



The Evolution of Free-Lance Music Composition, 1650–1900

F. M. SCHERER

Harvard and Princeton Universities, Wallingford, PA 19086, U.S.A.

Abstract. Using qualitative histories and coded data on 645 composers born between 1650 and 1849, this article traces the evolution of free-lance activity by music composers over the course of two centuries. Contrary to widely advanced suppositions, many composers were pursuing free-lance composition as the 17th century ended, although more for opera than instrumental music writing. From that time on, free-lance composition expanded steadily, replacing employment by the church and the nobility. A growing number of composers also acted as impresarios in organizing their own opera or concert performances. Composers earned their bread in many other ways too. There were clear rising trends in their employment as private orchestra directors and conservatory professors.

Key words: entrepreneurship, free-lance activity, industrial revolution, music composition, patronage

That the growth of a prosperous middle class during and following the first Industrial Revolution expanded opportunities for music composers to pursue their profession through market-oriented free-lance activities is well accepted. In many middle-class European and later American families, children, and especially female children, demonstrated their social graces by playing the piano, the violin, or other instruments. Family musicales became an important part of family life. From these activities came a demand for sheet music, which provided opportunities for composers to sell their works to a growing number of publishers. Opportunities to teach music performance similarly expanded. And composers sought to enhance their income and reputation by organizing paid public performances of their works. The pace at which music composition evolved into being a market-oriented activity from one largely supported by noble patronage or church employment is less clearly established in the existing literature. Some, such as Wolfgang Hildesheimer (1982), see Mozart (1756–1791) as the first true free-lance composer.¹ Baumol and Baumol (1994) place Mozart within a broader trend, characterizing the second half of the eighteenth century as a time of transition from patronage to a market mechanism.² Howard Gardner (1994) similarly sees Mozart as “an important transitional figure in laying a foundation of independence and self-initiated creation”. In this article I will adopt a more evolutionary perspective, arguing that the antecedents of free-lance composing can be found much earlier and that the transition to market-oriented composition was more gradual.

My evidence comes from the kind of research effort that only an economist, and one quantitatively oriented at that, would be disposed to undertake. For 645 noteworthy composers born between 1650 and 1849, I have assembled systematic data on where they lived and died, where they worked, and how they earned the ability to keep body and soul together. With this evidence, both the scope of early free-lance composing and the timing of its growth can be seen more clearly.

The data are rendered more meaningful, however, from a base of qualitative insight into how the business of music composing was organized in the closing decades of the 17th Century and the first half of the 18th Century. I begin therefore with an overview of where free-lance activities fit into the careers of four great composers born between 1650 and 1699: Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741), Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759), and Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767).

1. Four Great Composers

Bach provides the archetype of how composers earned their living during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. His entire adult life was spent as an employee – first as organist at churches in Arnstadt and Muelhausen, then as organist and director of court music for the Dukes of Weimar and Coethen, and finally as cantor and director of music for the Church of St. Thomas and its affiliated school along with three other Leipzig churches. Like most employed composers of his time, he moonlighted in activities outside his main sphere of employment, e.g., dedicating compositions to hoped-for patrons, publishing (at his own initiative) a few of his works, holding private lessons, inspecting new organs installed in other towns, and most importantly, between 1729 and 1741, directing an unofficial Leipzig orchestra, the Collegium Musicum, which charged admission for the concerts it regularly held in Zimmermann's coffee house during the winter and a coffee garden during the summer. Bach's Collegium Musicum association became important enough to lead Christoph Wolff (1991, p. 40) to conclude that "Toward the end of his life Bach came astonishingly close to the romantic ideal of the free-lance artist". But his compositions for and direction of the Collegium remained secondary to his salaried duties as Cantor of the Thomaskirche. At the time of his death on July 28, 1750, Bach left a modest estate insufficient to prevent his wife Anna Magdalena from dying in poverty ten years later.

Bach's orchestral works were significantly influenced by his knowledge of Antonio Vivaldi's concertos, copies of which had migrated to the royal courts at Dresden and Weimar. Bach wrote no operas; Vivaldi claimed to have written 94, many of them later lost (Heller, 1997, p. 97). During much of his working life, Vivaldi was employed as violin teacher, composer, and choir director at Venice's Ospedale della Pieta, a school primarily for orphaned girls that emphasized musical training and financed its activities in part through admission fees charged for concerts performed by the students on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays.

Vivaldi's duties at the *Pieta* and occasional breaks in his employment left considerable time for free-lance composition. And in Italy at the time, opera was the analogue of television, motion pictures, and football all rolled together in modern times – it was a leading source of entertainment for individuals with money and leisure (a much more elite group then, to be sure, than now). In northern Europe during the 18th century, most opera houses were maintained by local nobles, who paid composers a salary to write and produce new works. But in Italy, as Barbier (1996, p. 66) observes, “The Italians realised from the beginning of the seventeenth century that in order to satisfy their passion it was better to expect nothing from the authorities; they must organise the building and the running of the theatres themselves”. Opera houses were typically built (Venice in 1700 had six) by wealthy families or groups of families, who sold the best boxes in advance (as boxes are sold in U.S. sports stadiums) and let contracts with impresarios to assume most of the responsibilities and some of the risks of producing new operas and old.³ The impresarios in turn contracted with composers and librettists for new operas, usually for a fixed fee that varied with the composer's prestige. In some Italian cities such as Naples, to be sure, composers were retained by the reigning nobility to create at regular intervals new scores for the royal opera house. But even then, the employment contracts usually allowed the composer freedom to compete for commissions from more distant opera houses. Thus, as the 17th century gave way to the 18th, opera composing in Italy was a market-oriented free-lance activity.

Vivaldi supplemented his *Pieta* salary handsomely through the commissions he earned composing operas. During the 1720s, he also served as impresario for some of the lesser Venetian opera houses. In 1736, however, he overstepped his luck. He contracted to be impresario for a series of operas, two by other composers but revised by him, in the Papal city of Ferrara. All of them failed, in part because the ruling cardinal forbade him from entering Ferrara because of alleged immorality, so he was forced to entrust local production functions to a substitute, who managed the affairs badly. Also, an opera written entirely by Vivaldi failed in part because his composing style had been overtaken by changes in taste. Vivaldi became mired in litigation over debts amounting to 6,000 ducats – 60 times his annual salary at the *Ospedale della Pieta*.⁴ In 1738 he lost his salaried position at the *Ospedale* and tried to make ends meet by selling free-lance works to the *Ospedale* and wealthy patrons. In 1740 he travelled to Vienna seeking a change of fortune, but found none and died destitute there a year later.

Georg Friedrich Händel learned the art of opera composing first in the free city of Hamburg, where the local opera was a private enterprise, and then in Rome, where Händel shared the hospitality of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni with Arcangelo Corelli and Domenico Scarlatti. Returning to Germany, he became Kapellmeister for the Elector of Hanover, but his desire to free himself from royal subservience carried him in 1710 to London, the mecca of private enterprise in things musical and otherwise.⁵ There two competing opera houses emerged, organized along Italian lines, with wealthy (mostly noble) patrons providing the capital and an op-

erating subsidy, augmented through periodic “draws”, but delegating production tasks and risks to an impresario. Händel worked at first as salaried director of one opera company, then as co-impresario (with John Jacob Heidegger) for its successor, and finally as principal impresario for the public performances of his own works. In his impresario roles, he lurched precariously between riches and ruin. His survival in lean years was facilitated by an annuity from the King’s family of £600 – roughly 20 times the annual compensation of building craftsmen in the south of England.⁶ His fortune became assured only after he turned from opera to English-language oratorio composition beginning in 1736. For his oratorios Händel served both as composer and impresario, selling tickets from the first floor of the house he had acquired at 21 Brook Street (which has recently been refurbished as a Händel museum). With the highly successful oratorio *Judas Maccabeus* in 1747, Händel shifted from selling season’s subscriptions to selling individual entrance tickets, permitting attendance by less affluent middle-class citizens. His estate at the time of his death in 1759 was valued at nearly £20,000. He received a hero’s funeral in Westminster Abbey.

After studying law at the University of Leipzig, Georg Philipp Telemann sought appointments as a composer in royal courts. However, disillusion set in when he was summarily dismissed in an economy move, leading him to write much later that “whoever seeks life-long security must settle in a republic” rather than serving at the whim of a noble (Petzoldt, 1974, p. 30). In 1712 he was appointed church Kapellmeister and director of music instruction in the free city of Frankfurt/Main, supplementing his income by composing for private collegia. In 1721 he moved permanently to the free city of Hamburg, where he received a substantially higher salary for supervising high school music studies and serving as cantor for five churches. He supplemented his fixed income through a host of free-lance activities – directing the privately financed Hamburg opera (performing mostly works of other composers rather than his own), private teaching, securing unprecedented composer’s fees from a local printer, obtaining a royal privilege (copyright) for the publication of his compositions in Paris, and organizing private concerts held in the opera house, inns, and a militia exercise hall.⁷ Telemann was financially successful in these market-oriented activities, but his luck was worse with another of life’s risks. His second wife was a spendthrift who absconded with a Swedish military officer, leaving Telemann with a debt of 3,000 thalers (roughly £475 at prevailing exchange rates) repaid only with the assistance of friends (Petzoldt, 1974, pp. 64–65).

Thus, free-lance activity is evident in the biographies of four renowned composers whose careers peaked during the first half of the 18th century. Three of the four, however, enjoyed steady even if not extravagant incomes from church or court duties throughout most, if not all, of their careers. Händel is the only one of the four who pursued free-lance composing as a principal occupation, adding the entrepreneurial functions of impresario during later stages of his career. But he also benefitted from a generous royal annuity. How typical these examples were

and how patterns changed in later periods is best ascertained through systematic quantitative analysis of a much larger sample.

2. A More Encompassing Sample

The sample to be analyzed was drawn from the *Schwann Opus* reference guide to classical music (Fall, 1996). An attempt was made to identify every composer with extant recorded music who had been born between 1650 and 1849 – i.e., over the course of two centuries bracketing the first Industrial Revolution. The criterion implied by this selection mechanism was survival in the minds and ears of posterity – an achievement not unimportant to leading composers.⁸ Altogether, 740 composers were identified. Biographical information on each was sought in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Sadie, 1980). For 76 composers no entry was found in *The New Grove*. Compared to record listings in *Schwann Opus* averaging 25 centimeters in length for composers on whom information was found (with a range of from 1.8 to 1656 centimeters), only four of the no-entry composers had record listings exceeding three centimeters in length. For 19 listed composers, the biographical information was too sparse to support accurate coding of career patterns, leaving a usable sample of 645 composers. There was a slight upward trend over time in the number of composers drawn into the sample, which was 141 for composers born between 1650 and 1699, 148 for 1700–1749 birthdates, 168 for 1750–1799 birthdates, and 188 for the 1800–1849 cohort. For each sampled composer, a battery of information on birth and death dates and locations, years worked in diverse nations, and occupational experiences was coded. All but 17 of the composers were born in Europe; the exceptions were born in North or South America.

This article draws mainly on the occupational information. Coded occupational categories included free-lance composing, free-lance performance, support by royal subsidy, service as a royal court performer and/or director (e.g., Kapellmeister), service as a church performer or director, free-lance teaching, teaching in a conservatory, educational activities not directly related to music performance or composition (e.g., Robert Schumann's venture in musical journalism and Alexander Borodin's tenure as a chemistry professor), private sector orchestra direction, performance in a private sector orchestra, the production of musical instruments, publication of other composers' music, non-music business or administrative activities, support from independent sources of wealth, a Bohemian lifestyle, and the completion of two or more operas (or operettas or Singspiele, but not cantatas or oratorios). Each coded activity was given a score of 3 (principal activity), 2 (secondary activity), or 1 (tertiary activity), taking into account both intensity and duration. Subjective judgments had to be made, but the process was reiterated until there was no longer reason to believe that serious systematic biases had intruded.⁹ Not surprisingly, many composers pursued multiple means of earning a

living, sometimes switching principal occupations in mid-career and often pursuing several jobs simultaneously.

3. Quantitative Analysis

We begin by examining the incidence of free-lance composing and performance activity among the 645 composers. The coding for free-lance composing was deliberately conservative. Activity was not counted as free-lance when an artist composed for the sake of creation *per se* or when an individual employed to perform, direct, and/or compose music dedicated an occasional work to someone other than his employer, published an occasional work, or sporadically performed his works in a venue outside his employer's ambit. Rather, a composer was inferred to have been free-lance only when he (the sample included only 14 women) regularly composed to earn fees from publishers or impresarios, or when he composed works for performance at concerts organized or planned by the composer in the expectation of remuneration whose magnitude would depend upon the size and willingness to pay of the audience attracted – e.g., for subscription and benefit concerts. Altogether, 286 of the 645 composers, or 44 percent, were found under these criteria to have engaged in free-lance composing. Among them, 186 pursued free-lance composing as a principal activity, 94 as a secondary activity, and six as a tertiary activity.

Composers were inferred to have been free-lance performers when they went on tour to earn money through solo performances or when they regularly earned a living by appearing as guest soloists in a typically large home city such as London, Paris, Milan, or Vienna. One hundred ninety eight of the 645 composers had non-zero codes as free-lance performers, 124 of them pursuing free-lance performance as a principal activity, 63 as a secondary activity, and 11 as a tertiary activity. Tertiary codes were for the most part sparingly assigned; doubtful cases were resolved on the side of not coding an activity.

Figure 1 shows how the incidence of free-lance composing and performance varied for composers born in four fifty-year intervals during the two centuries covered by my sample. Only those who pursued an activity on a primary or secondary basis are tallied. The height of the bars shows the relevant activity as a percent of the total number of composers in each fifty-year birth cohort; the numerals above the bars the number of composers in a category. For free-lance composing, free-lance performance, and the smaller group of composers engaging in both during their careers, there is a marked upward trend over time.¹⁰ The trend is more consistent for composing than for performance, and for composers born during the first half of the 19th century, the relative growth of free-lance performance activity is seen to cease. For that last cohort, there is also evidence of increased specialization, with a smaller fraction of free-lance composers engaging also in free-lance performance than for the 1750–1799 cohort.

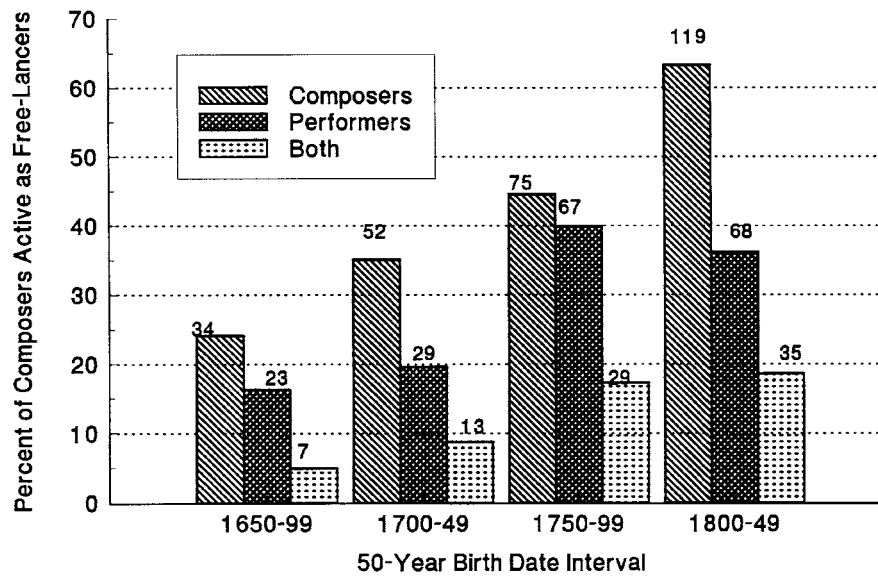


Figure 1. Trends in free-lance composing and performance.

For composers born between 1650 and 1749, writing operas was a particularly important and often lucrative form of free-lance activity. One hundred one of the 289 composers born within that time frame composed two or more operas. Figure 2 analyzes trends in free-lance composing as a principal or secondary activity for composers completing fewer than two operas. (Completion of only one opera was interpreted as recognition that alternative pursuits were more fruitful.) Both the number of non-opera composers working free-lance (numerals at the top of the bars) and the percentage of free-lance composers with fewer than two operas (the bar heights) show a strong upward trend.¹¹ Only seven of the 94 non-opera composers born during the second half of the 17th century, or 7.4 percent, pursued free-lance composing as a primary or secondary activity. For the 101 (sic) non-opera composers born during the first half of the 19th century, 50, or 49.5 percent, pursued free-lance composing. This marked change may have been attributable to a higher income elasticity of demand for instrumental and orchestral music performances than for operas and to the relatively late emergence of private orchestral concert series in most parts of Europe.¹²

Among the composers born in the earliest 50-year period who completed fewer than two operas, only two, Pietro Locatelli (1695–1764) and Jacques-Christophe Naudot (1690–1762), were found to have pursued free-lance composition as a primary activity. After being employed by both church and court institutions in Italy, virtuoso violinist Locatelli emigrated at the age of 34 to Amsterdam, a hub of enterprise and international trade, where he earned a living by teaching, directing a private orchestra, and publishing his compositions. He was one of the few composers in the sample to gain a state privilege (the forerunner of copyright) for the

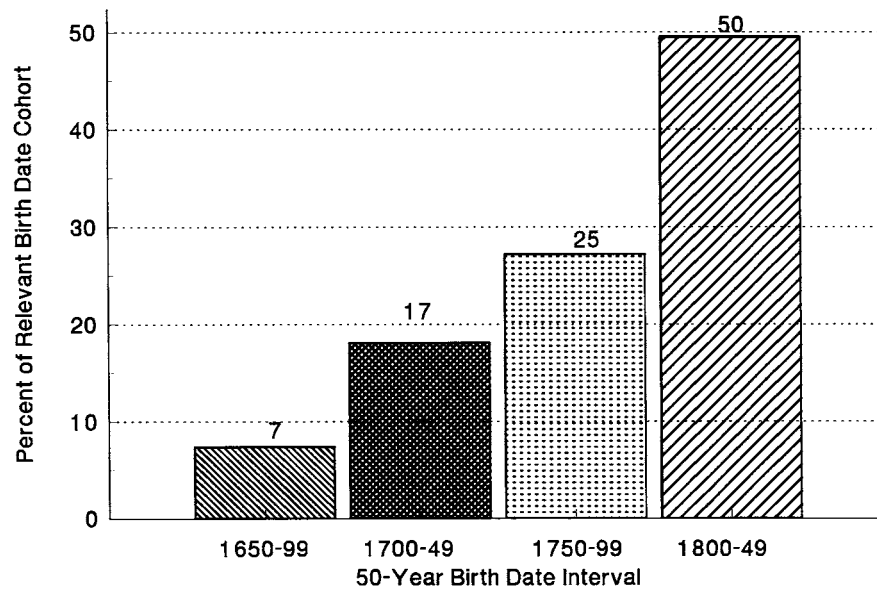


Figure 2. Percent of composers who completed fewer than two operas with primary or secondary free-lance activity.

exclusive publication of his chamber compositions. Naudot taught flute playing, performed in Parisian salons, earned money by dedicating his works to wealthy patrons, and aggressively published his flute compositions. His biography contains no evidence of church or court employment.

As free-lance activity ascended in composers' work routines, court and church employment declined. Figure 3 traces over four fifty-year intervals changes in the fraction of all composers with church or court employment as a primary or secondary activity. A particularly impressive drop in court employment is observed for composers born between 1800 and 1849, during which period many noble courts were disrupted and reorganized as a result of the Napoleonic wars, peasant tenure reform, and financial stringencies, while the Industrial Revolution began to permeate continental Europe and broaden the wealthy middle-class consumer base.¹³

Not surprisingly, free-lance composing activity is negatively associated with church and court employment. Within the cohort of composers who had no primary or secondary employment at noble courts or the churches, Figure 4 graphs for each 50-year time interval the number (bar heights) and cohort percentage (above the bars) for whom free-lance composing was a primary or secondary activity. The five composers with these characteristics born during the first time interval were Tomaso Albinoni (1671–1751), a Venetian who enjoyed independent wealth during the first five decades of his life and who supplemented his income by teaching and writing operas; John Gay (1685–1732), who composed songs, librettos, and operas

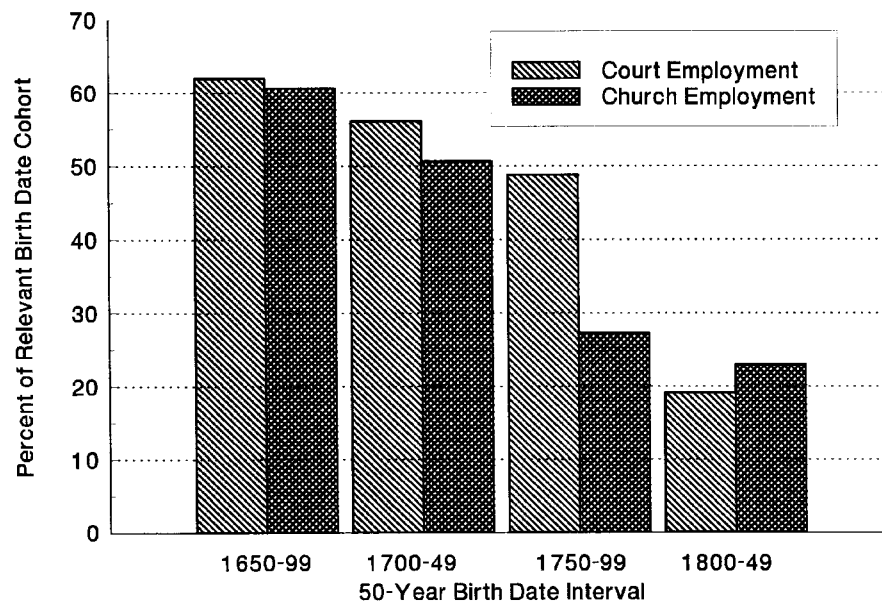


Figure 3. Percent of composers with significant court or church employment.

for the London market; Joseph de Boismortier (1689–1755), who composed both operas and instrumental music in Paris and was particularly successful in publishing instrumental works; Francesco Barsanti (1690–1772), who emigrated as a youth from Italy to play the flute and publish numerous compositions in London and Edinburgh; and Jacques-Christophe Naudot, whose principal activities have been described previously.

Accepting the risks of an impresario's role was rarer than pursuing free-lance composition. Only 26 composers engaged in impresario functions as a primary activity; for 18 more, they were a secondary activity; and for another 19, a tertiary activity. Across birth cohorts, the number of primary and secondary impresarios was relatively stable at seven for 1650–1699, seven for 1700–1749, eight for 1750–1799, but then surged upward to 22 for composers born between 1800 and 1849. Prominent among the primary activity impresarios during the earliest time period were Antonio Vivaldi, Georg Philipp Telemann, and Georg Friedrich Händel. The three others with primary impresario designations were Johann Kusser (1660–1727), who staged his own opera when he was denied access to the Hamburg opera and then directed a travelling opera company performing throughout Germany; Reinhard Keiser (1674–1739), who was a leading figure in Hamburg opera production and composition; and Jean-Baptiste Loelliet (1680–1730), who emigrated from Belgium to London, where he offered a weekly instrumental concert series from his Covent Garden residence. Included among the 1800–1849 birth cohort impresarios were Johann Strauss Sr., Johann Strauss Jr., and Eduard Strauss of Viennese fame, Richard Wagner, and Jacques Offenbach. During the 1830s, Jo-

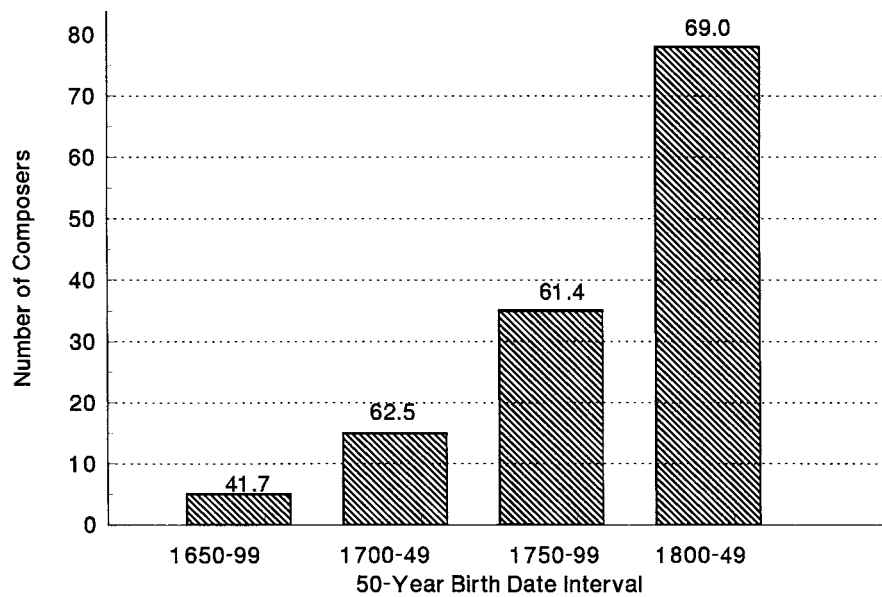


Figure 4. Composers with minimal court and church employment pursuing significant free-lance composing activity.

hann Strauss Sr. (1804–1849) had some 200 musicians under contract, deploying them simultaneously in groups of varying size to perform in the many ballrooms of Vienna (Fantel, 1971, p. 41).

Composers kept body and soul together in a vast variety of ways other than free-lance composing and performing and employment with the nobility or the churches. Figure 5 tallies some of the most important primary and secondary options by 50-year time intervals. No strong trend over time is evident in the percentage of composers who earned their bread through free-lance teaching, performance as a hired member of an orchestra, educational activities not directly related to music composing or performance, and non-music professions. However, there are strong upward trends in the propensity of composers to teach in officially recognized music conservatories and to direct orchestras organized outside the auspices of the nobility or the church (e.g., the Leipzig Gewandhaus orchestra, whose predecessor was the Collegium Musicum, founded by Telemann and later directed by J.S. Bach, or the Parisian Concert Spirituel from 1725 to 1791). The expansion of opportunities to direct private sector orchestras was a clear response to increasing middle-class demand for public musical performances. The spread of formally organized conservatories, many established with local governmental support, was an institutional reaction to the need for well-trained musicians, derived in turn from growing demands for home performance of music, the teaching that could facilitate it, and concerts and operas catering to an increasing affluent middle-class public.

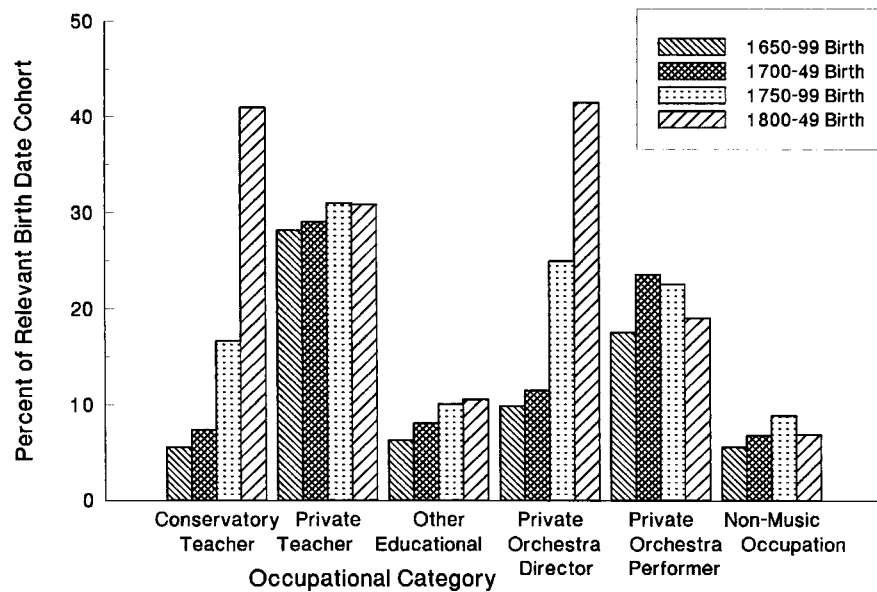


Figure 5. Percent of composers in birth cohort with other means of support.

4. Conclusion

Although the phenomena addressed in this paper are unavoidably measured imprecisely, the signals are so powerful that they overwhelm the noise. The conventional wisdom is correct in its supposition that free-lance composing activity increased briskly as economic growth expanded the population of middle-class citizens eager to perform music at home and attend professional music performances. But the revealed details are not so conventional. Free-lance composing was not a creature of the late 18th century; substantial antecedents can be found at least a century earlier, and they spread fairly steadily from that time on. A crucial distinction must be recognized between composing operas and composing purely instrumental solo, chamber, and orchestral music. Strong derived demand for free-lance opera composition emerged much earlier than demand for other types of free-lance composition. An expanding market opened up opportunities not only for instrumental works composed on a free-lance basis, but also for the organization of orchestras independent of the churches and the nobility, for concert series open to the general admission-paying public, and for conservatories to train the directors to lead them and their performing musicians. To provide at first operas and then public ensemble concerts whose success was seldom assured required among other things entrepreneurial risk-bearing crystallized in the role of the impresario. Frequently those risk-bearing functions were assumed by persons other than the individuals who composed the works to be performed, but in an appreciable number of instances, composers rose to the challenge, with widely varying financial consequences.

Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to Ruth Towse and two anonymous referees for helpful comments.

Notes

1. Hildesheimer's definition of freedom is as much psychological as economic.
2. See also Elias (1991, p. 41). At p. 95, Baumol and Baumol estimate Mozart's (highly variable) annual income during his Vienna years at 2,500 florins (roughly £290) per year, of which 800 florins came from an annual sinecure conferred by Emperor Joseph II.
3. On the organization of opera more generally, see Rosselli (1984) and Bianconi and Pestelli (1997).
4. At the time, this amounted to roughly £1,000. In making such conversions, one must recognize that ducats in Austria and Germany at the time had substantial greater exchange values than northern Italian ducats.
5. On Händel's desire for freedom, see Lang (1977, pp. 24–26), and Hogwood (1984, p. 19).
6. An annual subsidy of £1,000 from the King was also important to the operation of the various opera companies with which Händel was associated.
7. Telemann's successor in these functions was Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788), son of Johann Sebastian Bach, who was previously employed in the court of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia. Another J.S. Bach son, Johann Christian Bach (1735–1782), was a free-lance composer in London, among other things acting as impresario (with Karl Friedrich Abel) for a series of orchestra concerts in London.
8. See e.g. Leopold Mozart's letter to Wolfgang dated February 12, 1778: "Only your good sense and life style will determine whether you will be a common musical artist forgotten by the entire world, or a famous Kapellmeister about whom posterity will read in books . . ." My translation from Bauer and Deutsch (1962, Vol. II, p. 274).
9. One set of codings for a smaller sample was completed using sources less comprehensive than *The New Grove*. To remedy deficient knowledge of the institutional arrangements discovered in this first attempt, at least one book-length biography of each of 20 leading composers was read and annotated. A second and more comprehensive pass was then made through *The New Grove*. In a third pass, the first several volumes were recoded to ensure that coding patterns had not changed through learning-by-doing. A fourth pass extracted data not used in this paper, but led to a few corrections in the data analyzed here.
10. The differences in free-lance activity scores among the four time intervals are highly significant statistically, e.g., for free-lance composers, with an F-ratio of 15.4.
11. A regression of the free-lance composing codes FREE (scaled from zero to three) on the year of the composer's birth BIRTH and a dummy variable OPERA, with value of 1 if a composer completed two or more operas and zero otherwise, shows the strong mutual influence of time trends and opera opportunities on free-lance composition:

$$\text{FREE} = -10.02 + 0.0061 \text{ BIRTH} + 1.177 \text{ OPERA}, R^2 = 0.275, N = 645;$$

[7.16]
[7.63]
[12.65]

 with t-ratios reported in brackets below the regression coefficients. Tests for nonlinear (e.g., exponential) relationships between free-lance composing and birth year, both with and without controls for opera composition, yielded statistically insignificant nonlinear effects.
12. Thus, when war erupted between Austria and the Ottoman Empire in 1788, inflation and added taxes reduced the wealth of noble and middle-class Viennese residents. Orchestral concert-going dropped more than opera-going. See Robbins-Landon (1989, pp. 197–198).
13. London was a forerunner in this respect. See McVeigh (1993).

References

- Barbier, Patrick (1996) *The World of the Castrati* (translated by Margaret Crosland). Souvenir Press, London
- Baumol, William J. and Baumol, Hilda (1994) “On the Economics of Musical Composition in Mozart’s Vienna”, in James M. Morris (ed.), *On Mozart*, pp. 72–101, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C., and Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K.
- Bauer, Wilhelm A. and Deutsch, Otto Erich (eds.) (1962) *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*. Bärenreiter, Kassel.
- Bianconi, Lorenzo and Pestelli, Giorgio (eds.) (1998) *Opera Production and Its Resources* (translated by Lydia Cochrane). University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Elias, Norbert (1991) *Mozart: Zur Soziologie eines Genies*. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt.
- Gardner, Howard (1994) “How Extraordinary Was Mozart?”, in James M. Morris (ed.), *On Mozart*, pp. 36–51, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington and Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Heller, Karl (1997) *Antonio Vivaldi: The Red Priest of Venice* (translated by David Marinelli). Amadeus Press, Portland.
- Hildesheimer, Wolfgang (1982) *Mozart* (translated by Marion Faber). Farrar Strauss Giroux, New York.
- Hogwood, Christopher (1984) *Handel*. Thames and Hudson, London.
- McVeigh, Simon (1993) *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K.
- Moore, Julia V. (1987) *Beethoven and Musical Economics*. PhD Dissertation. University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana.
- Petzoldt, Richard (1974) *Georg Philipp Telemann* (translated by Horace Fitzpatrick). Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Robbins-Landon, H.C. (1989) *Mozart: The Golden Years*. Schirmer, New York.
- Rosselli, John (1984) *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Rise of the Impresario*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K.
- Sadie, Stanley (ed.) (1980) *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (20 Volumes). Macmillan, New York.
- Schwann Opus* (1996). Vol. 7, No. 4. Schwann Publications, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- Wolff, Christoph (1991) *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Wolff, Christoph (2000) *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician*. Norton, New York.