major (Hob. XVI: 37), No. 8: A-flat major (Hob. XVI: 46), No. 9: D major (Hob. XVI: 19), and No. 10: G major (Hob. XVI: 40). Again, this compilation by Köhler gives no indication of the reason for the selection, which I think, is quite inconsistent. For example, the very first Sonata in E-flat major (Hob. XVI: 52) is one of the most difficult ones in Haydn's entire output for the pianoforte solo, written for Therese Jansen-Bartolozzi (1757-1821), a brilliant virtuoso then in England, whom Haydn met during his second visit to London, 1794-95. There seems to be no convincing reason for selecting this piece as the first one of the compilations, not to mention the order of the other sonatas selected for this publication. As far as I am concerned, whether there is any consideration for "progressive geordnet" as in the *Sonaten-Album*, which was intended to be more didactic, still the selection and the order seem to be arbitrary or inexplicable. In this sense, it is a pity that in general the Peters Edition provides no preface by the editor nor justification for the editorial principle, as duly expected and required by modern scholarship, and neglects to do so even in this century.

To return to the original discussion, as can be seen from the photo below (see Plate 7), there is a dog-ear at the end of the second page, right-hand corner, and the torn-up was perhaps lost, mended with a piece of paper on which the notes were written by pencil. This could happen when the player turned the page frequently or forcefully with a certain speed because the piece is indicated as "Allegro con brio" by the composer. Also on the first page, in the left-hand corner, there is yellowish soil left by fingers. From this evidence, one can conjecture that this sonata was chosen for practice and played rather frequently, though the truth may be different because, for instance, one cannot know when in the history of this Library holding, from the time of purchase to the present day, these damages actually happened. In general, however, more of such damage is found in Beethoven's than Haydn's and Mozart's, as I have looked through the extant copies in the library.



Plate 7: Front Page and the First Two Pages of *Sonate No. 7* in D major

## 5. Characteristics of the Piano Pedagogy since Meiji Japan and the Evaluation of Haydn

Now let us turn to the issue of the characteristics of the Piano Pedagogy in Japan from the Meiji Period to the present. Since 1868, when the Meiji Restoration occurred, a Western system of music education was introduced

to Japan, first modeled after the U.S. and then after Germany, and teaching materials for piano lessons were imported from abroad: an aforementioned German composer/pianist, Ferdinand Beyer's *Elementary Instruction Book for Piano* (Boston: Carl Prufer, 1880) [originally, *Vorschule im Klavierspiel*, Op. 101, (c. 1851)], a didactic method imported by an American music educator Luther Whiting Mason, who was invited by the Japanese government, and Louis Köhler's *Practical Method for the Pianoforte*, Op. 249 (Boston: Schmidt) [*Practischer Lehrgang des Clavierspiels*, Braunschweig: Litolf] and the *Sonatinen-album* by Edition Peters, for example. These were acquired before 1887, probably in 1880. The *Sonaten-Album* by Edition Peters was also imported for the purpose before 1903 at the latest, probably much earlier, but not earlier than sonatas by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, as I have already pointed out above.

My original expectation was to find written instructions or documents by piano teachers at the Conservatory, evidence that can show their preference in choosing sonatas from among Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. But, interesting to note, what I have found so far is that their ways of assigning sonatas to the student have been transmitted orally from generation to generation, and there is no solid written document to prove their choice as far as I have researched. However, my informal inquiring so far has suggested that the pedagogical method at the Conservatory was established step by step as a tradition, and the piano teachers trained there have spread the same teaching method throughout Japan, a method which became a standard and strong basis for the reception of piano music in modern Japan, though more extensive research is necessary to reach any definite conclusion.

Usually, the teachers tended to follow what their teachers had taught, and the tradition may have become implicit but exerted with a certain authority. If any existing documentation that can suggest the teachers' preference in choosing sonatas from among Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, should be discovered, that can be a good basis to judge if Haydn was less frequently played and appreciated. At this point, however, any judgment needs more detailed research. Through an extensive investigation and

detailed description of extant documents not only at the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music (now Tokyo University of the Arts) but also the other related institutions of Japan in general, even including private possessions, new evidence concerning the usage of *Sonaten-Album* may appear for further scholarly discussion.

## 6. Documentation of the Concerts at the Tokyo School of Music and the Limited Repertoire of Haydn

To expand our view of the Haydn reception in Japan, let us take another look at the other evidence by examining a Documentation of the Concerts held at the Tokyo School of Music.

The following Tables are a result of my counting of Haydn's compositions in the concerts held at the Tokyo School of Music from 1888 to 1926, and from 1927 to 1949, classified by the genres.

Table 1: Haydn Repertoire in Concerts at the Tokyo School of Music, 1888-1926  
1. Choruses/Arias from *The Creation* and *The Seasons* (22 cases)

Date	Performed piece(s)
1889/6/24	A Chorus from <i>The Creation</i>
1890/12/23	An Arrangement of Haydn's work, Song for the New Year
1896/11/8	Chorus "God of Light" from <i>The Seasons</i>
1897/7/10	A Chorus by Haydn (arrangement?)
1898/11/13	A three-part song (arrangement)
1898/12/4	A Chorus by Haydn (arrangement)
1902/7/5	A Chorus (arrangement)
1902/11/16	A Chorus (arrangement)
1903/3/30	A Chorus (arrangement)
1903/7/10	A Chorus
1907/3/23	A Vocal Solo from <i>The Creation</i>
1909/4/10	Gabriel's Aria from <i>The Creation</i>
1911/4/22, 23	A Chorus from <i>The Creation</i> (first sung in German)
1912/12/14	A Chorus from <i>The Creation</i>
1914/2/14	Gabriel's Aria from <i>The Creation</i>
1914/6/6, 14	A Chorus from <i>The Creation</i>
1915/9/25	A Chorus
1916/5/27, 28	A Terzetto and Chorus from <i>The Creation</i>

1917/7/7	Gabriel's aria from <i>The Creation</i>
1923/6/30, 7/1	A Chorus from <i>The Creation</i>
1926/3/25	Uriel's aria from <i>The Creation</i>
1926/6/26, 27	A Terzetto from <i>The Creation</i>

### 2. Piano Sonatas (9 cases) and Arrangements for Organ (3 cases)

Date	Performed piece(s)
1898/6/11	A Piano Sonata
1901/6/4	A Piano Sonata
1902/2/23	A Piano Sonata
1902/3/29	A Piano Sonata
1903/11/14	A Piano Sonata
1903/12/5, 6	A Piano Sonata
1905/3/27	A Piano Sonata
1906/6/9	A Piano Sonata
1916/6/10	A Piano Sonata in D major
1902/11/9	Organ pieces (arrangement?)
1906/11/25	Minuet (arr. for organ)

### 3. String Quartets (7 cases)

Date	Performed piece(s)
1896/4/18	A String Quartet No. 1
1896/12/12	Serenade from a String Quartet
1905/10/28, 29	Serenade [arr.?] for String Orchestra
1908/3/28	Variation (for String Quartet)
1911/5/3-10	String Quartet, No. 5
1917/2/24	String Quartet, No. 5
1918/6/15, 16	String Quartet, Op. 33 No. 3

### 4. Concertos (4 cases)

Date	Performed piece(s)
1918/9/28	Violin Concerto no. 2 in G major
1920/6/26, 27	Violin Concerto in C major
1920/11/6	Cello Concerto in D major, 1st Mvt.
1921/12/3, 4	Piano Concerto in D major (Arr. for 2 pianos)

### 5. Symphonies (4 cases)

Date	Performed piece(s)
1888/7/7	A Symphony by Haydn (without winds)
1892/11/27	Andante from a Symphony (arr. for piano 6 hands)

1893/7/8	Symphony No. 45 "Farewell" (arr. for 2 Violins, 2 Harmoniums, 2 Pianos)
1917/5/25 and 26	Symphony No. 103 in E-flat major, "Drumroll"

## 6. Others (1 case)

Date	Performed piece(s)
1922/2/18	Minuet in E-flat major [arr.?] for Violin solo

Compiled from *A Hundred Years of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music: Concerts*, vol. I (Tokyo: Ongaku-no Tomo-sha, 1990).<sup>18)</sup>

Table 2: Haydn Repertoire in Concerts held at the Tokyo School of Music, 1927-1949

1. *The Seasons* (14 cases)

Date	Performed piece(s), movements and occasions
1929/6/29, 30	Chorus "Come Gentle Spring"
1929/10/26, 27	No. 28 Chorus "Grape Harvest"
1930/3/22	Bass solo, Simon's Aria
1933/6/10	Baritone solo [Simon's Aria?]
1938/6/25	The Seasons (Entire Performance Premier) suspended
1938/12/11	Bass solo, Simon's Aria
1939/10/29	Baritone solo, Simon's Aria
1942/5/16	<i>The Seasons</i> (Entire Performance)
1943/5/23	<i>The Seasons</i> (Entire Performance)
1943/6/17-21	<i>The Seasons</i> (Entire Performance)
1948/6/5	Chorus "Come Gentle Spring"
1948/11/23	Chorus, "Come Gentle Spring"

2. *The Creation* (8 cases)

Date	Performed piece(s), movements and occasions
1927/3/25	Soprano solo, Gabriel's Aria
1930/12/6	Soprano Aria
1933/10/14-18	Chorus from <i>The Creation</i>
1933/11/9-15	Chorus from <i>The Creation</i>
1938/10/23	Soprano solo, Gabriel's Aria
1939/10/21	From <i>The Creation</i>
1939/11/9-18	<i>The Creation</i>
1939/11/23	<i>The Creation</i>

18) 『東京芸術大学百年史』演奏会篇、第1巻（東京：音楽之友社、1990年）。

## 3. Symphony No. 94 "The Surprise" (6 cases)

Date	Performed piece(s), movements and occasions
1932/2/21	Special Concert
1932/4/30-5/1, 5/15-17	Andante and Allegro di molto
1938/6/18	Concert
1938/6/19	Concert
1942/6/14	Concert

## 4. Cello Concerto (3 cases)

Date	Performed piece(s), movements and occasions
1930/3/22	1st Mvt. only
1944/5/19	Concert
1943/6/26	1st Mvt. only

## 5. Others (10 cases)

Date	Performed piece(s), movements and occasions
1927	Bass solo "Qui tollis" from Mass in C major
1931/2/7	Oratorio, "Die sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuze"
1931/12/20	String Quartet, Op. 20 No. 4 in G minor
1934/6/16	Die Teilung der Erde for Bass and Orchestra
1936/2/15	Symphony [No. 64] in A major
1940/6/22	Sym. No. 88 in G major
1941/12/26	Trumpet Concerto in E-flat major, 3rd Mvt., only
1942/8/5-28	From String Quartet in C major, Variations on "Hymn for the Emperor"
1943/6/26	Piano Sonata in G major, 1st Mvt. only, Piano Concerto in D major, 1st Mvt. only

Compiled from *A Hundred Years of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music: Concerts*, vol. II (Tokyo: Ongaku-no-Tomo-sha, 1993)<sup>19)</sup>

What we can read from the result is rather obvious. That is, the two oratorios, *The Creation* and *The Seasons* are the most often performed, partly or entirely, throughout the two periods. A changing tendency is that in the earlier period more piano sonatas and string quartets were chosen, but in the later period more symphonies were performed.

19) 『東京芸術大学百年史』演奏会篇、第2巻（東京：音楽之友社、1993年）。

Table 3: From Concert Programs Distributed at the Tokyo School of Music, 1927-1949

1. *The Seasons* (12 cases)

Date	Performed piece(s)
1929/6/29, 30	Chorus "Come Gentle Spring"
1929/10/26, 27	No. 28 Chorus "Grape Harvest"
1930/3/22	Bass solo, Simon's Aria
1933/6/10	Baritone solo [Simon's Aria?]
1938/6/25	<i>The Seasons</i> (Entire Performance Premier) suspended
1938/12/11	Bass solo, Simon's Aria
1939/10/29	Baritone solo, Simon's Aria
1943/5/23	<i>The Seasons</i> (Entire Performance)
1943/6/17-21	<i>The Seasons</i> (Entire Performance)
1944/5/16	<i>The Seasons</i> (Entire Performance)
1948/6/5	Chorus "Come Gentle Spring"
1948/11/23	Chorus, "Come Gentle Spring"

2. *The Creation* (8 cases)

Date	Performed piece(s)
1927/3/25	Soprano solo, Gabriel's Aria
1930/12/6	Soprano Aria
1933/10/14-18	Chorus from <i>The Creation</i>
1933/11/9-15	Chorus from <i>The Creation</i>
1938/10/23	Soprano solo, Gabriel's Aria
1939/10/21	From <i>The Creation</i>
1939/11/9-18	<i>The Creation</i>
1939/11/23	<i>The Creation</i>

## 3. Symphony No. 94 "Surprise" (6 cases)

Date	Performed movement(s) or opportunities
1932/2/21	Special Concert
1932/4/30-5/1	Andante and Allegro di molto
1932/5/15-17	Andante and Allegro di molto
1938/6/18	Concert
1938/6/19	Concert
1942/6/14	Concert

## 4. Cello Concerto (2 cases)

Date	Performed movement(s) or opportunities
1930/3/22	Graduation Ceremony Cello Concerto in D major, 1st Mvt.

1944/5/19	Concert Cello Concerto in D major
-----------	--------------------------------------

#### 5. Others (9 cases)

Date	Performed movement(s) or opportunities
1927	Bass solo “Qui tollis” from Mass in C major
1931/2/7	Oratorio, “Die sieben Worte des Erlösers am Kreuze”
1931/12/20	String Quartet, Op. 20 No. 4 in G minor
1934/6/16	Die Teilung der Erde for Bass and Orchestra
1936/2/15	Symphony [No. 64] in A major
1940/6/22	Sym. No. 88 in G major
1941/12/26	Trumpet Concerto in E-flat major, 3rd mvt.
1942/8/5-28	From String Quartet in C major, Variations on “Hymn for the Emperor”
1943/6/26	Spring Concert Piano Sonata in G major, 1st mvt. Piano Concerto in D major, 1st mvt.

Compiled from *A Hundred Years of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music: Concerts*, vols. I and II (Tokyo: Ongaku-no-Tomo-sha, 1990 and 1993).<sup>20)</sup>

In this category, too, almost the same tendency is confirmed as in the above observations because these concert programs were printed for the concerts. Several specific pieces were repeated, such as chorus “Come Gentle Spring” or Simon’s aria from “The Seasons,” and Gabriel’s aria from “The Creation.” As for the symphonies, “The Surprise” stands out “surprisingly” and as for the concertos, Cello concerto in D major is frequented. Thus, generally speaking, their Haydn repertoire was very limited, and the several specific compositions were repeated over the periods. In a sense, the selection for the concert program about Haydn was very narrow or biased, and no variety of Haydn’s output was conceived.

### 7. Documentation of the Concerts Performed by the NHK Symphony Orchestra and the Limited Repertoire of Haydn

In a similar way, a Documentation of the NHK Symphony Orchestra’s Repertoire can be examined as follows:

---

20) 『東京芸術大学百年史』演奏会篇、第1巻、第2巻（東京：音楽之友社、1990、1993年）。



Table 4: Haydn Repertoire in Concerts of the NHK Symphony Orchestra 1925-1949

1. *The Creation* (7 cases)

Date	Place	Remarks
1925/10/18/Sun/13:00	Tokyo	Gabriel's Aria only
1928/1/22/Sun/19:00	Tokyo	
1932/4/27/Wed/19:00	Tokyo	
1936/9/23/Wed/19:00	Tokyo	
1949/6/25/Sat	Tokyo	
1949/6/26/Sun	Tokyo	

2. *The Seasons* (2 cases)

Date	Place	Remarks
1941/6/23/Mon/19:30	Tokyo	
1941/6/24/Tue/19:30	Tokyo	

## 3. Symphony No. 31, "Horn Signal" (1 case)

Date	Place	Remarks
1931/3/19/Thu/19:00	Tokyo	

## 4. Symphony No. 85, "La Reine" (1 case)

Date	Place	Remarks
1932/3/13/Sun/19:00	Tokyo	

## 5. Symphony No. 88 (1 case)

Date	Place	Remarks
1933/5/21/Sun/19:30	Tokyo	

## 6. Symphony No. 91 (1 case)

Date	Place	Remarks
1928/9/23/Sun/19:00	Tokyo	

## 7. Symphony No. 94, "The Surprise" (6 cases)

Date	Place	Remarks
1928/5/3/Thu/14:00	Tottori	(2nd Mvt. only)
1929/9/29/Sun/19:00	Tokyo	
1929/11/3/Sun/20:30	Tokyo	
1933/1/24/Tue/19:00	Tokyo	
1935/9/12/Thu/19:00	Tokyo	
1948/10/30/Sat/?	?	(2nd Mvt. only)

## 8. Symphony No. 101, "The Clock" (5 cases)

Date	Place	Remarks
1940/9/25/Wed/19:30	Tokyo	
1940/9/26/Thu/19:30	Tokyo	
1940/10/25/Fri/19:30	Osaka	
1940/12/21/Sat/14:00	Tokyo	
1940/12/22/Sun/14:00	Tokyo	

## 9. Symphony No. 102 (2 cases)

Date	Place	Remarks
1939/11/22/Wed/19:30	Tokyo	
1939/12/12/Tue/19:30	Osaka	

## 10. Symphony No. 103, "Drumroll" (1 case)

Date	Place	Remarks
1928/1/22/Sun/19:00	Tokyo	

## 11. Symphony No. 104, "London" (3 cases)

Date	Place	Remarks
1936/12/20/Sun/19:30	Tokyo	
1938/4/1/Fri/19:00	Shizuoka	
1938/4/3/Sun/19:00	Osaka	

## 12. Kinder Symphonie (3 cases)

Date	Place	Remarks
1931/11/1/Sun/18:30	Kanagawa	
1934/12/24/Mon/13:00	Tokyo	
1935/11/15/Fri/14:00	Tokyo	

## 13. Cello Concerto in D (4 cases)

Date	Place	Remarks
1929/12/22/Sun/19:00	Tokyo	
1933/1/25/Wed/19:00	Tokyo	
1934/11/14/Wed/19:30	Tokyo	
1943/2/16/Tue/19:00	?	

Compiled from the Database of the *Nippon Housou Kyoukai* (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) Symphony Orchestra, Tokyo, Japan.

The NHK (Nippon Housou Kyoukai, 日本放送協会, Japan Broadcasting Corporation) Symphony Orchestra was founded first as The New Symphony Orchestra (Shin Koukyou Gakudan) in 1926, then reorganized as Japan Symphony Orchestra in 1942, and further in 1951 as NHK Symphony Orchestra, which has the longest history of the Japanese orchestras.

The observation made about the Tokyo School of Music is also valid here. Again, little variety is exhibited, and a certain limited number of symphonies were repeated, especially "The Surprise," that is, almost the same repertoire is repeated with some isolated instances of Symphony Nos. 31, 85, 88, and 91, and *The Creation* and Cello Concerto in D major were heard more often.

Thus, in the culture of the concert hall in Japan, Haydn was certainly known to the public, but from a very narrow view of a limited repertoire.

## **8. Recent State of Haydn Research and Reception in Japan compared with Europe and the United States: Scholarship and Piano Pedagogy**

To come back to the original starting point of this essay, let me point out first the still existing problems in the Japanese editions of *Sonaten-Album*. A comparison of several different Japanese editions may indicate that the publishers are not as conscientious as should be expected in editing the printed notes, leaving the errors as they have been. In some cases, even the editors admit the errors, but do not correct them for certain practical reasons. For instance, as late as 1983, a then well-known music educator in Japan, Prof. Chikura, Hachiro (千蔵八郎、1923-2010), wrote in the preface for his edition of *Sonaten-Album* as follows (my English translation):

Needless to repeat again, this sonata album simply follows the Peters edition, and belongs to the so-called practical edition. Since the orientation to the *Urtext* edition has become popular in recent times, then some people may resist the editing of the practical edition. For the immature learners of music, however, the instructions of articulation and phrasing in such an edition are easy to understand, and as well as in the learning process of performance execution, it is

a fact that the degree of utilizing such an edition is heightened. ... I do not mean to say that this practical edition is better, ... but it is also undeniable that for the learners at the aforementioned stage this edition is adequate as a teaching material. Therefore, I have accepted the way it has been in the Peters edition and did not intend to make corrections after the *Urtext* edition. ... For Haydn, however, I strongly felt a necessity to consult with the *Urtext* edition for the execution of ornamentation, but if I start to correct one note, then I would have to change all others. As a consequence, I have decided to keep it as it is, and therefore, this edition is inevitably based on the existing edition of *Sonaten-Album*, which I hope you will understand.

あらためていうまでもなく、この〈ソナタ・アルバム〉は、ペータース版を踏襲したもので、いわゆる実用版に属するエディションなので、現在のような原典版指向の時代になると、人によっては、その校訂にたいして、やや抵抗を感じるかもしれないが、まだ音楽的に未成熟な学習者にとっては、この版におけるアーティキュレーションやフレー징の指示はわかりやすく、学習過程における奏法の修得とあいまって、その利用度を高めていることは事実である。…だからといって、この実用版がよいというわけではないが、…前記のような過程にある学習者には、利用する教本として適切なものであることも否定しがたい。そこで、このアルバムの形をそのまま生かし、原典版的な補正をすることは考えなかった。…ハイドンでは、装飾音の奏法をはじめとして、原典版的な配慮の必要を強く感じたが、1つをなおすと他をなおさなければならずで、結果的には、もとの版をそのまま生かすことになった。つまり、この指導講座は、現存する〈ソナタ・アルバム〉にもとづいたものということである。ご諒承いただきたいと思う。<sup>21)</sup>

Such an ambivalent way of explaining his editorial principle seems to suggest a certain reluctance to change the long tradition and to create a

---

21) *Sonaten*, ed. by Chikura, Hachiro (Tokyo: ATN Inc., 1985) [ピアノ指導講座 (10)、ソナタ・アルバム (I), 千蔵八郎編 (解説付)]. ATN, Inc. became separate and independent from *Nichion Music Publishing Company* (日音楽譜出版社) in 1985.

new edition, which may have to criticize earlier editions and correct obvious errors.<sup>22)</sup>

In such a tradition of the Japanese piano pedagogy, Haydn's C-major sonata, the very first piece of vol. 1, has often been taken up as the first step to the other sonatas in general because it is a sonata in C major, with less accidentals, and supposed to be easier. In fact, from my research of the *Sonaten-Albums* preserved in the Library of the Tokyo University of Arts and Music, this sonata seems to have been used more often than the C-sharp-minor one, the fourth piece of vol. 1, for instance, which has more accidentals. This means that what is expected in choosing Haydn's sonatas for piano instruction is an easy and plain introduction to more sophisticated and cultivated music, but not more than that.

In the field of Japanese musicology, however, a substantial monograph on Haydn's Esterhazy sonatas appeared in 2003 (Nobuhiro Ito, *Reading Haydn's Esterhazy Sonatas*, Tokyo: Shunju-sha, 2003).<sup>23)</sup> This study tackles the creative process peculiar to Haydn, not to judge it with reference to Mozart and Beethoven, as is often done, but to understand it in its own right. And most recently in 2023, the first monograph on Haydn's life and works, written by Ikegami, Ken'ichiro, has been publicized after a long elapse of such studies since the one by Omiya, Makoto, appeared originally in 1962 and the revised edition in 1981.<sup>24)</sup> Ikegami's scholarly contribution is to establish a standard understanding of Haydn's life and works for the Japanese public, and to make it easier to start further discussions about this composer without repeating the basic knowledge, which has been uneven or lacking for a long time.

In the field of piano pedagogy, too, a newly revised edition, based on *Urtext*, of the *Sonaten-Album* was published in 2005 (Imai, Akira, ed. *Sonaten-*

---

22) Prof. Kobayashi, Hitoshi (小林仁), makes a similar remark as Prof. Chikura in Editorial Notes for his edition of *Sonaten-Album*, published by Shunju-sha, Tokyo, in 1982. [『ソナタ・アルバム』(東京:春秋社、1982年)。

23) 伊東信宏『ハイドンのエステルハージソナタを読む』(東京:音楽之友社、2003年)。

24) 池上健一郎『ハイドン』(東京:音楽之友社、2023年)。大宮真琴『ハイドン (大音楽家・人と作品)』(東京:音楽之友社、初版1962年;新版1981年)。

*Album, zusammengestellt nach den Urtextausgaben und mit Fingersatz versehen von Akira IMAI*, Tokyo: Zen-on Gakufu Shuppan-sha): Volume 1 in 2005 and Volume 2 in 2007.<sup>25)</sup> Prof. Imai has provided a detailed explanation of the procedure for his critical edition, and tried to create a reliable edition as his best at this point. These publications certainly indicate an improvement of Haydn studies in Japan. Through such contributions, for sure, a variety of Haydn's music and its potentials have been introduced to the general public and performers as well a better understanding of Haydn's significance in the human history and culture.

In the past few decades, Haydn scholarship has remarkably advanced in the English-speaking countries. As earlier in this essay I have pointed out Bryan Proksch's ground-breaking study on Haydn's negative reputation in his posthumous reception, a new trend of Haydn scholarship mostly by English-speaking researchers has come to appear and review and correct the biased view and its origin of historical process. This is most welcome to understand and refresh our appreciation of Haydn's historical significance, and eventually to revive a new interest and correct the prejudice about the meaning of Haydn's life and works in our 21st-century world. Following is an outline of studies, in the order of appearance: Deirdre Loughridge, *Haydn's Sunrise, Beethoven's Shadow: Audiovisual Culture and the Emergence of Musical Romanticism*, published by The University of Chicago Press, 2016; Raymond Knapp, *Making Light: Haydn, Musical Camp, and the Long Shadow of German Idealism*, Duke University Press, 2018;<sup>26)</sup> and Nicholas Mathew, *The Haydn Economy: Music, Aesthetics, and Commerce in the Late Eighteenth Century*, The University of Chicago Press, 2022. As the titles of these publications indicate, all of these studies have started from new dimensions not found in the traditional musicology, and present exciting contents which cross over the boundaries of scholarship in the past centuries.

---

25) 『ソナタ アルバム』第1巻、第2巻、原典版準拠、今井顕 校訂・註解・ペダリング（東京：全音楽譜出版社、2005年、2007年）。

26) Incidentally, the author was my colleague at the Graduate School of Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, when we were studying in the Ph.D. program there in the 1980s.

## Conclusion

Thus, I have had to repeat the same story about the history of Haydn reception so far, the long-prejudiced understanding of his music and personality, erroneous editions of his piano sonatas, the misconceptions of his piano pedagogy, and the long lacking basic information about Haydn in general. In the recent developments of Haydn scholarship, however, more objective and healthier orientation is set in motion by the emergence of scholars of the new generation, and duly confirmed for a more promising future of the appreciation of Haydn's significance in the history of humankind's creative activities.

## References

### 1. In Japanese (in chronological order of the publication)

- 小林秀雄『モーツァルト・無常という事』（東京：新潮文庫、1961年）。
- 大宮真琴『ハイドン（大音楽家・人と作品）』（東京：音楽之友社、初版1962年；新版1981年）。
- 小林仁『ソナタ・アルバム』（東京：春秋社、1982年）。
- 千蔵八郎編（解説付）『ピアノ指導講座（10）、ソナタ・アルバム（I）』（東京：日音楽譜出版社、1985年）。
- 『東京芸術大学百年史』演奏会篇、第1巻、第2巻（東京：音楽之友社、1990、1993年）。
- 伊東信宏『ハイドンのエステルハーグソナタを読む』（東京：音楽之友社、2003年）。
- 今井顕（校訂・註解・ペダリング）『ソナタ アルバム』第1巻、第2巻、原典版準拠（東京：全音楽譜出版社、2005年、2007年）。
- 安田寛『バイエルの謎：日本文化になったピアノ教則本』（東京：音楽之友社、2012年）。
- 池上健一郎『ハイドン』（東京：音楽之友社、2023年）。

### 2. In Other than Japanese (in chronological order of the publication)

Friedrich Hofmeister, *Handbuch der Musikalischen Literatur oder Verzeichniss der in deutschen Reiche und in den angrenzenden Ländern ershienenen Musikalien auch musikalischen Schriften, Abbildungen und plastischen Darstellungen*

- mit Anzeige der Verleger und Preise. In alphabetischer Ordnung mit systematisch geordneter Uebersicht. Neunter Band oder Sechster Ergänzungsband. Die von Anfang 1880 bis Ende 1885 neu erschienenen und neu aufgelegten musikalischen Werke enthaltend. Herausgegeben und verlegt von Friedrich Hofmeister (Leipzig, 1887), p. 617.
- Heinrich Schwab, *KONZERT: Öffentliche Musikdarbietung vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Band IV/2 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971), p. 151.
- Edward Lippman, *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), pp. 210-16.
- Leon Botstein, "The Consequences of Presumed Innocence: The Nineteenth-Century Reception of Joseph Haydn" in *Haydn Studies*, ed. by W. Dean Sutcliff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 1-34.
- [E. T. A. Hoffmann], "Review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 12 (1810), as translated in Robin Wallace ed., *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions by His German Contemporaries*, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); vol. 2, pp. 95-112.
- Matthew Head, "Music with No past? Archaeologies of Joseph Haydn and the Creation," *19th-Century Music* 23 (2000): 191-217.
- James Garratt, "Haydn and Posterity: The Long Nineteenth Century" in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. by Caryl Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 226-38.
- Bryan Proksch, *Reviving Haydn: New Appreciations in the Twentieth Century* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015).
- Deirdre Loughridge, *Haydn's Sunrise, Beethoven's Shadow: Audiovisual Culture and the Emergence of Musical Romanticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).
- Raymond Knapp, *Making Light: Haydn, Musical Camp, and the Long Shadow of German Idealism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2018).
- Nicholas Mathew, *The Haydn Economy: Music, Aesthetics, and Commerce in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2022).



## 要旨

日本におけるヨーゼフ・ハイドン受容の変遷：『ソナタ・アルバム』及び、他の作品分野の流布の事例、並びにハイドン研究の最近の展開について

19世紀から現在に至るハイドンの受容に関するより包括的な研究の中間結果報告として、ペータース版の『ソナタ・アルバム』の編者(L. KöhlerとA. Ruthardt)によるハイドン作品の選択基準や、その配列が恣意的であり、西洋のみならず、明治期以来の日本のピアノ演奏家、音楽愛好家のハイドン作品の理解に悪影響を与えて来たかを、ハイドンの他の分野の作品の演奏記録を参照しつつ明らかにした。日本では、小林秀雄の論説に象徴される、モーツァルトに比してハイドンの音楽に欠陥があるかのような記述が流布することにより、ハイドンの姿が歪められて来た歴史が長かったために、21世紀になるまで、この作曲家の歴史的意義に誤解が生じ、その作品の音楽的価値が矮小化されてきたことは否めない。筆者は、東京芸術大学(旧東京音楽学校)の図書館に保存されている『ソナタ・アルバム』の購入記録、使用状態を調査すると共に、それ以前に、同じペータース版による恣意的選択、配列のハイドンの『ピアノ・ソナタ集』(編者L. Köhler)が購入され、使用されていた事実を確認した。それに加えて、旧東京音楽学校における1889年から1949年に至る演奏会の曲目記録の調査、1927年から1949年に至る演奏会プログラムの調査、加えて1925年から1949年に至る、現在のNHK交響楽団の前身である、新交響楽団、並びに日本交響楽団の演奏会記録を調査し、限られた曲目が繰り返し演奏されてきた歴史の事実を裏づけた。また、千倉八郎に代表される日本のピアノ教育者たちが、日本版の『ソナタ・アルバム』を校訂、出版するにあたり、原典版を参照する必要を認めつつも、ペータース版の内容に敢えて変更を加えることなく、誤りを含む、元の楽譜をそのまま印刷することを許容してきた歴史を明らかにした。ようやく21世紀になって、今井顕が、

原典版に準拠し、ペータース版の誤りを修正した形での『ソナタ・アルバム』の出版を行い、さらに、伊東信宏、池上健一郎が、これまでのハイドン理解を修正する内容の論考を発表している。海外、特に英語圏の研究者による近年の業績はさらに顕著であり、新しい世代の研究者 (B. Proksch, D. Loughridge, R. Knapp, N. Mathew) による多彩なハイドン研究が次々に出版されており、長い間の偏見に満ちたハイドンに対する誤解が修正され、より健全で客観的な研究の方向性が示されることによって、ハイドンという音楽家の創造的活動の正しい評価が可能になりつつある。