

A biography of
Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold
(1810-1864)



A life imbued with music

Peter Van Leeuwen
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A biography of Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold (1810-1864): A life imbued with music.
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Front Cover: Excerpt from one of Arnold's compositions: *Allegro*, published in: *Pfennig-Magazin für Gesang und Guitarre. Herausgegeben von einem Verein Rheinländischer Tonkünstler. Redigirt von F.W. Arnold.* Cologne, Gaul & Tonger. 1835 1(4): 190.

Back Cover: Reproduction of a photograph of the portrait of Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold.

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Preface

The story of Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold is presented here. He lived in the 19th century in what is present day Germany. At that time, Germany was a confederation of states, kingdoms, duchies, principedoms, and city states. He lived his early life in the Kingdom of Württemberg in the south and came from a reasonably well-off family. Once he had completed his education, he moved north to the Kingdom of Prussia and spent the rest of his life in Cologne and Wuppertal-Elberfeld. His privileged background and subsequent schooling enabled him to pursue a number of professions associated with culture but focused primarily on music. In the course of his life he was a musician, writer, theater critic, editor, composer, businessman, publisher and music researcher. He was acquainted with many of the people involved in culture and fine arts of his day, some of them were his friends, a number of them are well-known even today. After he had started his own music business in Elberfeld, he settled down there with his family. Beyond earning a living, he was socially active and he engaged himself in local musical projects. He often travelled in the German states as well as through other parts of Europe, driven by his music publishing business as well as his personal interest in the German folk song. He died unexpectedly at the age of 54.

My account of Arnold's life is based on the many sources available today. Starting point was the *Family History*, written by my great-grandmother Lily Schnabel, which also included many particulars on the life and times of her grandfather Friedrich Wilhelm. The search for more detail and further information was greatly simplified by the current availability of data on the internet. In specific cases I also contacted organizations or persons, many of whom supplied me with further facts and material. In the following I have tried to put all those details into a roughly chronological framework which tells the story of Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold on the background of his family and his times.

I have attempted to reference the facts related here so that, if need be, the reader can trace the source. The sources are given in on-page footnotes and I have, where appropriate, included supplementary information in these notes. There are also numerous cross references which link bits of related information scattered around the text.

For the sake of clarity, I have adopted certain conventions in the text body. The names of persons, when they are first mentioned, are written in italics with the family name in a bold font, e.g. *Friedrich Wilhelm **Arnold***.

The *titles* of books, articles, chapters, etc. are written in italics. Original texts in German are often given and I have translated these into English where appropriate. Quoted texts are placed in quotation marks.

At times I have speculated on various aspects of Arnold's life, the circumstances, his character and personality and these are of course my subjective views. I have included a number of pictures with the intention of making the written word a bit more accessible and perhaps enhance the impression of a life lived almost two hundred years ago.

Herdecke, Germany 2018.

Origins

The town Sontheim bei Heilbronn lies in the southern German province of Baden-Württemberg on the Neckar river in a gently rolling, hilly landscape. Sontheim is a suburb of Heilbronn, which is about 20 km downstream, roughly halfway between Heidelberg and Stuttgart. In the early 19th century, Sontheim was a rural, peasant community with several hundred inhabitants.¹ Its population was mainly Catholic and focused on farming and winegrowing with some fishing in the river.² Apart from the local smallholders there were several estates.



Sontheim before 1882³

One of these estates belonged to Friedrich Wilhelm's father, *Franz Theodor Joseph Arnold*. No records of the father's birthdate or place have been found but he was probably born before or around 1790. Also, little is known of what Theodor Arnold actually did for a living.⁴ However there is some evidence that he was, among other things, a man of farming and

¹ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sontheim_%28Heilbronn%29/.

² https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Beschreibung_des_Oberamts_Heilbronn/Kapitel_B_14/.

³ <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hn-sontheim-vor1882.jpg/>.

⁴ It seems that after Sontheim became a part of Heilbronn, archive material was transferred to Heilbronn where it was destroyed in fire. See <http://heuss.stadtarchiv-heilbronn.de/> and search, using the "Expertenmaske", in the field "Signatur" for: C008-0.

business. For instance, in 1815 he applied for a license to erect a soap factory⁵ which was granted in the same year.⁶ Two years later he applied for a machine for making bread out of potatoes.⁷ As both of these business undertakings make use of agricultural products – plant oil and ashes for soap and the potatoes for bread – one can well imagine that Theodor Arnold produced such goods on his estate.

Apart from working his estate, he was also involved in music. On several documents, he is noted as being a "music director". One document reports the sale of properties in Sontheim, including the sale around 1808 of a "stately garden to the Music Director of Mainz Arnold".⁸ This document suggests he had this directorial office in the city of Mainz (about 160 km north of Sontheim). Another is the document noting the registration ("Immatrikulation") of his son *Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold* at the university in Freiburg in 1829 in which his father's profession is mentioned.⁹ This document states that Friedrich Wilhelm's father was Music Director in Sontheim bei Heilbronn. *Lily Schnabel* – the great-granddaughter of Franz Theodor – mentions in the memoirs of her family history that he was "conductor of the Royal Orchestra of the King of Saxony".¹⁰

As was true of many people of his social standing, Theodor Arnold appears to have been somewhat of a polymath. He was not only knowledgeable in agriculture, business, mechanics and music. In 1836, when he

⁵ https://www2.landesarchiv-bw.de/ofs21/olf/druckansicht.php?id_titlaufn=1677973&bestand=4151/: "Gesuch des Theodor Arnold von Sontheim zur Errichtung einer Ölseifenfabrik" ["Application by Theodor Arnold for the erection of an oil-soap factory"].

⁶ https://www2.landesarchiv-bw.de/ofs21/olf/druckansicht.php?id_titlaufn=3543908&bestand=17395/: "1815. Erteilung der Konzession zur Errichtung einer Ölseifenfabrik durch Theodor Arnold von Sontheim, Oberamt Heilbronn" ["Granting of a license for the erection of an oil-soap factory by Theodor Arnold from Sontheim, Regional Office Heilbronn"].

⁷ https://www2.landesarchiv-bw.de/ofs21/olf/druckansicht.php?id_titlaufn=1676240&bestand=4151/: "1817. Gesuch des Theodor Arnold von Sontheim für eine Maschine zur Zubereitung der Erdbirnen zum Brotbacken" ["Application of Theodor Arnold from Sontheim for a machine for the preparation of potatoes for baking bread"].

See also: *Korrespondenz des Königlich Württembergischen Landwirthschaftlichen Vereins, Erster Band*. Stuttgart und Tübingen, J.G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung. 1832: page 154. There it says: "1817. Benutzung der Kartoffeln zum Brodbacken durch das Zerreiben derselben auf einer Maschine, von Theodor Arnold in Sontheim bei Heilbronn", which refers to the "Use of potatoes for bread baking by grating them with a machine".

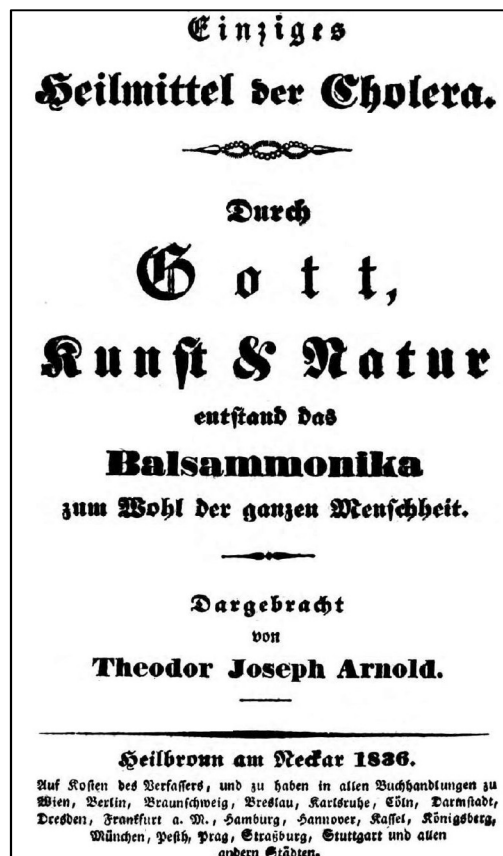
⁸ https://www2.landesarchiv-bw.de/ofs21/olf/druckansicht.php?id_titlaufn=2347210&bestand=17381/.

⁹ <http://www.uniarchiv.uni-freiburg.de/unigeschichte/matrikel-1806-1870/view/>. This downloads a PDF document: see page 332.

¹⁰ Schnabel L. *History of the Schnabel-Bredemeyer Family*. 1947 (translated and edited by Adriana Van Leeuwen. 1999): p. 15. The King of Saxony would have been *Frederick Augustus I* (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_Augustus_I_of_Saxony/). However, as Saxony lies much further east, perhaps the kingdom of Württemberg was meant.

was probably around fifty years old, he published a book at his own expense in which he describes a cure for cholera.¹¹

Cholera was relatively unknown in Europe until the 19th century, at which time several pandemics occurred.¹² Around 1830, an epidemic spread through Europe. Accordingly, the search for a treatment was highly relevant then and an effective remedy was only found around mid-century.



Title page of "*The sole cure for Cholera*"¹³

In 1836, Theodor Arnold was sufficiently convinced of the value of his invention and he applied to the government on June 3rd for the recognition of his cure.¹⁴ This was rejected at a meeting of the assembly shortly

¹¹ Arnold TJ. *Einziges Heilmittel der Cholera Durch Gott, Kunst & Natur entstand das Balsammonika zum Wohl der ganzen Menschheit*. Heilbronn am Neckar, M. Müller. 1836: 61pp.

¹² <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cholera/>.

¹³ <https://books.google.de/>.

¹⁴ *Protokolle der deutschen Bundes-Versammlung vom Jahre 1836. Sitzung 1 bis 19*. Bundes-Präsidial-Druckerei, Frankfurt a.M.; 1836. See "Protokoll der 7. Sitzung vom 3 Juni, §137 Verzeichnis der Eingaben", p. 371: "Num. 27 (eingegangen 3. Jun.) von Theodor Joseph Arnold zu Sondheim bei Heilbronn, Anzeige wegen Entdeckung eines Heilmittels gegen die Cholera" ["No. 27 (received June 3) from Theodor Joseph Arnold from Sondheim bei Heilbronn, announcement of a cure for cholera"].

afterwards on July 18.¹⁵ His book, titled "*The Sole Cure for Cholera*", was published in October 1836 and it appears to be a result of the state's rejection.

The foreword reflects his disappointment with, if not disdain for, the head of state ("Monarch") and the nobility ("Fürsten") for not recognizing the value of his scientific work and he finds solace in his conviction that God is aware of his achievement and that the "good housewives" – to whom he dedicated the book – will be the true beneficiaries. The cure itself is a combination of various common fruits, herbs, tar and raw veal meat.¹⁶ His discovery was not really based on theoretical or systematic empirical evidence: he mentions that these ingredients and their preparation appeared to him in a dream. The book is certainly interesting as he recounts in a narrative, rambling way many of the adventures he experienced during the development of his cure and the people who partook in his experiments. This gives not only a glimpse into the personality of Theodor Arnold but also of various aspects of normal daily life at that time.

¹⁵ Ibid. See "Dreizehnte Sitzung, Frankfurt den 18. Juli 1836", p. 532: "Wurde als unzulässig der K. Württembergischen Gesandtschaft zur Bescheidung des Eingebers zugestellt" ["was forwarded to the Royal Württemberg legation as ineligible"].

¹⁶ Arnold TJ, p. 3.

Childhood and Schooling

A quarter of a century before Theodor Arnold published this book, his son Friedrich Wilhelm was born on Saturday the 3rd of March, 1810, into his parents' well-to-do, socially well-placed and educated milieu.¹⁷ It seems he was the second-born of four children. His older sister *Francisca Christiana Wilhelmina* had been born almost two years earlier.¹⁸ When Friedrich Wilhelm was two years old, his second sister *Maria Anna Theresia* arrived.¹⁹ Two years later a third sister was born.²⁰ The fact that she is not named on the birth certificate probably means that she died around the time of birth.

This information has been gleaned from the data base provided by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.²¹ Several interesting items show up on the birth certificates. For instance, the Roman Catholic orientation of the family, compatible with the majority of the local population, becomes clear. This is not only obvious from the Latin names (e.g. Friedrich Wilhelm is recorded as Fridericus Wilhelmus) but also from the fact that the three younger children were baptized in the historical catholic church of St. Martin in Sontheim.²² The origins of the church can be traced back to the early middle ages and was the site of a number of historical events. At the time of the Arnold children's baptism, the church in the village center had been renovated in the baroque style. We also learn the mother's name: *Johanna Wilhelmina Nagel* (in different variations²³).

The documents on Friedrich Wilhelm's father mentioned in the previous chapter suggest that the family was well-off and the estate was not particularly small. We can imagine that as a young boy Friedrich lived in a stately house surrounded by other buildings such as the laborers' quarters, workshops and barns as well as a cultivated garden and surrounding fields. No doubt there was sufficient countryside for him to explore and

¹⁷ There are numerous sources indicating his date of birth, for instance:

- a) Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*", found at https://www.wuppertal.de/kultur-bildung/stadtarchiv/bestaende/350_Stadtarchiv_Zeitungen.php/.
- b) <http://www.ub-archiv.uni-tuebingen.de/w604/w604fram.htm/> and look for the entry 1.14.9.758.
- c) <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NXF7-WB2/>. This entry gives the 3.3.1810 as the date of Christening, which is probably also the date of birth.

¹⁸ April 27, 1808, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NH19-26X/>.

¹⁹ March 14, 1812, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NXF7-NX1/>.

²⁰ July 30, 1814, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NXF7-RJV/>.

²¹ <https://familysearch.org/>.

²² https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Martinus_%28Heilbronn-Sontheim%29/.

²³ In the Family Search documents, she is named as: Johanna Wilhelmina Nagel, Joannae Wilhelminae Nagle, Wilhelminae Nagle, Wilhelminae Nagele.

roam around in the pleasant climate of South-West Germany. He also might well have helped in the daily chores of country life, gone fishing or swimming in the nearby Neckar river and most likely went to the village school. His education certainly included music – in particular the violin – and his father is mentioned as one of his teachers ("His father, himself a good musician, had guided his first studies ... [Friedrich Wilhelm] matured to a very competent violinist").²⁴



Martinuskirche, ca. 1900²⁵

His educational possibilities at the village school were probably exhausted around the age of ten. He was then sent to high school at Blaubeuren Abbey,²⁶ located in the village of the same name about 120 km south of Sontheim. "Kloster Blaubeuren" was founded as a monastery in 1085 and had had a very eventful history, including prosperous times,

²⁴ Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*", found in https://www.wuppertal.de/kultur-bildung/stadtarchiv/bestaende/350_Stadtarchiv_Zeitungen.php/: "Der Vater, selbst ein guter Musiker, hatte seine ersten Studien geleitet ... zu einem sehr tüchtigen Geiger schon herangereift sein".

²⁵ <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hn-sontheim-martin-ca1900.jpg/>.

²⁶ Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*".

destruction by fire, murder, depopulation by the plague, frequent changes in heads and political affiliation and, not least, the protestant reformation.²⁷ At the time of Friedrich's enrollment, it was a protestant boarding school which prepared students for theological studies.²⁸ His granddaughter Lily Schnabel noted that "he studied to become a priest".²⁹ Indeed, several accounts of his life note that he was originally intended for the priesthood.³⁰ It is not clear how long he stayed or why he left the school but at some point he went to Tübingen – 100 kilometers south of Sontheim – to study philosophy.³¹



Blaubeuren Abbey around 1836³²

The engraving shows the abbey on the far side of the source spring of the river "Blau". The spring was called "Blautopf" because of the blue color of the water.³³

²⁷ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kloster_Blaubeuren/.

²⁸ <http://www.kloester-bw.de/?nr=604/>.

²⁹ Personal communication from Hans Schnabel, 1979.

³⁰ *Elberfelder Zeitung*, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*", Chrysander F, Belleremann H. Nachwort. In: Chrysander F (Ed.). *Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft*, Bd. II. Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig. 1867: p 225.

³¹ *Elberfelder Zeitung*, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*".

³² "*Kloster Blaubeuren mit Blautopf 1836*", engraving, J. Meyer. Source: <http://www.kloester-bw.de/?nr=604/>, © Landesmedienzentrum Baden-Württemberg/LMZ002187

³³ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blautopf/>.

Student days

The archives of the University of Tübingen show that Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold registered there as a student in November 1828, when he was 18.³⁴ He was there for only about 6 months but in that time he must have been socially active. Within that short space of time, he met *Ludwig Uhland* – a well-known German poet, lawyer and philologist who was politically active throughout his life.³⁵ At that time Uhland was teaching at the university (in 1829 he was made professor for German Language and Literature). Arnold attended his lectures and discussed some of his own literary endeavors with Uhland, asking for advice.³⁶ Uhland was also a scholar in folk songs and popular ballads. This interest was common between Uhland and Arnold and they remained in contact for the rest of their lives (see also chapter "*Ludwig Uhland*", page 69). Many years later, shortly before Arnold's death, Uhland described Arnold as very enthusiastic about and extremely knowledgeable in the German folk song.³⁷

Less than a year after starting in Tübingen, on June 2, 1829, he switched to the University of Freiburg, about 150 kilometers from Tübingen in the south west corner of Germany. His registration record notes that his religion is catholic and his father's profession is given as "Music Director in Sondheim, Heilbronn".³⁸ It is also mentioned that he had begun his study of philosophy in Tübingen and was to continue this in Freiburg. Even so, in a letter to *Hermann Hauff*³⁹ from 1831,⁴⁰ in which he is looking for support for the publication of a novella, he signs as "F.W. Arnold, stud. theol.", suggesting that he is (also) studying theology.

Not much is known specifically about Arnold's student life but the contemporary records on university hearings⁴¹ into the behavior of students give an indication of some of his co-students more frivolous pastimes. These include brawling with non-students, making debts, disturbance of the peace, drunkenness, insult, injury, theft, fraud, not

³⁴ <http://www.ub-archiv.uni-tuebingen.de/w604/w604fram.htm/>.

³⁵ Ludwig Uhland (1787-1862), https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ludwig_Uhland/.

³⁶ See letters to Herman Hauff, dated Nov. 5, 1831 (<http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-243752/>) and Jan. 26, 1832 (<http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-243755/>), as well as to Uhland dated July 15, 1834 (<http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-243763/>).

³⁷ Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*".

³⁸ <http://www.uniarchiv.uni-freiburg.de/unigeschichte/matrikel-1806-1870/view/>.

³⁹ Hermann Hauff (1800-1865), writer, translator and editor of the "*Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*", https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hermann_Hauff/.

⁴⁰ Letter dated Nov. 5, 1831, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-243752/>.

⁴¹ <http://www.uniarchiv.uni-freiburg.de/bestaende/Pertinenzprinzip/altbestaende/Verhandlungen/>.

paying the dog tax, galloping through the city, and dueling, among others. It is also noted that some incurred property damage to the "Karzer" – a university detention room where misbehaving students could be detained – probably resulting from too much alcohol or a sense of unfair treatment.

We may presume that Arnold was generally not involved in the more serious of such wayward activities (his name cannot be found in these records). He likely preoccupied himself with his courses and studies. There are however indications that he did not just study.

Around 1831 Arnold got the idea, perhaps from his contact with Uhland, that he could write novellas. In a letter to Hauff from early 1832,⁴² he states: "... I took up a plan which I had thought about earlier, namely to write a novella and I informed Uhland, who approved". The reason he gives for deciding to author a story are monetary troubles. According to the letter, he had been teaching in order to earn money but had to stop for health reasons. He hoped to be able to improve his financial situation with the royalties from the publication of a novella. He approached Hauff, who was editor of the "Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände".⁴³ Published by the Cotta'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung,⁴⁴ the "Morgenblatt" was a feuilleton appearing several times per week with a diverse mix of travelogues, poems, memoirs, essays on literature, history, art and natural history and reviews. The contact to Hauff was probably made by Uhland, who had been publishing with Cotta for years.

We can infer from the two letters to Hauff that Arnold had written a novella and that it was being considered for publication. In the 1832 letter, Arnold, on the presumption that his work had been accepted, is asking for its speedy publication as he is in dire financial need. Indeed he states that, due to his debts, the "consilium abeundi",⁴⁵ i.e. his expulsion, is imminent. It seems however that the novella was not published in the Morgenblatt, although between 1835 and 1841 a number of his novellas did appear elsewhere (see the chapter "Novelist", page 24).

The correspondence with Hauff gives insight into a number of facets of Arnold's student life: apart from his studies he had other interests and undertakings, i.e. associating with the intelligentsia, writing, teaching. And

⁴² Letter dated Jan. 26, 1832, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-243755/>.

⁴³ "Morning Gazette for the Educated Professions" published between 1807 and 1865, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morgenblatt_f%C3%BCr_gebildete_St%C3%A4nde/.

⁴⁴ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cotta%E2%80%99sche_Verlagsbuchhandlung/.

⁴⁵ "counsel to depart" i.e. expulsion from the university. This sanction was more serious than imprisonment in the "Karzer" but less drastic than a complete ban from being able to enter any university ever again. See https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/consilium_abeundi/.

he had a lifestyle that exhausted his monetary resources. He writes: "... now that the term is coming to an end, my creditors are pressing ...".⁴⁶ He explains his lack of money on his parents' inability to support him ("My parents are very poor ...") and on illness ("At the end of last winter, my already weak eyesight suffered so much due to night work so that I was blinded") which robbed him of his teaching income ("Giving lessons, with which I was able to cover my expenses, was no longer possible, while at the same time my outlays increased").

Whether his parents did support him is not documented but there is no suggestion that that family was poor (see chapter "*Origins*", page 9) and they certainly enabled him good schooling at the Blaubeuren Abbey up to the time of his university studies. On the other hand, there are indications that his financial difficulties may have been due to his lifestyle. Lily Schnabel notes in her *Family History*: "He was always short of money"⁴⁷ and, in a note she passed on to her son *Johannes (Hans) Schnabel*, she is quoted: "He was as poor as the ants, as he spent his money with incomprehensible ease".⁴⁸

Whatever the case, Arnold's financial straits did not hinder him in completing his studies as he acquired, after three and a half years of study, a Doctor of Philosophy early in 1832.⁴⁹ Subsequently, he will have supported himself with teaching as, according to his eulogist, he taught as a private teacher at an institution known as the "Hertel Institute".⁵⁰ Not long after, however, he decided to leave Freiburg and the Kingdom of Württemberg.

⁴⁶ Here and in the following see the letter dated Jan. 26, 1832, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-243755/>.

⁴⁷ Schnabel L, p. 20.

⁴⁸ Personal communication from Hans Schnabel, 1979.

⁴⁹ Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*".

⁵⁰ Ibid. I have not been able to find any information on what the "Hertel Institut" was about.



Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold⁵¹ in his academic attire (blue gown with a black fur collar) holding the text of a novella he had written (*Die Blutbrücke*)⁵²

⁵¹ Reproduction of a photograph of the portrait of Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold, from Schnabel L, p. 19. The original painting was destroyed in an English bombing raid on Lily Schnabel's house in the Emmastraat in den Haag in 1945 (Personal communication from Hans Schnabel, 1979; see also https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bombardement_op_het_Bezuidenhout/).

⁵² Personal communication from Hans Schnabel, 1979. As the novella "*Die Blutbrücke*" was first published in 1838, the portrait was probably not painted immediately after his graduation.

Cologne, London, Aachen: Journalism, Music, Theater

In 1832 Arnold moved to Cologne.⁵³ At that time Cologne was part of the Kingdom of Prussia. As a result of the Congress of Vienna in 1815,⁵⁴ Prussia had acquired large sections of the western German Confederation, including the Rhineland and Westphalia. Cologne had retained its relatively liberal Napoleonic code and developed into the second most important Prussian city after Berlin.⁵⁵ Cultural life in this environment was largely shaped by the bourgeoisie which included well-to-do merchants, master craftsmen, bankers, doctors, apothecaries, lawyers, civil servants and clergymen. In the 1830's there was a wide movement of social betterment which was expressed in the founding of numerous associations, clubs and societies which created a demand for art and culture.⁵⁶ It is not known what motivated Arnold to leave Württemberg for Prussia but this was the environment he came upon as a 22-year old freshly-baked scholar from Freiburg.



View of Cologne from the east bank of the Rhine, 1840⁵⁷

Having arrived in Cologne, he gave his profession as "private academic".⁵⁸ He began working as the editor of the "Rheinblüthen", a feuilleton supplement to the "Kölnischer Correspondent".⁵⁹ Later in the same year he was regularly contributing to the "Kölnischer Correspondent" as theater

⁵³ Speer F. *Klaviere und Flügel aus dem Wupperthale - Instrumentenbau in der Wupperregion und am Niederrhein während des 19. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel der Orgel- und Klavierbauerfamilie Ibach*. Gesamthochschule Wuppertal. Dissertation 2000; p. 436.

⁵⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congress_of_Vienna/.

⁵⁵ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cologne/>.

⁵⁶ Speer F, p. 22.

⁵⁷ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABlick_von_Deutz_auf_die_Stadt_K%C3%B6ln_mit_Schiff_sbr%C3%BCcke%2C_ca._1840.jpg/.

⁵⁸ Speer F, p. 436.

⁵⁹ "Der kölnische Correspondent", some copies can be found at <https://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/>.

and opera critic.⁶⁰ Probably due to the numerous contacts he was able to make in these cultural circles, he also got to know *Josef Derossi*,⁶¹ who was the director of the theater in Düsseldorf and active in music and theater in other cities such as Cologne and Elberfeld.⁶² Derossi had organized that choir members of the Cologne Opera could be part of the German Opera Company on its guest tour in London in the season 1833-34.⁶³ In the spring 1833, through the acquaintance with Derossi, Arnold accompanied the composer and director *Johan Nepomuk Hummel*⁶⁴ with the German Opera Company to London as the choir director.⁶⁵ Upon his return to Prussia, he worked as dramatic advisor and secretary at the "Aachener Theater"⁶⁶ which was under the direction of *Julius Mühling*.⁶⁷

In 1834, two years after arriving in Prussia, Arnold was still writing critiques of theater performances, as demonstrated by one bizarre incident in Cologne. At that time, it was not uncommon for critics to offer their services to performers – for a fee.⁶⁸ It seems that in the spring of 1834 Arnold approached the actor *Eduard Jerrmann*⁶⁹ and proposed to write up a positive critique of his talent, associated with some costs. Jerrmann declined the proposition and Arnold returned the favor by writing an adverse comment on his next performance. Jerrmann was incensed and held a tirade against Arnold from the stage.⁷⁰ This set off a chain reaction involving the press, other critics and publishers, the courts of law and even the Cologne Carnival.⁷¹ In his reaction to all this, Jerrmann published a book in 1835 titled "*The Wasp's Nest or the Carnival in Cologne. Fragments of my Life in the Theater. A humoristic satirical Narrative.*"⁷² In this very verbose book, he tells the story from his vantage point and is scathing with respect to Arnold. He writes:

⁶⁰ Schwendowius B. "*Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold*". In: Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte, Heft 97: Rheinische Musiker, Bd. 7, Hrsg. Kämper D. 1972, p 10.

⁶¹ Joseph Derossi (1768-1841), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Josef_Derossi/.

⁶² https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Josef_Derossi/.

⁶³ Schwendowius B, p. 10.

⁶⁴ Johan Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837), https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Nepomuk_Hummel/.

⁶⁵ Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel; 1833, Band 35. Ausgabe Nr. 11 (13. März, 1833): 181.

⁶⁶ Schwendowius B, p. 10.

⁶⁷ Julius Mühling (1793-1874), actor and director, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julius_M%C3%BChling/.

⁶⁸ <http://projects.exeter.ac.uk/gutzkow/Gutzneu/gesamtausgabe/Abtei1/UePriBu.htm/>, see section 6.1 in the comments.

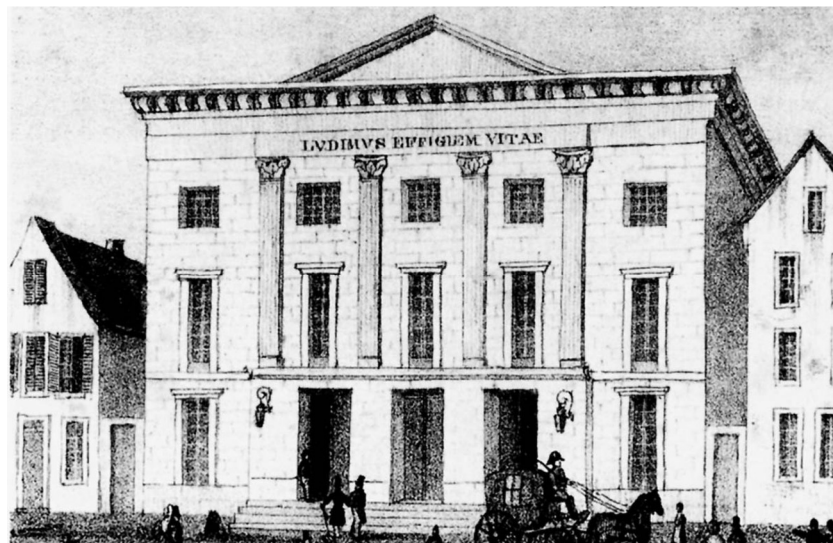
⁶⁹ Eduard Jerrmann (1798-1859), https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eduard_Jerrmann/.

⁷⁰ <http://www.ksta.de/aufbruch-in-der-schmierstrasse-13206962/>.

⁷¹ see previous two notes and <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz37216.html/>.

⁷² Jerrmann E. *Das Wespennest oder der Kölner Carneval. Fragmente aus meinem Theater - Leben. Humoristisch-satyrisch geschildert.* Leipzig, Georg Wigand's Verlag. 1835; 243pp.

"Deutschland! You must become wholly acquainted with Doctor Arnold. He is a Doctor. Which faculty, I don't know: nobody knows! Judging by his previous employment it would be music; because he was engaged as répétiteur in the local theater, but lost his position because the members of the choir were always laughing at his incompetence and laughing is not compatible with the solemn gravity of the rehearsals. When I arrived here he was playing violin in the orchestra, but so appallingly that the management dismissed him for fear of losing their license. Then he was dramatic stage advisor for some time. The fact that he also lost that job seems to confirm my modest opinion that he was just as incompetent as in his previous post. That is the existence of Doctor Arnold. His deeds are limited to the fabrication of shallow narratives for pocket books, a malicious critique about me, as well as some flattering for hard cash" ⁷³



The theatre in Cologne around 1869⁷⁴

In the end however, Jerrmann was not so much battling Arnold as other persons with whom he was in conflict.⁷⁵ Nonetheless, his outburst against Arnold deserves to be offset by another contemporary voice:

" ... he finished his studies with his Doctor in Philosophy ...

⁷³ Ibid., p. 64.

⁷⁴ <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:K%C3%B6ln-Theater-Schmierstra%C3%9Fe-1829.jpg/>.

⁷⁵ <http://projects.exeter.ac.uk/gutzkow/Gutzneu/gesamtausgabe/Abtei1/UePriBu.htm/>, see section 6.1 in the comments.

" ... a man with Arnold's capabilities and endurance must naturally have matured into a very competent violinist.

"In 1832 we find Arnold ... as editor of "die Rheinblüthen" which, because of his work, found many new friends.

" ... in his reorganization of the [Aachen] orchestra, he acquired substantial merit.

" ... he was known as such a skilled musician that the brothers Eck in Cologne appointed him to head [their] music publishing house ..."⁷⁶

If any further reservations remain about Arnold's abilities and qualifications, the accounts of his activities and achievements – listed in this text and in the cited sources – will serve to allay them. Nonetheless, there seems to be no doubt that he did offer his services as a critic for money. This may have been a customary⁷⁷ practice (as mentioned above) but may also have been driven by personal financial difficulties. As noted in the chapter of his student days (page 18), Arnold often seemed to be in need of money.

⁷⁶ Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*".

⁷⁷ Albeit objectionable from today's perspective.

Novelist

Apart from such skirmishes in the field of drama, Arnold was busy writing and had been publishing other works. As noted above (page 17), he began authoring short fictional works in his student days. In general, it appears that these works were romantic historical novels. These stories began appearing in the mid-1830's in so-called "Taschenbücher", i.e. pocket books. The "Taschenbuch" became popular in 19th century Germany, as well-to-do bourgeois families were striving to be well-educated in the humanities, sciences and arts.⁷⁸ Of the many topics and subjects published in this form, pocket books containing fiction and poetry were often directed at a female audience.

That Arnold was addressing this group of readers becomes clear from a letter he wrote to the publishing house of *Leonard Schrag*.⁷⁹ Schrag had been printing fiction, among other subjects, in his publishing house Nuremberg since 1810. In 1832, Arnold wrote to the editors of the "Frauentaschenbuch, Schrag'sche Buchhandlung" stating that, on the recommendation of "the poet Uhland", he wished to submit a manuscript of a story which had music as its central theme.⁸⁰ Although he does not give the title of the novella, it was most likely "*The Virtuoso from Genoa*". It is the story of two women friends who are assaulted by a robber. One of women is taken captive, the other saved by a stranger who turns out to be a famous violinist from Genoa. The plot continuous with romance, revenge, rescue, trickery and tragedy. It seems that the Schrag'sche Buchhandlung could not be persuaded to include this novella in its collection. However, in 1835 Arnold did successfully publish *The Virtuoso from Genoa* which was included in a pocket book collection of stories called "*Penelope*", edited by *Theodor Hell*.⁸¹

Arnold was still corresponding with Uhland whom he continued to ask for advice. In a letter written in the summer of 1834,⁸² Arnold acknowledges Uhland's help in the preparation of the manuscript of *The Virtuoso from Genoa*:

⁷⁸ <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taschenbuch/>.

⁷⁹ Johann Leonhard Schrag (1783-1858), bookseller and publisher who founded the Schragsche Verlagsbuchhandlung in 1810 in Nürnberg, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Leonhard_Schrag/.

⁸⁰ Letter dated March 12, 1832, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-243760/>.

⁸¹ Theodor Hell, alias Karl Gottlieb Theodor **Winkler** (1775-1856), editor, translator and critic, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodor_Hell/.

⁸² Letter dated July 15, 1834, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-243763/>.

"While studying at the University of Tübingen a number of years ago, I was fortunate enough to be able to attend your [Uhland's] erudite lectures and to subject several of my literary efforts to your judgement. The novella: *Der Virtuose aus Genua*, which I had revised according to your wishes, has been very well-received by Hofrat Winkler⁸³ and will be appearing within days in *Penelope* 1835."

The main intention of the letter was a request to Uhland to comment on another (unnamed) manuscript that Arnold was working on.

As an aside, this letter gives us an opportunity to enjoy the excessive language used at that time. Arnold closes his letter with

"Permit me, most honored Sir, to assure you of my completest [sic] esteem with which I sign, your thankful student F.W. Arnold."

Can one outdo that?

As his return address, Arnold gave "Du-Mont Schauberg, Cologne": DuMont Schauberg was, and is, one of Germany's oldest and largest publishing houses.⁸⁴ Why Arnold was using this address is not clear – as far as I know, none of Arnold's works appeared in Dumont. Perhaps this was to create a good impression.

In 1836 the Novella "*The Fog Man, a Folktale from the Times of the Crusades*" was serialized in "Didaskalia",⁸⁵ the feuilleton supplement to the "Frankfurter Journal",⁸⁶ one of Germany's oldest newspapers. A year later "*The Sternauer*" appeared in a pocket book called "Rosen".⁸⁷ This tale about fratricide in olden days was commented on favorably in several newspapers: "appealing",⁸⁸ "written with great vivacity",⁸⁹ "refreshing".⁹⁰

Arnold appeared a second time in *Penelope* in 1838 with a story titled "*The Blood Bridge*".⁹¹ This is a historical novel set in 16th century Northern Italy concerning a young novice who turns to the secular world, becoming a knight at the court of Ferrara. He falls in love with a princess there and again a tale of desire, deception, witches and heroic deeds follows. A reviewer noted that it would "appeal immensely to real pocketbook

⁸³ alias Theodor Hell, see note above.

⁸⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M._DuMont_Schauberg/.

⁸⁵ Arnold AF. *Das Nebelmännchen. Volkssage aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge*. In: Didaskalia: Blätter für Geist, Gemüth und Publizität. Vol. 14 Nr. 7-12, Feb. 7-12, 1836.

⁸⁶ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frankfurter_Journal/.

⁸⁷ Arnold AF. *Die Sternauer*. In: *Rosen. Ein Taschenbuch für 1837*. Leipzig, Friedrich August Leo. 1837 Heft 7: 331-419.

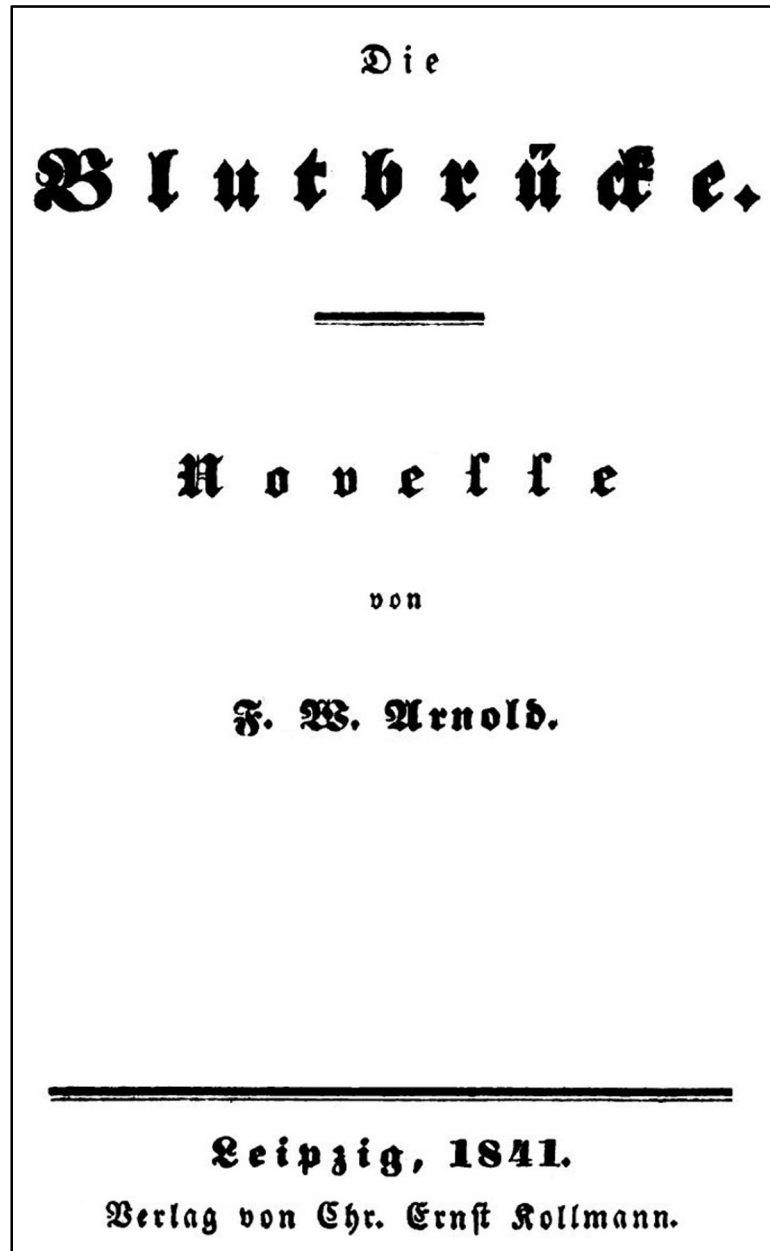
⁸⁸ Allgemeine Zeitung München (Augsburg). 1836, Nr. 333 (Nov. 28, 1836): 2271.

⁸⁹ Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung. 1836, Nr. 240 (Dec. 1836): 478.

⁹⁰ Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung. 1837, Nr. 12 (Jan. 12, 1837): 47.

⁹¹ Digitized copies of most of these publications can be found at Google Books.

readers" (in the original German text, "readers" is written in the female form!).⁹²



Title page of "Die Blutbrücke", published in 1841 by Kollmann

This work contains a dedication which is placed at the end of the third chapter. The story line which precedes this dedication tells of how, when the young novice leaves the monastery for Ferrara, he is blessed by the

⁹² Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung. 1838, Vol. 1 Nr. 19 (Jan. 1838): 146.

prior who loves him as a son. The corresponding text gives a good example of the flowery and emotionally charged language used in the story:⁹³

" 'Son, kneel and bare your head - I wish to bless you!' The last words of the old man were spoken in tears; Fernando sank to his knees, benumbed with emotion and in a holy tremor. The prior laid his hands on his head. At that moment the sun, like a blazing queen, flamed up behind the mountains, and cast her first holy rays upon the venerable silver locks of the old man, who had raised his eyes to heaven in high devotion.

" 'I bless you in the name of the Father who created you, in the name of the Son who has saved you, in the name of the Spirit who sanctified you, in the name of the almighty Holy Trinity. His blessing be on you twice, on you and your deeds and on you for all eternity. Amen!'

"The weeping old man drew the boy to his breast, embraced and kissed him, tore himself away, and hurried off, staggering. Awestruck by unspeakable heartache, pain and solemn emotion, Fernando plunged to earth again – moaning, he stretched out his hands towards his father – before his eyes it had become night."

I quote this at length not only because it reflects the style of the novel but also because of the light it sheds on Arnold's apparent relationship to his own father – to whom he dedicates the book with the following words:

"The author here lays down his pen for a moment and ponders in gratitude on the blessing which, when he left home for the first time, his venerable father gave in the same manner. This blessing is his companion on all his paths and consecrates with greater significance the memory of the noble old man to whom these pages are to be dedicated."

If this is not just a creative flourish meant to impress the reader, it reveals the considerable affectionate and grateful sentiments which Arnold held for his father Theodor. On the basis of what we know of Friedrich Wilhelm's early life, he most probably received this blessing when he left Sontheim for the Blaubeuren Abbey as a young boy (see page 14).

According to Hans Schnabel, a great-grandson, Arnold is holding the manuscript of this novella in the portrait shown on page 19. Also, a hard-cover issue of this book had been passed to Hans Schnabel via Lily

⁹³ Arnold FW. *Die Blutbrücke*. Leipzig, Kollmann. 1841: p. 43-44.

Schnabel.⁹⁴ Hans died in 1995 and the whereabouts of the book are at present not known.

All in all, six of Arnold's novellas appeared in print. At the beginning of the 1840's, the above mentioned novellas, as well as two further works, were published in three volumes⁹⁵ under the title "*Nachtviolen*".⁹⁶ The previously unpublished novellas included in these volumes were titled: "*The Chouan*".⁹⁷ *A historical novella from the last decade*" (in Vol. 1) and "*The Outlaw*" (in Vol. 3).

⁹⁴ Personal communication from Hans Schnabel, 1979.

⁹⁵ • Arnold FW. *Der Chouan. Historische Novelle aus dem letzten Dezennium*. Leipzig, Chr. E. Kollmann. 1841: 388pp.
• Arnold FW. *Der Virtuose aus Genua, Die Sternauer*. Leipzig, Chr. E. Kollmann. 1841: 301pp.
• Arnold FW. *Die Blutbrücke, Der Geächtete, Das Nebelmännchen*. Leipzig, Chr. E. Kollmann. 1841: 354pp.

⁹⁶ Nachtviole is a flower, in English: Hesperis or dame's rocket.

⁹⁷ "Chouan" describes a group who revolted against the French revolution, see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chouan/>.

The Music Business, Part I: Cologne

In 1834, at the age of 25 and shortly after having returned from London, Arnold got an offer from *Christian Eck*⁹⁸ to join his music business.⁹⁹ Eck was a lithographer who set up a printing/publishing and music business – Eck & Comp. – in Cologne, selling notes and leasing instruments. The "Comp." stands for "companions", i.e. partners, and Arnold agreed to join Eck as co-owner.

Speer has suggested¹⁰⁰ that the reason Eck asked Arnold to become a partner was the fact that Eck himself, as lithographer, had little knowledge or experience in music and he needed someone to fill that gap. Arnold was suited very well for a number of reasons. He was a musician who played several instruments, he was a composer and editor of music periodicals, he had experience as choral director and dramatic advisor for opera, he had contributed as a theater critic [sic!] and edited feuilletons. The content and very range of these activities indicates that he must have had numerous contacts, acquaintances, associates and collaborators in the cultural scene in Cologne and surrounding cities. This can also be construed from the persons named on the previous pages.

Considering that he had been in the area for only about 2-3 years, it was quite an achievement that he had been able to build such a wide range of connections. And perhaps this was a central character trait of Arnold: the motivation and capability to make contacts, to get to know people, to socialize. The fact that, in Tübingen, he not only met but had also forged a lasting friendship with Ludwig Uhland, who was already well-known at that time, suggests an aptitude for establishing meaningful relationships. In Cologne he was obviously acquainted with a wide swath of persons active in culture. As we will see below, this continued throughout his career, especially so after he set up his own business in Elberfeld.

In any case, as Speer notes, Arnold was the central figure in Eck & Comp., at least with respect to the music business.¹⁰¹ In the following seven years he pursued this line of business and, no doubt, the many people he got to know and the experiences gained were decisive in his plans to open up his own business later on (see chapter "*The Music Business, Part II: Elberfeld*", page 37).

⁹⁸ Christian Eck (1811-1849?), Speer F, p. 117.

⁹⁹ Speer F, p. 118-119.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

Marriage

During this time he will have not only met his business and musical associates but will have mingled with the members of the corresponding social classes. There is no record of precisely when or where, but in Cologne he made the acquaintance of *Maria Frambach*.¹⁰² Maria's father, *Johann Heinrich Frambach*, was a civil servant and head of the municipal finances.¹⁰³ Interestingly, a document in the historical archives of the city of Cologne notes that, besides being a civil servant, he was also a writer.¹⁰⁴ Although Maria's father had already died by the time Arnold was in Cologne, perhaps Johann Frambach's literary aspirations were in some way the connection to Maria Frambach.



Maria Arnold, née Frambach, young and old¹⁰⁵

A further detail is of interest here, related in the family history of Lily Schnabel.¹⁰⁶ In the early 1830's, before Friedrich and Maria married, Maria

¹⁰² Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*".

¹⁰³ Johann Heinrich Frambach (1771-1821), Gemeinde Köln, Sterbe-Urkunde Nr. 502, Standesamt Köln; see also Schnabel L, p. 16.

¹⁰⁴ http://www.archive.nrw.de/LAV_NRW/jsp/findbuch.jsp?archivNr=2&verzguid=Vz_F46610EF-FA05-4ABE-B9C0-351A4B541526/.

¹⁰⁵ Schnabel L, p. 21.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. pp. 11, 15, 22.

had met *Wilhelm Moritz Bredemeyer*,¹⁰⁷ a young businessman whose father owned a linen factory in Vreden, close to the border to Holland. Wilhelm and Maria had been engaged but, after his factory was destroyed by fire and Wilhelm lost his income, the marriage was put off. Nevertheless, in the following years, he kept in touch with Maria and befriended the Arnold family. Much later, after the married couple Friedrich and Maria had both passed away, Wilhelm Bredemeyer wanted to contact the family (probably in the fall of 1871). He so got re-acquainted with their now adult daughter *Agnes Arnold*. The two of them fell in love and married (see also page 89). This story, as well as what is known about the Frambach family, is told in detail elsewhere.

Maria Henriette Amalia Frambach was born in 1805 in Cologne.¹⁰⁸ She (probably) grew up there in her well-to-do middle class family. On October 13th 1836 – at the age of 31 – she married Friedrich, who was five years younger.

The wedding took place in the St. Andreas church in Cologne.¹⁰⁹ The church is in the Komödienstrasse just a short walk (250 meters) from the Rhine and the Cologne cathedral. Arnold had been living in the Komödienstrasse no. 40 since 1835¹¹⁰ and the newlyweds spent their first years there. The fact that Arnold lived in this quarter will have been practical for his occupation as the address of the Cologne theater was Komödienstrasse no. 42-44.¹¹¹ The street was originally called "Schmierstrasse" because it was the location in the city where one could buy grease (= Schmiere).¹¹² In 1783 Cologne's first brick-and-mortar theater was built in this street (see the picture on page 22). During the French occupation the street was re-named – for obvious reasons – "Rue de la Comédie", ergo Komödienstrasse. In 1838 the Arnolds moved to "an den Dominikanern", a street just north of the Andreas Church.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Wilhelm Moritz Bredemeyer (1811-1882), Schnabel L, p. 11, see also the Death Certificate at <https://www.openarch.nl/>.

¹⁰⁸ Schnabel L, p. 15.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

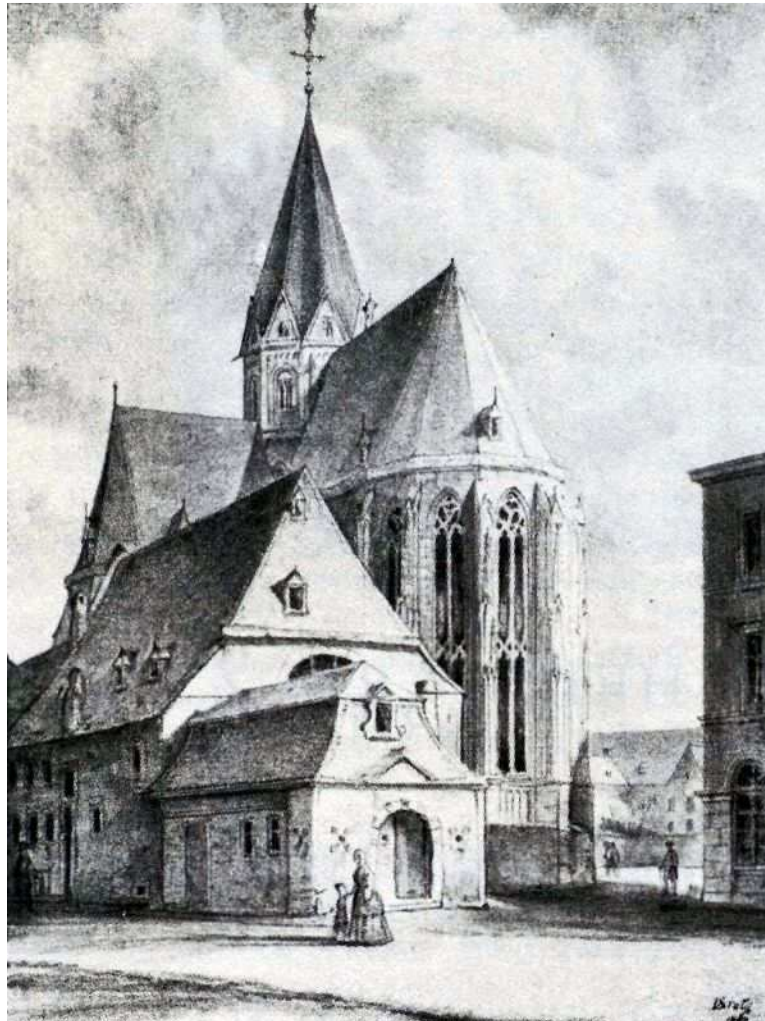
¹¹⁰ Speer F, p. 436.

¹¹¹ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geschichte_des_K%C3%B6lner_Theaters/.

¹¹² <http://www.koelnwiki.de/wiki/Kom%C3%B6dienstra%C3%9Fe/>.

As the German word "Schmiere" also has the same double connotation as in English, namely "bribe", it would seem to have been the appropriate place for Arnold to live.

¹¹³ Speer F, p.436.



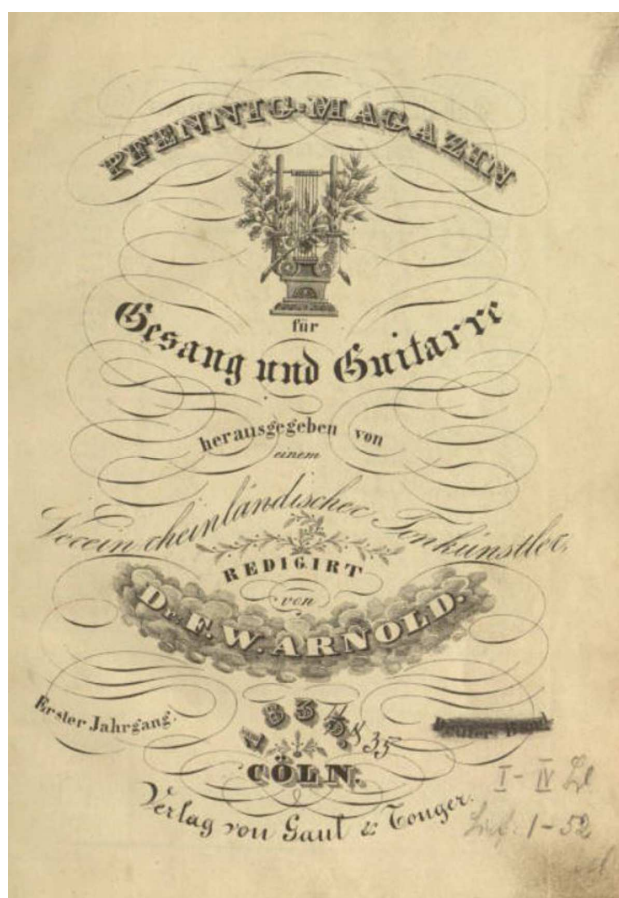
Andreaskirche with the Komödienstrasse on the left, 1840¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AK%C3%B6ln-Heribertshospital-vor-St-Andreas-um-1840.jpg/>

For a photograph from 1895 showing the length of the Komödienstrasse see http://www.bilderbuch-koeln.de/Fotos/altstadt_nord_hotel_de_l_europe_und_kirche_st_andreas_vom_domvorplatz_aufgenommen_historisch_7808/.

Musical Pursuits: Part I

In the time between 1834 and 1838, Arnold edited the "*Pfennig-Magazin für Gesang und Guitarre*".¹¹⁵ This was a periodical which included adaptations of contemporary opera melodies for voice and guitar as well as small pieces for guitar, including some of his own guitar compositions, with and without vocal accompaniment.¹¹⁶



Title page of the 1835 "*Pfennig-Magazin für Gesang und Guitarre*"¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Facsimiles can be found at various websites:

- Arnold FW. *Pfennig-Magazin für Gesang und Guitarre*. Published by the Verein Rheinländischer Tonkünstler. Köln, Gaul & Tonger. 1834/5, Vol I (<http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001994800010000/>).
- Arnold FW. *HEBE ein Pfennig-Magazin für Freunde und Freundinnen des Gesanges und der Guitarre*. Published by the Vereine Rheinländischer Tonkünstler. Köln, Gaul & Tonger. 1837, Vol II / 1838, Vol III (http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/cdm/compoundobject/collection/_ZTG1/id/21922/rec/1/ and http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/cdm/compoundobject/collection/_ZTG1/id/21922/rec/2/).
- Arnold FW. *HEBE ein Pfennig-Magazin für Freunde und Freundinnen des Gesanges und der Guitarre*. Published by the Vereine Rheinländischer Tonkünstler. Köln, Gaul & Tonger. 1839, Vol IV (www2.kb.dk/elib/noder/rischel/RIBS0017-4-2.pdf/).

¹¹⁶ Schwendowius B, p. 10.

¹¹⁷ Library of the University of Cologne (<http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/>).

Arnold continued with his arrangements for guitar of opera melodies as well as his own compositions, most of which were published by Eck & Comp.¹¹⁸ He also wrote similar arrangements for piano and violin. His interest in music pedagogy led to practice pieces for guitar as well as a book titled "*Common Principles of Music, Introduction for all Schools*".¹¹⁹ In 1840, together with *Joseph Klein*,¹²⁰ he released a number of songs with piano accompaniment under the title "*Volksgesänge der deutschen Männer und Frauen, von N. Becker*¹²¹ *und Julie Kölsch*" which included his composition of the song "*Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, den freien deutschen Rhein*" ("*They shall not possess it, the free German Rhine*").

¹¹⁸ Here and in the following, see: Schwendowius B, p.10.

¹¹⁹ Arnold FW. "*Allgemeine Musiklehre, als Einleitung zu jeder Schule*". Köln, Eck & Comp. [before 1844, see Schwendowius B, p. 12]. See also *Handbuch der Musikliteratur*, Volume 3. Leipzig, F. Hofmeister. 1845: p. 218.

¹²⁰ Joseph Klein (1802-1862) composer, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz41370.html/>.

¹²¹ *Nikolaus Becker* (1809-1845) was famous for his patriotic poem "*Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, den freien deutschen Rhein*" written in 1840 and which had been musically arranged not only by Arnold but many others, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikolaus_Becker/.

Transition

Around this time, the structure of Eck & Comp. was changing. In 1838, Christian Eck's brother *Jakob Eck*¹²² left Neuchâtel, where he had been a partner in a piano manufacturing company, and came to Cologne.¹²³ Here he teamed up with his brother and, in 1839, they founded a piano factory. Jakob had previously worked together with *Joseph Maria Lefebvre*¹²⁴ who now also became a partner in the Eck business in Cologne. Lefebvre was, among other things, an excellent pianist and he had personal contact to *Franz Liszt*.¹²⁵

In this period, Liszt was travelling widely through Europe, giving concerts and profiting in various ways from "Lisztomania". During his stay in the Rhineland, he was a regular visitor at Lefebvre's home in Cologne.¹²⁶ Lefebvre also helped set up the contacts for Liszt's charity concert in 1841 for the building fund of the Cologne cathedral. This relationship was certainly not to the detriment of the Ecks' business aspirations. Liszt will likely have had an positive advertising impact for the products and service of Eck & Comp.

For Arnold, getting to know Liszt will also have been advantageous for his own personal career (see page 38). On the other hand, the addition of two further business partners at Eck & Comp. (Jakob Eck and Joseph Lefebvre) led him to extract himself from the company's decision-making by withdrawing from the role of owner:¹²⁷ in October 1840 he resigned from the post as director and became a salaried employee, earning 400 Thaler per annum.¹²⁸ Things became more difficult towards the end of that year, when the company changed the focus of its activity to the manufacturing of pianos.¹²⁹

He probably had seen the changes coming as he had applied for Prussian citizenship in the fall of 1840.¹³⁰ As a consequence of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Germany at that time was a loose confederation of

¹²² Jakob Eck (1809-1849), Speer F, p. 117, 131.

¹²³ Here and in the following, see Speer F, p. 119-120.

¹²⁴ Joseph Maria Lefebvre (1807-1871) musician and piano manufacturer, http://allegro.sub.uni-hamburg.de/hans-cgi/hans.pl?t_allegro=x&v_0=IDN&q_0=p38978/

¹²⁵ Franz Liszt (1811-1886) Hungarian composer, virtuoso pianist and conductor, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franz_Liszt/.

¹²⁶ Here and in the following, see Speer F, p. 120-121.

¹²⁷ Speer F, p. 437.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 121.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 437.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

states, kingdoms, duchies, princedoms, and city states.¹³¹ Arnold had left Kingdom of Württemberg in 1832 and, although he now lived and worked in Prussia, he was still a citizen of Württemberg, i.e. a foreigner, in Cologne. Most likely to facilitate his personal career and his business prospects, he made his application for Prussian citizenship which was granted in January 1841.¹³²

¹³¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_Confederation/.

¹³² Speer F, p. 437.

The Music Business, Part II: Elberfeld

As the year 1841 progressed he began making arrangements for setting up his own business in Elberfeld. Elberfeld was a city on the Wupper river, which flows from the low mountains north east of Cologne, through the "Bergisches Land" until it joins the Rhine at Leverkusen, north of Cologne. Elberfeld, together with its sister city Barmen to the east,¹³³ was highly industrialized with a focus on textiles, chemicals and mechanical engineering and, at the same time, it had developed into a strong commercial center.¹³⁴ Both cities grew rapidly: by 1840 they had a combined population greater than 60,000 and by 1860 over 100,000, making the area one of the most populated in the Prussian state.¹³⁵

The industrialization affected the population of the city, leading to a good proportion of entrepreneurs, factory owners, industrialist, merchants and traders, many with a desire for not only a comfortable but also a cultured life. One obvious characteristic of this lifestyle was music and the demand was great for instruments – especially pianos – as well as for musicians, music teachers, sheet music, concert venues, impresarios and all the corresponding accessories. It was this environment which probably enticed Arnold to head for Elberfeld.



Elberfeld around 1855, looking north-west from the train station.¹³⁶

The location of Arnold's first store in Kipdorf is just to the right of the church in the right foreground. Shortly after, the store and family home moved to the Königstraße, located right of the church on the far left.

¹³³ These two cities, together with other communities in the area, were incorporated into the present day city of Wuppertal in 1929.

¹³⁴ <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elberfeld/>.

¹³⁵ Here and in the following, see Speer F, p. 32 ff.

¹³⁶ Excerpt from <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elberfeld#/media/File:Elberfeld%281855%29.jpg/>.

In the summer of 1841, Arnold – now 31 years old – started scouting around Elberfeld. The author of Arnold's obituary – possibly the Elberfelder painter, graphic artist and caricaturist *Richard Seel*¹³⁷ – relates his first encounter with the former:

"On a morning in July, a person, completely unknown to me, appeared. 'Who may you be?' – 'I was the director of Eck & Co.' – 'And you wish?' – 'Well, I would like to consult you about the possibility of establishing a reliable music business in Elberfeld, including also the rental and sale of instruments.' – 'I doubt that two [such businesses] would be profitable, seeing as Betzhold's is very popular' – 'Attempting it would be the best. If I could find premises, not too far from Barmen, that would be very helpful.'

"Well, this man could be helped! On the evening of the same day, the house next door to Brüning in Kipdorf [street], which had been vacant for years, was rented from old Besiger and he [Arnold] moved in 14 days later."

After having rented the premises, Arnold began gathering sheet music, books and instruments for his shop. According to his eulogist, in the first few months he had already collected about 12,000 items.¹³⁸ Then, on October 26, 1841 he was open for business.

Precisely at that time, Franz Liszt was giving concerts at the Casino in Elberfeld. In a skilled publicity move, Arnold exploited this contact he had acquired while at Eck & Comp. and supplied Franz Liszt with a piano for his concerts. Not only that, he obtained the exclusive right for the advanced booking of tickets.¹³⁹ As the concerts were usually advertised in the local newspapers this bode the opportunity for the targeted marketing his new business. At the bottom of the newspaper advertisement for the concert on Nov. 2, which appeared in the *Elberfelder Zeitung* of Oct. 31, one may read: "Billets à 1 Thaler sind in der Musikalien- und Instrumenten-Handlung von F.W. Arnold (Kipdorf A 293) zu haben." And followed by the line that tickets at the venue would be more expensive and cost "1 Thaler 15 Groschen".

¹³⁷ Johann Richard Seel (1819-1875) painter, graphic artist and caricaturist, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Richard_Seel/. See Speer F. footnote, p. 451-452.

¹³⁸ *Elberfelder Zeitung*, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*".

¹³⁹ Speer F, p. 437.

Elberfeld.
Concert-Anzeige.

Dienstag den 2. November wird Herr **Franz Liszt** die Ehre haben, im Saale des hiesigen Casino ein

Concert

zu geben.

Programm.

- 1) Sonata quasi Fantasia Op. 2 (in Cis moll) von Beethoven.
- 2) Hexameron, Bravourvariationen über den Lieblingsmarsch aus den Puritanern, comp. von Liszt, Thalberg, Vixis, Herz, Czerny und Chopin.
- 3) Reminiscences des Huguenots, große Phantasie von Liszt.
- 4) Auf Flügeln des Gesanges, Lied von Mendelssohn.
- 5) Aufforderung zum Tanz, Rondo von C. M. v. Weber.
- 6) La Serenata } aus Rossini's
- 7) L'Orgia } Soirées musicales.

Anfang 7 Uhr.

Billets à 1 Thlr. sind in der Musikalien- und Instrumenten-Handlung von F. B. Arnold (Kippdorf A 293) zu haben. An der Kasse kostet das Billet 1 Thlr. 15 Sgr.

Advertisement for the Liszt concert on Nov. 2, 1841¹⁴⁰

The concert was success, with one critic¹⁴¹ noting that Liszt played for a "huge audience" and "was lavished with unbroken rapturous applause". He continued:

"All critique of such artists consist of either the trivial ecstasy of enthusiasts (...) or dry artistic quibbling. (...) Let us rather admit that men like Liszt are rare, let us admire his enormous talent and let us welcome it with gratitude. Only thus can we relish it, and not by dissecting our delight."¹⁴²

No doubt: not only praise for Liszt but also a good deal for Arnold.

Shortly after this splendid start, Arnold moved his shop to the Königstraße¹⁴³ (in present-day Wuppertal, at the east end of the Friedrich-Ebert-Straße). The premises were close to the Casino, one of the main

¹⁴⁰ Elberfelder Zeitung, Oct. 31, 1841.

¹⁴¹ Hopefully not Friedrich himself ...

¹⁴² Speer F, p. 438.

¹⁴³ Königstraße 8 (Speer F, p. 440), formerly 1358 (<https://adressbuecher.genealogy.net/>) which refers to Section F, no. 1358 on the old city maps (Wuppertal Municipal Archives).

musical venues in the city.¹⁴⁴ Over the next months and years he continued his entrepreneurial efforts: similar advertisements continued to appear in the *Elberfelder Zeitung*¹⁴⁵ and other papers,¹⁴⁶ not just for musical events but also for his products (e.g. guitars for children, flageolets, piccolos, F-flutes, etc.) and services (e.g. rental of instruments and sheet music). With his considerable expertise, he actively serviced his customers – big and small – travelling throughout the region to see to their needs and wants.¹⁴⁷ His strategy was successful as, after twelve months, his musical product line was the largest in the Rhineland and in Westphalia.¹⁴⁸



Königstraße in Elberfeld (around 1890)¹⁴⁹

On the corner on the right is the Casino and a few houses further down on that side of the street was no. 8, Arnold's shop and home.

¹⁴⁴ Baum ML. "Arabeske aus der Wuppertaler Musikgeschichte. Zum Gedenken an F. W. Arnold". In: *Unsere bergische Heimat*, Heimatkundliche Monatsbeilage zum General-Anzeiger der Stadt Wuppertal, Mitteilungsblatt des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins, Oct. 28, 1961.

¹⁴⁵ Schwendowius B, p. 10.

¹⁴⁶ Speer F, p. 439.

¹⁴⁷ *Elberfelder Zeitung*, Feb. 27, 1864: "FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog".

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Wuppertal Municipal Archives.

Family

By this time Friedrich and Maria had been married for several years and they had founded a family. Lily Schnabel notes in her family history that the couple had three children: a daughter *Lina*, a son (unnamed) and a second daughter *Agnes*.¹⁵⁰ The oldest child:

- *Lina Arnold* was born in Cologne on July 27 in 1837 and christened *Ursula Christiana Emilie*,¹⁵¹ Ursula being the name of her maternal grandmother. In her youth she was called Lina¹⁵² and in later life also went by name *Ursulina*.¹⁵³ Lina was a remarkable woman and had quite an eventful life, as recounted by Lily Schnabel in her *History*.

In the following years – not noted in Lily Schnabel's *History* – three sons were born in Cologne: two died as children but the middle one survived. They were:

- *Theodor Ludwig Eduard*, born May 23, 1838,¹⁵⁴ named after his paternal grandfather (Theodor), died August 19 the same year.¹⁵⁵
 - *Jakob Maria [Emil] Arnold*, born March 5, 1840.¹⁵⁶ Although not mentioned on his birth certificate, the boy went by the name of *Emil*. This is then the un-named son whom Lily Schnabel refers to as having "died at a young age". The name Emil appears in later documents as Emil took over his father's publishing business after the latter's death (see e.g. Speer¹⁵⁷). Entries in the address books of the city of Dresden, where he later lived, register him as Jacob

¹⁵⁰ Schnabel L, p. 15.

¹⁵¹ Digitales Historisches Archiv Köln:

http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/lav/index.php?img=/Zivilstandsregister/Landgerichtsbezirk_Koeln/Standesamt_Koeln/Geburten/1837/1837_Bd_03/0500.jpg/.

¹⁵² Sotheby's Auction, 21 May 1998, catalogue LN8304 "SISI", p. 158.

¹⁵³ Burger K. *Verzeichniss der Sammlungen des Börsenvereins der deutschen Buchhändler. II. Verzeichnis der Buchhändlerischen Geschäftsrundschreiben*. Verlag des Börsenvereins der Deutschen Buchhändler, Leipzig 1897: p. 13.

¹⁵⁴ Digitales Historisches Archiv Köln:

http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/lav/index.php?img=/Zivilstandsregister/Landgerichtsbezirk_Koeln/Standesamt_Koeln/Geburten/1838/1838_Bd_03/0144.jpg/.

¹⁵⁵ Digitales Historisches Archiv Köln:

http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/lav/index.php?img=/Zivilstandsregister/Landgerichtsbezirk_Koeln/Standesamt_Koeln/Sterbefaelle/1838/1838_Bd_03/0352.jpg/.

¹⁵⁶ Digitales Historisches Archiv Köln:

http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/lav/index.php?img=/Zivilstandsregister/Landgerichtsbezirk_Koeln/Standesamt_Koeln/Geburten/1840/1840_Bd_02/0039.jpg/.

¹⁵⁷ Speer F, p. 440.

Maria Emil Arnold.¹⁵⁸ Two mentions of the date of Emil's death exist, one in 1876,¹⁵⁹ the other on Sept. 30, 1877,¹⁶⁰ whereby the latter is probably correct as he was still listed as living in Dresden in 1877. He would have been 37 years old.

- *Ludwig Arthur*, born in Cologne on May 2, 1841¹⁶¹ and died in Elberfeld on October 15, 1842,¹⁶² barely a year and a half old.

Three years after Emil's birth, the Arnolds' fifth and last child was born:

- *Agnes Wilhelmina Louise Arnold* on August 1st 1843 in Elberfeld.¹⁶³ She was named after her paternal grandmother (Wilhelmine). The story of Agnes, the mother of Lily Schnabel, is told elsewhere.

At the age of 33, Friedrich Arnold's family was complete. The three surviving children grew up in Elberfeld and were certainly exposed to a middle class life infused with music.

¹⁵⁸ *Adreß und Geschäfts Handbuch der Königlichen Residenz und Hauptstadt für das Jahr 1873-1877.* Dresden, E. Blochmann u. Sohn. See http://wiki-de.genealogy.net/Kategorie:Adressbuch_f%C3%BCr_Dresden/.

¹⁵⁹ Erk L, Böhme FM. *Deutscher Liederhort.* Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel. 1893; Volume I: p. XVII.

¹⁶⁰ <http://www.musikdrucke.htwk-leipzig.de/wordpress/?p=2792/>.

¹⁶¹ Digitales Historisches Archiv Köln:

http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/lav/index.php?img=/Zivilstandsregister/Landgerichtsbezirk_Koeln/Standesamt_Koeln/Geburten/1841/1841_Bd_03/0025.jpg/.

¹⁶² Stadtarchiv Wuppertal, Sterbe-Urkunde 930/1842.

¹⁶³ Schnabel L, p. 11.



Lina, Emil and Agnes Arnold, late 1840s¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Photograph of a watercolor portrait, see Schnabel L, p. 26.

Musical Pursuits: Part II

During this time, apart from running his music business, Arnold continued his composition of music. The pieces that were published – mostly by Eck & Comp. – were written for guitar but also flute, violin and piano and voice. They included waltzes, rondos and serenades, among others, as well as arrangements based on Beethoven symphonies.¹⁶⁵

Arnold was also active in musical social life in Elberfeld. He was a member of the "Elberfelder Gesangsverein", a choral society which focused on and promoted contemporary music.¹⁶⁶ He was befriended with its director *Johannes Schornstein*,¹⁶⁷ who respected Arnold's opinion on musical matters¹⁶⁸ and at whose funeral in 1853 Arnold gave a speech.¹⁶⁹ His involvement in this society included the acquisition of modern choral pieces which would then be rehearsed and performed in Elberfeld. This also gave him the opportunity to advertise and to organize ticket booking.¹⁷⁰ For example, *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy*¹⁷¹ – who was highly regarded in Wuppertal – died on Nov. 4, 1847. Less than three weeks later, Arnold had organized the performance with the "Elberfelder Gesangsverein" of "*Elias*", Mendelssohn's newest, and last oratorio.¹⁷²

A further indication of Arnold's integration into musical life is reflected in the 1858 inauguration of a new Ibach organ¹⁷³ in the protestant Church in Unterbarmen, just east of Elberfeld. The organist was *Johann Albert van Eijken*,¹⁷⁴ a musician who also had a piano house in Elberfeld¹⁷⁵ and who certainly knew Arnold. After the occasion, Arnold wrote an article

¹⁶⁵ Schwendowius B, p. 12.

¹⁶⁶ Dahmen H. Briefwechsel Robert Schumanns mit dem Verlag Arnold in Elberfeld 1839 bis 1855. In: Dahmen H, Synofzik T, Hrsg. Schumann Briefedition, Serie III, Band 5, Briefwechsel Robert und Clara Schumanns mit Verlagen in West- und Süddeutschland. Cologne, Verlag Christoph Dohr. 2008: footnote 8, p. 76-77.

¹⁶⁷ [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_Schornstein_\(Musiker\)/](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_Schornstein_(Musiker)).

¹⁶⁸ Baum ML. General-Anzeiger der Stadt Wuppertal, Oct. 28, 1961.

¹⁶⁹ Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*".

¹⁷⁰ Dahmen H. footnote 8, p. 76-77.

¹⁷¹ Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809-1847) composer, pianist, organist and conductor of the early Romantic period, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Felix_Mendelssohn/.

¹⁷² Speer F, p. 439.

¹⁷³ The Ibach company in Wuppertal was a leading manufacturer of pianos and organs in Europe, see Speer F, p. 13 ff.

¹⁷⁴ Jan Albert van Eijken (1823-1868) was a Dutch composer and organist in the Reformierten Kirche in Elberfeld (successor of Johannes Schornstein), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan_Albert_van_Eijken/.

¹⁷⁵ Speer F, p. 454 ff.

in the *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* praising the instrument as well as its official musical introduction by van Eijken.¹⁷⁶

Arnold was also on the "Concert Direction" (Concert board) of Elberfeld¹⁷⁷ and was thus involved in the organization of concerts at the Casino in Elberfeld. One example of this activity can be found in a letter written by *Clara Schumann*¹⁷⁸ to Arnold in which she offers to give a concert in the fall of 1859.¹⁷⁹ She also asks whether Arnold can inform her on how things stand with the planned performance of *Robert Schumann's*¹⁸⁰ "*Scenes from Goethe's Faust*".

Arnold was a co-founder of the "Elberfelder Liedertafel",¹⁸¹ a choral group consisting of persons united by their interest in music, without regard for their profession or social position. In 1862, the city's "Orchester Verein" was founded to help financially support the "Elberfelder Gesangsverein".¹⁸² Arnold was a member and was asked to take charge of publicity because he was a "musically erudite person" and had "an excellent reputation well beyond the city".¹⁸³

¹⁷⁶ Arnold FW. *Die neue Orgel in Barmen*. *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung für Kunstfreunde und Künstler*, Jahrgang 6, Nr. 52 (Dec. 25, 1858).

¹⁷⁷ *Elberfelder Zeitung*, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*".

¹⁷⁸ Clara Schumann, née Wieck (1819-1896) pianist and composer, wife of Robert Schumann, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clara_Schumann/.

¹⁷⁹ Letter dated Aug. 10, 1859, <https://sbd.schumann-portal.de/briefe.html?show=9083/>, kindly made available by Dr. Wolfgang Seibold.

¹⁸⁰ Robert Schumann (1810-1856) composer and music critic, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Schumann/.

¹⁸¹ *Elberfelder Zeitung*, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*".

¹⁸² Hansen J (Ed.) *Die Rheinprovinz 1815—1915. Hundert Jahre preußischer Herrschaft am Rhein* Bd. 2. Bonn, A. Marcus & E. Webers Verlag. 1917: p. 378.

¹⁸³ Baum ML. *General-Anzeiger der Stadt Wuppertal*, Oct. 28, 1961. See also: "*Verzeichniss der Musikalien, erschienen in der Verlagshandlung von F. W. Arnold in Elberfeld*". Leipzig, F. Hofmeister. 1870: 32pp.

Music Publisher – Contact to Musicians and Composers

In 1848 at the age of 38, Arnold set up his own music publishing business. It seems that there was little profit in selling the sheet music published by others. Rather, acquiring the publishing rights directly from the composers could turn a bit of a profit.¹⁸⁴ A few years earlier he had already obtained the control of music published by the Monpour Verlag in Bonn. After the death of its owner,¹⁸⁵ this music publishing house closed its doors and sold the rights to some of their stock to Arnold.¹⁸⁶ This would have allowed him to make a direct profit on selling the music without having to pay royalties to the publisher.

To achieve this, he would not only have had to obtain the rights to pieces of music, it also meant setting up a printing business. During his time at Eck & Comp. (see "*The Music Business, Part I: Cologne*", page 29) he will have become acquainted with lithographic printing and this was one of the methods he used.¹⁸⁷ Another printing method was based on copperplate etching.¹⁸⁸ Arnold did not do the printing himself and the production site was not on his premises. Rather he commissioned the corresponding craftsmen to implement the production: for instance etching was done in Berlin¹⁸⁹ or Leipzig¹⁹⁰ and printing in Leipzig.¹⁹¹ However, Arnold normally controlled the various production steps. At one time, when he was afflicted by an attack of gout, he apologizes to Schumann because "the [printing and packing] was not done as promptly and delivered as attentively as it would have been, had I been able to supervise it myself."¹⁹²

Over the following years Arnold thus contacted composers directly or those who owned the rights of musical pieces and negotiated the permission to publish. His efforts were successful: over the years the "Verlagshandlung von F.W. Arnold" published over 700 works.¹⁹³ These were primarily smaller pieces for piano, songs for a single voice and piano

¹⁸⁴ Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*".

¹⁸⁵ Dahmen H, p. 275.

¹⁸⁶ *Handbuch der Musikliteratur*, Volume 1. Leipzig, F. Hofmeister. 1845: v.

¹⁸⁷ See letter to Schumann dated Oct. 23, 1851 (in: Dahmen H, p. 107).

¹⁸⁸ See letter to Woldemar Bargiel, most likely from late 1857, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/de/ead?ead.id=DE-611-HS-1485206/>.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ See letter to Schumann dated Sept. 18, 1853 (in: Dahmen H, p. 115-116).

¹⁹¹ Dahmen H, p. 106, footnote.

¹⁹² See letter to Schumann dated Feb. 7, 1851 (in: Dahmen H, p. 91-92).

¹⁹³ Chrysander F, Bellermann H, p. 226.

or guitar as well as smaller choral works.¹⁹⁴ A relatively complete list can be found in Arnold's catalogue "*Verzeichniss der Musikalien*".¹⁹⁵ Included are the works of over 130 composers, a number of whom are well-known: *Ludwig van Beethoven*,¹⁹⁶ Franz Liszt, Felix Mendelssohn, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*,¹⁹⁷ Robert Schumann and *Franz Schubert*.¹⁹⁸ Some of the pieces he published are easily recognized: Beethoven's *Pathétique* and *Mondscheinsonate*, Mendelssohn's *Gondellied*, Schubert's *Der Erlkönig*.

Of the many contemporary composers whose works Arnold published, some are mentioned on these pages. He often had dealings with them. For instance, Felix Mendelssohn wished that Arnold would edit and translate one of his psalms, for he considered that no one could do it as well as Arnold.¹⁹⁹ He often had direct contact to the composers and some of them he knew well (e.g. Franz Liszt or the organist van Eijken). It is not surprising that in some cases the relationship between publisher and composer often went beyond the simply commercial and that he had private contact to a number of them.

Robert Schumann and Clara Schumann

A prime example of this was his relationship with Robert Schumann and his wife, the pianist Clara Schumann, née Wieck. In 1839, when he was still co-owner of Eck & Comp., Arnold first contacted Robert Schumann.²⁰⁰ Schumann was the editor of the "*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*" (NZfM),²⁰¹ a periodical located in Leipzig dedicated to contemporary music. Arnold approached Schumann asking whether he could place a notice in the NZfM on the young pianist *Anna Robena Laidlaw*,²⁰² who had been acquainted with Schumann since 1834. She had recently given a concert in Cologne and Arnold was seeking to promote her tour (and perhaps indirectly the Eck & Comp. piano she was playing on). Schumann had accommodated by placing

¹⁹⁴ Dahmen H, p. 76.

¹⁹⁵ *Verzeichniss der Musikalien, erschienen in der Verlagshandlung von F. W. Arnold in Elberfeld*. Leipzig, F. Hofmeister. 1870: 32pp.

¹⁹⁶ Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) composer and pianist, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ludwig_van_Beethoven/.

¹⁹⁷ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) composer of the Classical era, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wolfgang_Amadeus_Mozart/.

¹⁹⁸ Franz Peter Schubert (1797-1828) composer, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franz_Schubert/.

¹⁹⁹ From a letter to Nicolaus Simrock (see page 55), dated April 15, 1835. Mendelssohn Bartholdy F. *Briefe an deutsche Verleger. Band 1*. Elvers R, Herzfeld H (Eds). Berlin, de Gruyter. 1968: 193.

²⁰⁰ Dahmen H, p. 80.

²⁰¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neue_Zeitschrift_f%C3%BCr_Musik/.

²⁰² Anna Robena Laidlaw (1819-1901) British court pianist to the queen of Hanover, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anna_Robena_Laidlaw/.

a short report on Laidlaw's itinerary from Cologne to Vienna.²⁰³ Arnold again wrote Schumann in 1845 in his capacity as a member of the "Elberfelder Gesangsverein", requesting the musical score of his recent compositions "*Das Paradies und die Peri*".²⁰⁴ This request was granted and Schumann's choral work was performed in Elberfeld on Dec. 8, 1845.



Robert and Clara Schumann, 1847²⁰⁵

Around that time, Schumann was living and working as a composer in Dresden with his wife Clara. A few years later, in September 1850, Schumann was offered the position of Municipal Musical Director in Düsseldorf²⁰⁶ and thus moved to the vicinity of Elberfeld. Arnold did not waste much time and met Schumann three weeks later, most likely to

²⁰³ Dahmen H, p. 81.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ARobert_u_Clara_Schumann_1847.jpg/.

²⁰⁶ Dahmen H, p. 77.

discuss the possibility of publishing Schumann's *Neujahrslied*.²⁰⁷ Although *Neujahrslied* was not printed by Arnold (see below), it was the start of a cooperation which lasted several years, up to 1855, a little more than a year before Schumann's death. Perusing their written correspondence shows that it was a fruitful and creative collaboration.²⁰⁸ Within Schumann's lifetime four series of works were published:

- Opus 99: *Bunte Blätter. 14 Stücke für Pianoforte* (1851),
- Opus 124: *Albumblätter. 20 Stücke für Pianoforte* (1853),
- Opus 126: *7 Klavierstücke in Fughettenform* (1854),
- Opus 133: *Gesänge der Frühe. 5 Stücke für Pianoforte* (1855).²⁰⁹

A further three compositions were printed posthumously:

- Opus 139 *Des Sängers Fluch. Ballade für Solostimme, Chor und Orchester* (1858),
- Opus 145 *Romanzen und Balladen für gemischten Chor* (Heft III) (1860),
- Opus 146 *Romanzen und Balladen für gemischten Chor* (Heft IV) (1860).²¹⁰

Dahmen notes that it was not self-evident that Schumann should have chosen a relatively small publishing house to bring works such as *Bunte Blätter* or *Albumblätter* into print. He suggests that it may have been a sign of the high regard in which Schumann held Arnold, while at the same time assuring himself of the support of this respected and influential individual in the Bergisches Land.²¹¹ Nonetheless, Arnold's publishing business was not large. Indeed, he had to reject Schumann's eventual offer to publish "*Neujahrslied*" because it turned out that its production exceeded the means of his business. And, when the work "*Bunte Blätter*" was finished and delivered, Arnold thanks Schumann that he has "graced his small [sic!] publishing house with such an exquisite work".²¹²

Arnold did not just interact commercially with Schumann with respect to the works he was commissioned to publish. Rather, he also felt obliged to give his artistic opinion on aspects of these works. Early in 1851 Schumann offers Arnold a set of piano pieces for publication under the title

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 80-129.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 78.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 77.

²¹² Letter dated Dec. 11. 1851 (in Dahmen H, p. 110).

of "*Spreu*" i.e. "Chaff". Arnold responds that Schumann should reconsider this tendentious title which does not suggest that the content is of special value. Schumann reacts positively to this concern, thanks Arnold and re-names the work "*Bunte Blätter*", i.e. "Colorful Leaves".²¹³ It was then subsequently published under this title (see Opus 99 above). Other aspects discussed included the order of the pieces, the design of the title page, use of color, corrections, etc.²¹⁴

Apart from the business aspects discussed in the letters, which were characterized by mutual high respect, there are indications that there was private contact between the two men and their families. Lily Schnabel writes "He was on very friendly terms with Robert Schumann [and] Clara Schumann".²¹⁵ This is corroborated by Marie-Luise Baum writing in the *General-Anzeiger der Stadt Wuppertal*.²¹⁶ Dahmen also confirms this on the basis of the correspondence between the two.²¹⁷ Indeed, going through the letters one finds following entries:

- Dec. 24, 1851: In a letter to Schumann, Arnold mentions that he is also sending him a small box of cigars which he had promised him and which he hopes will find Schumann's favor.²¹⁸ In his response on Jan. 9, 1852, Schumann states that he cannot accept them.²¹⁹ However, later on in October, he did receive a box from Arnold.²²⁰
- In the same letter, Arnold informs Schumann that he has been working on simplification of the musical accompaniment for German folk songs. He asks Schumann to give him advice and suggestions as to how to improve his revised compositions.²²¹ Schumann responded positively to this and in the letter of Jan. 9, 1852, he sends his corrections to Arnold.²²²
- In a letter dated May 3, 1852, Arnold asks Schumann whether he could support him in acquiring the musical scores for the choral voices of Bach cantatas for the "Elberfelder Gesangsverein".²²³

²¹³ Ibid., p. 94-96.

²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 97 ff.

²¹⁵ Schnabel L, p. 20.

²¹⁶ Baum ML. *General-Anzeiger der Stadt Wuppertal*, 1961; 10 (28).

²¹⁷ Dahmen H, p. 77.

²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 111.

²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 113.

²²⁰ Robert Schumann. *Tagebücher, Band III: Haushaltsbücher, Teil 1: 1837-1847, Teil 2: 1847-1856*. Hrsg. Gerd Nauhaus. Leipzig, VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik. 1982: p. 606.

²²¹ Dahmen H, p. 111-112.

²²² Ibid., p. 113.

²²³ Ibid., p. 114.

- In a similar vein, in a letter from Sept. 18, 1852, Arnold asks whether Schumann could give his permission to have his 4th symphony (opus 120) performed by the "Langenbachsche Gesellschaft", one of the musical societies in Elberfeld for which Arnold supplied notes.²²⁴
- Furthermore, it is relatively certain that Clara Schumann gave piano instruction to Arnold's daughter Lina. In two letters (Dec. 29, 1853 and Feb. 27, 1854), Arnold mentions that his daughter will be coming to Düsseldorf to see Clara (most likely for lessons).²²⁵ Her instruction is corroborated by a letter written by Clara Schumann on March 31, 1856 in which she attests "to the talent and progress of her pupil Lina Arnold of Elberfeld during the previous two years".²²⁶

Arnold himself was also a visitor at Schumann's house in Düsseldorf: in his book of household accounts, Schumann noted three such visits: in September 1850, in September 1851 and in August 1853.²²⁷ Schumann, in his turn, must have visited Arnold as well: it was reported that he arrived "hoch zu Roß", i.e. on horseback, at the Arnold home in Elberfeld.²²⁸ Lily Schnabel reports that her grandfather "had regular quartet evenings, among others with Clara Schumann."²²⁹

All this gives a picture both of a fruitful business collaboration as well as private contact in music between members of the Arnold and Schumann families. This lasted for several years until Schumann's illness and subsequent death in 1856. At a commemorative service for Schumann in the Elberfelder Casino in February 1857, the "Elberfelder Gesangsverein", of which Arnold was a member, performed "*Des Sängers Fluch*", a choral piece adapted from an Uhland text which had been arranged by Schumann (and published by Arnold).²³⁰ After Robert Schumann's death, Clara Schumann remained in contact with Friedrich and Lina Arnold for some time. For example, in a letter written by Clara Schumann in 1859,²³¹ she speaks fondly of Lina, inquires about her studies in Paris and asks him to greet her.

²²⁴ Ibid., p. 115-116.

²²⁵ Ibid., p. 124, 126.

²²⁶ Sotheby's Auction, 21 May 1998, catalogue LN8304 "SISI", p. 158.

²²⁷ Robert Schumann. *Tagebücher, Band III: Haushaltsbücher*, p. 538, 573, 632.

²²⁸ Speer F, p. 439.

²²⁹ Schnabel L, p. 20.

²³⁰ Dahmen H, p. 78.

²³¹ Letter dated Aug. 10, 1859, <https://sbd.schumann-portal.de/briefe.html?show=9083/>, kindly made available by Dr. Wolfgang Seibold.

Woldemar Bargiel

Another source that confirms the continued contact between Clara Schumann and Arnold is the correspondence between him and *Woldemar Bargiel*.²³² Bargiel was a German composer and music educator who spent most of his life in Berlin. His mother, *Marianne née Tromlitz*,²³³ a pianist and singer, had been unhappily married to the piano and voice teacher *Friedrich Wieck*.²³⁴ They had several children, including Clara Wieck (who later married Schumann). After the marriage between Friedrich Wieck and Marianne broke down, they divorced and she eventually married another piano and voice teacher, *Adolph Bargiel*. One of their children was Woldemar, who was thus the younger half-brother of Clara Schumann. This sibling bond resulted in steady contact to the Schumann family: Robert Schumann's household accounts books include a number of entries on visits by Bargiel between 1842 and 1853.²³⁵

During this period, Arnold became acquainted with Bargiel and at some point, the two men had negotiations with respect to the publication of some of Bargiel's compositions. This is evidenced by their correspondence: the literary estate of Woldemar Bargiel was donated to the Music Department of the Staatsbibliothek Berlin.²³⁶ It includes 9 archived letters written between June 1857 and November 1860 in which the publication of various works is discussed. The letters show that Bargiel had proposed the publication a number of pieces of which, in the end, two were published by Arnold: a sonata for piano and violin²³⁷ and a fantasia,²³⁸ both in 1858. The content of the letters provides an insight into some of the aspects involved in printing music in those days: the decision whether or not to publish, correcting the manuscripts, typesetting the scores, contact to the engravers, trying to keep costs down.

²³² Woldemar Bargiel (1828-1897) composer, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Woldemar_Bargiel/.

²³³ Marianne Tromlitz, (1797-1872) pianist, piano teacher, soprano singer, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116056894.html/>.

²³⁴ Johann Gottlob Friedrich Wieck (1785-1873) piano and voice teacher and music reviewer, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Wieck/.

²³⁵ see: Robert Schumann. *Tagebücher, Band III: Haushaltsbücher, Teil 1: 1837-1847, Teil 2: 1847-1856*. Hrsg. Gerd Nauhaus. Leipzig, VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik. 1982.

²³⁶ <http://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-staatsbibliothek/abteilungen/musik/sammlungen/bestaende/nachlaesse/bargiel-woldemar/>.

²³⁷ *Sonate für Pianoforte u. Violine op. 10*, published by Arnold 1858 (<https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/>, Signatur: 4 Mus.pr. 11122).

²³⁸ *Zweite Fantasie für Piano Forte: op. 12*, published by Arnold probably in the autumn 1858 (<https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/>, Signatur: 4 Mus.pr. 11116).

Indeed, it seems that the market for Bargiel's pieces was not that great. In the end Arnold turns down a number of pieces which Bargiel offered. Arnold excuses his rejection with the costs of the publication at the risk of minimal return.²³⁹ Indeed, in 1860 after a renewed suggestion by Bargiel, Arnold puts forward that, unfortunately, he has not nearly recouped the costs incurred by the two pieces already published.²⁴⁰ All the while assuring Bargiel of his great talent and high worth as a composer.



Envelope of the letter written June 17, 1858²⁴¹

*Nebst WA#3 Ein Paquet Musikalien
Auf Gefahr des Absenders FW Arnold*

*Including WA#3 A package of Music notes
at the risk of the sender FW Arnold*

*Herrn
W. Bargiel
Wohlgeb
Berlin*

*Mr
W. Bargiel
Esquire
Berlin*

The general tone of the letters is very polite and, between the first and last letter available here, a shift from the formal to the more familiar is noticeable. Eight of the nine letters were written by Arnold and he can be seen as an entrepreneur, familiar with the music scene as well as the hard-nosed aspects of running a business with all the concomitant stress.

The letters also show that he was still in contact with Clara Schumann. She had moved to Berlin in 1857 and was in touch with her half-brother Woldemar. At times, Arnold used the correspondence with Bargiel

²³⁹ Letter dated Nov. 18, 1859, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-1485196/>.

²⁴⁰ Letter dated July 24, 1860, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/E-611-HS-1485192/>.

²⁴¹ Letter dated June 17, 1858, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-1485188/>.

to communicate with Clara Schumann,²⁴² asking Bargiel pass on notes and other information dealing with posthumous publication of Robert Schumann's works.²⁴³

Johannes Brahms

According to both Baum and Speer,²⁴⁴ Friedrich Arnold was also befriended with *Johannes Brahms*.²⁴⁵ In 1853, when Brahms was about 20 years old and had already made a name for himself as a composer and a pianist, he met and befriended Robert and Clara Schumann in Düsseldorf.²⁴⁶ Shortly afterwards, Brahms had moved to Düsseldorf to help Clara Schumann after Robert Schumann's suicide attempt in February of 1854. Around that time, Arnold became aware of Brahms' presence in the region and Arnold mentioned his interest in publishing Brahms' works to a friend of Brahms, *Joseph Joachim*.²⁴⁷ Joachim mentions this in a letter written to Brahms in March of 1854:²⁴⁸

"By the way! Arnold, a publisher in Elberfeld, where I was last winter, would like to publish your compositions; at the time I told him that, as far as I know, you have a contract with Härtels.²⁴⁹ Perhaps you might now like to publish with him and so it's good that you should know; I've always forgotten to mention this to you."

Brahms and Arnold must have met soon after. As Bozarth recounts, direct contact between the two can be assumed from correspondence between Clara Schumann and Brahms from 1855.²⁵⁰ Arnold certainly will have discussed the possibility of printing Brahms' work. Indeed he had had Brahms' four-hand arrangement of Schumann's Piano Quartet in E-flat

²⁴² Letters dated Nov. 18, 1859 and July 24, 1860, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-1485196/>, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/E-611-HS-1485192/>.

²⁴³ E.g.: *Des Sängers Fluch. Ballade für Solostimme, Chor und Orchester*, text written by Ludwig Uhland, put to music by Robert Schumann, published by Arnold Dec. 1857/Jan. 1858 (see: Dahmen H, p. 78).

²⁴⁴ Baum ML. *General-Anzeiger der Stadt Wuppertal*, Oct. 28, 1961; Speer F, p. 439.

²⁴⁵ Johannes Brahms (1833-1897) composer and pianist of the Romantic period, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_Brahms/.

²⁴⁶ Bozarth, George S. *The Origin of Brahms's In Stiller Nacht*. Notes: Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association 1996; 53 (2): 363-380.

²⁴⁷ Joseph Joachim (1831-1907) Hungarian violinist, conductor, composer and a close collaborator of Johannes Brahms, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Joachim/.

²⁴⁸ Letter dated March 25(?), 1854, see: No. 22 in Moser Hans (Ed). *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim. Band I*. Berlin, Deutsche Brahms Gesellschaft. 1908: 28-30. <https://archive.org/details/johannesbrahmsi01joacgoog/>.

²⁴⁹ This refers to the world's oldest music publishing house "Breitkopf & Härtel", founded in 1719 in Leipzig, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Breitkopf_%26_H%C3%A4rtel/.

²⁵⁰ Bozarth GS, 1996, p. 371.

major, op. 47 ready for publication in 1860, but refrained from releasing it because another version had just been published.²⁵¹

So, in the end, none of Brahms' works were published by Arnold. However they remained in contact until well after 1860,²⁵² linked by their common interest in German folk songs. This aspect of their relationship will be discussed in the next chapter (see page 61).

Arnold will have had personal contact to a number of other contemporary composers whose work he published, such as Liszt and van Eijken, but I have found few corresponding references containing more details. In the available sources²⁵³ there are also mentions of personal contacts to *Max Bruch*²⁵⁴ and Felix Mendelssohn but few traces can be found to substantiate these friendships.

Lily Schnabel also mentions that her mother Agnes, who had a good singing voice, had been instructed in the Stockhausen method.²⁵⁵ This approach had been developed by the concert singer *Julius Stockhausen*.²⁵⁶ There seems to have been personal contact between him and the Arnolds because Stockhausen had once asked Agnes' parents whether she could accompany him in a concert tour to demonstrate his method. Lily Schnabel notes "... my grandfather refused to give his permission for that", for what reasons, is not stated.

So, all in all, the above gives a good impression of Arnold's purposeful but uncomplicated association with a good number of the composers of his day.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Bozarth GS. *Johannes Brahms und die Liedersammlungen von David Gregor Corner, Karl Severin Meister und Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold*. Die Musikforschung; 1983; 36: 177-199. (p. 184.)

²⁵³ see Schnabel L, p. 20, and Baum ML. General-Anzeiger der Stadt Wuppertal, Oct. 28, 1961.

²⁵⁴ Max Christian Friedrich Bruch (1838-1920) Romantic composer and conductor, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_Bruch/.

²⁵⁵ Schnabel L, p. 24.

²⁵⁶ Julius Christian Stockhausen (1826-1906), baritone, sing master and conductor, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julius_Stockhausen/.

The German Folk Song

From the foregoing it is clear that Arnold was very much involved in researching the German folk song. In that, he partook in an epoch of a general interest in "Volkslieder" which had begun in the 18th century, flourished in the 19th century and is associated with such names as Schubert, Schumann and Brahms. One geographical hub of this interest and activity was in the area bordering on the Rhine river. According to Morik,²⁵⁷ a group of researchers and collectors of the German folk song in this region converged in Elberfeld, in particular after Arnold had opened up his publishing business.

Arnold's interest in this genre was already evident as early as the 1840's from compositions, e.g. *Volksgesänge der deutschen Männer und Frauen*²⁵⁸ published by Eck & Comp. Schwendowius reports that around 1850, at an age of 40, Arnold changed his focus from composition of music to the collection and research of folk songs and applied his compositional abilities on their arrangement.²⁵⁹ In this he has been considered proficient, as Bozarth notes:²⁶⁰

"Arnold took a more artistic approach to the writing of folk-song accompaniments. His piano parts, while supportive of the vocal line, are in themselves musically satisfying, and at times even inspired."

In conducting his research of folk songs, he had contact and worked together with a number of other persons who were involved in their collection, editing, arranging and publication. These included those active locally in the Rhineland and Bergisches Land – such as some of those listed below – but also others in the wider range of German speaking states.

Philipp Wackernagel

One of these collaborators was *Philipp Wackernagel*²⁶¹ who was active in the field of hymnology. Wackernagel held the position of school director in Elberfeld in the time between 1849 and 1861. In the introduction

²⁵⁷ Morik W. *Johannes Brahms und sein Verhältnis zum Deutschen Volkslied*. Tutzing, Hans Schneider. 1965: 4.

²⁵⁸ Arnold FW, Klein J. *Volksgesänge der deutschen Männer und Frauen v. N. Becker und Julie Kölsch*. Cologne, Eck & Co. 1841. (<http://www.hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/>).

²⁵⁹ Schwendowius B, p. 11.

²⁶⁰ Bozarth GS, 1996, p. 372.

²⁶¹ Philipp Wackernagel (1800-1877) schoolteacher and hymnologist, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philipp_Wackernagel/.

to Arnold's best-known work "*Das Locheimer Liederbuch*"²⁶² (its story is related below, see page 76), he refers to Wackernagel as his friend. In 1860, Wackernagel published a book titled "*Kleines Gesangbuch geistlicher Lieder für Kirche, Schule und Haus*",²⁶³ a hymnal containing over 200 sacral songs. In the appendix, Wackernagel comments on the specific songs and, where appropriate, mentions Arnold's support. A number of the song melodies which Wackernagel found in his sources were given in old musical notations. Here Arnold was able to transcribe the antiquated musical notation into the contemporary form. He was also provided assistance in deciphering and correcting of older or ambiguous melodies. And, when there was no information on the melody whatsoever, Arnold composed and arranged it based on his knowledge and experience.²⁶⁴ With respect to the latter, Wackernagel notes:²⁶⁵

"... Dr. Arnold has arranged both melodies in a four part intonation in such a fashion [as to] distinguish the melody with richness and depth worthy of any contemporary piece in this field."

Anton Wilhelm von Zuccalmaglio

Arnold also worked closely with *Anton Wilhelm von Zuccalmaglio*,²⁶⁶ a folk song collector who came from the Bergisches Land and who lived in Elberfeld in the 1850's. In his younger years Zuccalmaglio had already begun collecting folks song with his brother Vincenz. Over the years, he published a number of books with compilations of folks songs. In particular, he worked with *Andreas Kretzschmer*,²⁶⁷ who was a musicologist and researcher of folk songs. This collaboration led to the publication of the two volumes of "*Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Original-Weisen*" which appeared between 1838 and 1840.²⁶⁸

²⁶² Arnold FW. *Das Locheimer Liederbuch nebst der Ars Organisandi von Conrad Paumann*. In: Chrysander F (Ed.). *Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft*, Bd. II. Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel. 1867: 1-224.

Hereafter referred to as: Arnold FW. *Das Locheimer Liederbuch*.

²⁶³ Wackernagel P. *Kleines Gesangbuch geistlicher Lieder für Kirche, Schule und Haus*. Stuttgart, Verlag S.G. Liesching. 1860: 224pp. <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10592612-3/>.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 217, p. 219, p. 220.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

²⁶⁶ Anton Wilhelm Florentin von Zuccalmaglio (1803-1869) dialectologist, folklorist, folk song collector, poet and composer, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anton_Wilhelm_von_Zuccalmaglio/.

²⁶⁷ Franz Johann Karl Andreas Kretzschmer (1775-1839) lawyer, composer, musicologist and folk song collector, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andreas_Kretzschmer/.

²⁶⁸ • Kretzschmer A. *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Original-Weisen. Unter Mitwirkung des Herrn Professor Dr. Maßmann in München, des Herrn von Zuccalmaglio in Warschau, und mehrerer anderer*

Because of Zuccalmaglio's interest in folk songs, it is understandable that, after his arrival in Elberfeld, he and Arnold got acquainted and that they discussed many points in their area of common interest. This interaction is documented, among other things, in their correspondence.²⁶⁹ For instance, in a letter from around 1860, Zuccalmaglio writes:²⁷⁰

Lieber Herr!
 25^{te} Sept
 Zufällig amn Kölner Epaveit
 Jungblüthen, prunt-uf Blatt 89 b.
 die Dulle Ind was der Dederich
 von Berne van dem die bueren
 so vile syngent. In diesen
 Lieder, das die Kölner auf den dem
 Jugend und Volksfröhlichen Gesungen
 der Weibchen der Dederich, syngend
 das dieser Liedes nicht auf
 in der Muzik dem Volke auf-
 gedrengt sind sein Jahr fast
 unbekant. In der Hoffnung Ihnen
 aufzukaufen mochte mit gutem
 besitzem zu können bleibe ich
 in selben freubung
 Arnold
 Zuccalmaglio

Letter from Zuccalmaglio to Arnold (see transcription below)

Freunde der Volks-Poesie nach handschriftlichen Quellen herausgegeben und mit Anmerkungen versehen. Band 1. Berlin, Vereins-Buchhandlung. 1840: 559pp.

• v. Zuccalmaglio AW: *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Original-Weisen. Unter Mitwirkung des Herrn Professor E. Baumstark und mehrerer anderer Freunde der Volks-Dichtung, als Fortsetzung des A. Kretzschmer'schen Werkes gesammelt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Anton Wilhelm von Zuccalmaglio. Band 2. Berlin, Vereins-Buchhandlung. 1840: 695pp.*

²⁶⁹ <https://emuseum.duesseldorf.de/objects/viewcollections/>.

²⁷⁰ Letter dated Sept. 25, 1860(?), <http://www.duesseldorf.de/dkult/DE-MUS-037814/340012/>.

"My best Doctor !

"Casually leafing through a Cologne Chronicle, I found sheet 89b. [with] the entry 'Ind was der Dederick van Berne von dem die Bueren, so vile syngent.'²⁷¹ You will see from this that the residents of Cologne also knew from the delightful and popular songs of their neighbors, the farmers, that the heroes of these songs have not been forced onto the people in modern times, as Herr Erk²⁷² believes. Hoping to report more and better soon, I remain
"your A. Wilh. Zuccalmaglio"

This letter reflects Zuccalmaglio's research approach, which he claimed was not so much academic but rested on close contact to the people who sang and listened to the folk songs of the day.²⁷³ This can be seen in another letter to Arnold (undated):²⁷⁴

"... One has promised me *Das Rabenlied* [*The Raven Song*]. The doctor of the house will have it written down by the lady of the manor ...

"... Enclosed is a German lullaby from the Cologne Newspaper which a [...] philologist has saved from the back side of a strip of parchment. It should be of interest to you, although we cannot hope to discover the melody. It is likely from the 9th century ..."

The closing of this letter also reveals the cordial and amicable relationship between the two men:

"... with best greeting to Posse,²⁷⁵ to your household, all acquaintances, hoping to be calling on you soon. Here and everywhere, your old wandering knight, A W Zuccalmaglio."

²⁷¹ Old German, my rough translation: "In that which Dederick van Berne of whom the farmers sing so much".

²⁷² *Ludwig Erk* (1807-1883), an academic and folk song collector (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ludwig_Erk/). Erk was very critical of Zuccalmaglio's work. Zuccalmaglio and others (e.g. Brahms) believed true folk songs originated in and reflected the collective soul of the people. This was the "romantic" view and contrasted with the more historical "positivistic" view of Erk and others who "simply" collected any and all songs that could be found regardless of their perceived cultural value. See e.g. Morik W, p. 2-6.

²⁷³ Wiora A. *Die rheinisch-bergische Melodien bei Zuccalmaglio und Brahms*. In: Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte, Heft 7. Bad Godesberg, Voggenreiter. 1953: 120 ff.

²⁷⁴ Letter dated Oct. 17, (year?), <http://www.duesseldorf.de/dkult/DE-MUS-037814/401566/>.

²⁷⁵ *Leander Posse* was a musician and friend of Arnold. They often played music together, see: Baum ML. General-Anzeiger der Stadt Wuppertal, Oct. 28, 1961. He later became the director of the "Elberfelder Gesangsverein", see Greeff P. *Zur Musikgeschichte Wuppertals im 19. Jahrhundert*. In: Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte, Fellerer G (Ed.) Köln & Krefeld, Staufener-Verlag. 1954; vol. 5.

Arnold's importance for Zuccalmaglio is evident from the latter's correspondence to others from the year 1856 in which he noted that:²⁷⁶

"I received contributions from other collectors, also from Dr. Arnold who studied the field where I had researched 15 years earlier and who found not only many documents supporting my own previous results but also uncovered novel findings."

Zuccalmaglio also mentions this in other correspondence, emphasizing that in Elberfeld, Arnold had re-awakened his interest in his former endeavors, namely on the collection of German folk songs.²⁷⁷ In 1865, about a year and a half after Arnold's death, Zuccalmaglio reviewed the posthumous publication of the first volume of Arnold's *Deutsche Volkslieder aus alter und neuer Zeit gesammelt und mit Clavierbegleitung versehen*,²⁷⁸ praising it as an "exquisite gift" to the German people.²⁷⁹

From the above it is evident that, for those researching old folk songs, there were several ways to expand one's collection. One could scour the towns and countryside, talking to the locals in the hope of chancing upon new material. Another approach was to check with colleagues to see what they have been finding. A third source would be the libraries and archives in which previous collectors had recorded their acquisitions. In a long letter which Zuccalmaglio wrote to Arnold in March 1862,²⁸⁰ the former describes his visit to the Herzog August Bibliothek²⁸¹ in Wolfenbüttel near Hanover. This library was founded by **Julius**, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg in 1572. Over the years, he and his followers as well as the responsible librarians collected hundreds of thousands of objects from the middle ages and early modern Europe, including a vast collection of musical items. It was this Zuccalmaglio was delving into, in the hope of stumbling across novel findings. In the following it will also become clear that Arnold implemented the same methods.

²⁷⁶ Wiora A, p. 122.

²⁷⁷ Letter from Zuccalmaglio to Simrock, dated Jan. 20, 1856, see Schwendowius B, p. 11.

²⁷⁸ All the known volumes include: Arnold FW. *Deutsche Volkslieder aus alter und neuer Zeit gesammelt und mit Clavierbegleitung versehen*. Elberfeld, Arnold. 1864-1871: Heft 1-9.

²⁷⁹ von Waldbrühl W [Zuccalmaglio's pseudonym]. "F. W. Arnold und das deutsche Volkslied". In: *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel; 1865, Neue Folge. III. Jahrgang. Ausgabe Nr. 31 (2. August 1865): 512-515.

²⁸⁰ Letter dated March 8, 1862, <http://www.duesseldorf.de/dkult/DE-MUS-037814/401569/>.

²⁸¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herzog_August_Library/.

Karl Simrock

Zuccalmaglio was among the many persons who were in contact with **Karl Simrock**.²⁸² Simrock was one of the sons of **Nikolaus Simrock**,²⁸³ a musician who had founded a music publishing business. Nikolaus had been a friend of Beethoven and published not only his works but those of **Joseph Haydn**,²⁸⁴ Robert Schumann, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and, in particular, Johannes Brahms. His youngest son Karl (of his 13 children) did not take over the publishing business (this was done by his brother Peter Joseph). Rather, Karl was a scholar who studied law and German literature in Bonn. He was well-versed in Old German and very interested in folk tales, mythology and, of course, the folk song. He often entertained like-minded at his country house in Menzenberg in Bad Honnef near Bonn. Guests included not only Anton Wilhelm von Zuccalmaglio but also Ludwig Uhland, the **Brothers Grimm**,²⁸⁵ **Heinrich Heine**,²⁸⁶ **August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben**,²⁸⁷ among others.

For Arnold, Simrock was a colleague in the study of folk songs. He consulted with Simrock on sources, texts and melodies.²⁸⁸ Later, in 1883, Brahms noted to Karl Simrock's nephew (Peter Joseph's son) that "I know that [your uncle] collected folk songs and worked together with the deceased Arnold."²⁸⁹ Certainly, collaborating with Karl Simrock enriched Arnold's work, not only with respect to material but also by facilitating the contact to a number of like-minded scholars.

Johannes Brahms

One of the creative elements of Brahms' music involves his life-long preoccupation with the folk song. During his time with the Schumanns in

²⁸² Karl Simrock (1802-1876) was poet, writer and professor of Old German in Bonn, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Joseph_Simrock/.

²⁸³ Nikolaus Simrock (1751-1832) music publisher, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikolaus_Simrock/.

²⁸⁴ Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) Austrian composer, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Haydn/.

²⁸⁵ The brothers who published the fairy tales (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grimms%27_Fairy_Tales/), no relation to Julius Grimm (p. 59).

²⁸⁶ Christian Johann Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) was a poet, journalist, essayist, and literary critic. Some of his lyric poetry was set to music by Robert Schumann and Franz Schubert. See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinrich_Heine/.

²⁸⁷ August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798-1874) was a German poet who wrote "*Das Lied der Deutschen*", part of which is incorporated in the German national anthem, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/August_Heinrich_Hoffmann_von_Fallersleben/.

²⁸⁸ See the letter from Arnold to Julius Grimm dated Oct. 4, 1855, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach: Mediennummer: HS008118437.

²⁸⁹ See letter nr. 471, dated Dec. 16, 1883 in: Kalbeck M (Ed.). *Johannes Brahms Briefe an Fritz Simrock*. Vol. III. Berlin Deutsche Brahms Gesellschaft. 1919: 43-44.

Düsseldorf, Brahms became acquainted with other folk song collectors in the region of the Rhine and Bergisches Land, with their focus in Elberfeld. These included among others, Zuccalmaglio, Simrock and of course Arnold. Although Brahms and Arnold most likely first met to discuss the possibility of publishing Brahms' work (see "*Music Publisher – Contact to Musicians and Composers*", page 54), their common interest in the folk song led to recurring contact from 1854 onwards.

Like Zuccalmaglio, Brahms held the point of view that the "romantic" understanding of the folk song was to be preferred over the "historical" perception of Ludwig Erk and others (see footnote 272, page 59). Brahms' friend and biographer *Max Kalbeck*²⁹⁰ notes that Brahms once stated that "he [Brahms] wished that at the time, i.e. 1854/55, he had better preserved what Karl Simrock and F.W. Arnold had told him" on this topic.²⁹¹ This gives us a picture of Brahms, after his arrival in Düsseldorf, travelling around the Bergisches Land, meeting folk song specialists and discussing with them their findings and thoughts.

Arnold was certainly one of individuals with whom such an exchange of ideas and folk song material took place. Documents that point to this can be found in Brahms' library. In paper discussing the various sources Brahms used in his folk song arrangements, Bozarth lists the following documents containing folk songs from Arnold:²⁹²

- Arnold's compendium of 136 German folk songs: *Deutsche Volkslieder aus alter und neuer Zeit* (see page 75).
- Arnold's edition of the *Locheimer-Liederbuch*, a late Middle Ages/early Renaissance handwritten manuscript containing about 45 songs, published in 1867. (This work is described in detail in "The Locheimer-Liederbuch", page 76.)
- Two bifolia (double leaves of paper) with 28 melodies and including a written remark: "from the collection of Herr Arnold".
- Two bifolia with 23 songs and the note "(F.W. Arnold)/1864".
- A single bifolium containing five of Arnold's folk song arrangements for solo voice with piano accompaniment. He had most likely sent this to Brahms for appraisal. This document shows critical handwritten notes made by Brahms.

²⁹⁰ Max Kalbeck (1850-1921) was a German writer, critic and translator and a close friend of Brahms, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_Kalbeck/.

²⁹¹ Kalbeck, Max. *Johannes Brahms. Band IV*. Berlin, Deutsche Brahms Gesellschaft. 1914: 354.

²⁹² Bozarth GS, 1983, p. 181-183.

- A manuscript titled "*Volkslieder aus dem Siebengebirge gesammelt von Prof. Grimm und Dr. Arnold*". This document is mentioned again in the next section and will be discussed in more detail further down (page 70).

Brahms had access to the above bifolia in the late 1850's and early 1860's,²⁹³ when Arnold was still alive. In particular, the single bifolium mentioned represents specific evidence of the interaction between the two men. Arnold had arranged some pieces and sent them to Brahms. He studied them and made comments which he then communicated to Arnold. This led Arnold, on the one hand, to adapt some of the songs according to Brahms' suggestions, but also to refrain from publishing others.²⁹⁴



Johannes Brahms, 1853²⁹⁵

²⁹³ Ibid., p. 181-184.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 184.

²⁹⁵ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Johannes_Brahms_1853.jpg/.

There are a number of folk songs in Arnold's manuscripts and publications which Brahms had also arranged. There have been speculations as to which of Arnold's songs were the basis for Brahms' interpretation. Morik had suggested that up to 13 of the songs that are found in the Arnold sources count as such.²⁹⁶ Although later analysis showed that Brahms may have used other sources for a number of these songs, Bozarth still names eight which he attributes to Arnold's material.²⁹⁷

One of these songs – namely: *In stiller Nacht* – was long the subject of discussion as to its authorship. The song text was based on a sacred poem from the 17th century but the origin of the melody was uncertain.²⁹⁸ In his Brahms biography, Kalbeck presumed that Brahms had composed the melody and was thus the "factual creator of ... this masterpiece".²⁹⁹ However, as Bozarth shows, Brahms found the melody in Arnold's collections which are documented in his bifolia.³⁰⁰ Brahms reworked the Arnold melody and the resulting piece has been described as "among his best known and most beloved folk-song settings".³⁰¹

In stiller Nacht found its way in Brahms' volume of "*Deutsche Volkslieder für eine Singstimme und Klavier*". This collection was modelled on Arnold's own "*Deutsche Volkslieder aus alter und neuer Zeit*".³⁰² And, although Brahms had made suggestions to Arnold with respect to *In stiller Nacht* ("... very good. But I believe you heard the bass quite differently; the title already indicates that. Play it once like this"), Arnold never did publish his own version.³⁰³

As the sources in Brahms' library show, Arnold sent copies of his arrangements to Brahms.³⁰⁴ So, when working on his own arrangements of folk songs, Arnold had the privilege of asking Brahms for his opinion (as he had also done with Schumann, see page 50). Brahms was accommodating, supplying Arnold with comments and suggestions for improvements on a number of songs. Bozarth also writes:

²⁹⁶ Morik W, p. 19-21.

²⁹⁷ Bozarth GS, 1983, p.184-186. The eight songs are: "*Ach könnt' ich diesen Abend*", "*All' mein' Gedanken*", "*Du mein einzig' Licht*", "*Erlaube mir, fein's Mädchen*", "*Es saß ein schneeweiß' Vögelein*", "*Ich stand auf hohem Berge*", "*In stiller Nacht*", "*Soll sich der Mond*".

²⁹⁸ Bozarth GS, 1996, p. 364, 368.

²⁹⁹ Kalbeck, Max. *Johannes Brahms. Band IV*, see Appendix, p. 562.

³⁰⁰ Bozarth GS, 1996, p. 370, 374.

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 363.

³⁰² Ibid., p. 372, 374.

³⁰³ Ibid., p. 380.

³⁰⁴ Here and in the following: *ibid.*, p. 376ff.

"Brahms's opinion of Arnold's settings was generally positive, though he had a few reservations. Many of the arrangements are very successful, he observed; if only they were all as good as a few. (Brahms's frankness provides a hint of just how friendly and honest his relationship with Arnold was.)"

Julius Grimm

In October 1855, Arnold wrote to *Julius Grimm*³⁰⁵ with a request for material. Grimm had studied law in Bonn and received a professorship there in 1851. He later occupied the chair in law in Basel for several years. Afterwards he moved to Wiesbaden and was involved in business and politics.³⁰⁶ Privately, it seems he was interested in history and collected old manuscripts.³⁰⁷ Although I have found no indication that Grimm was involved in music in general or the folk song in particular, Arnold had been informed that Grimm possessed manuscripts with melodies of old folk songs. His informer was none other than Karl Simrock. Arnold had contacted him about several old folksongs³⁰⁸ and Simrock had been able to supply him with some texts. However, he did not have the corresponding melodies and indicated that Julius Grimm might be able to help. (How Julius Grimm and Simrock got to know each other is not clear, perhaps they became acquainted at university, as both had studied law in Bonn.)

In his letter to Grimm, Arnold requests access to the manuscripts with the melodies. On the basis of two further letters, written a few months later,³⁰⁹ it is clear that Grimm indeed put the manuscripts at his disposal. Arnold considered the material quite valuable and wrote that he planned to include a number of these songs in his "*Deutsche Volkslieder aus alter und neuer Zeit*". In order to clear up some discrepancies, he asked whether he could keep the manuscripts a while longer and mentioned that, when he had returned them, Grimm should store them safely, as they should be considered important historical documents.

In the end, the whereabouts of these documents appear to have become uncertain. A few years after Arnold's death, his son Emil wrote a

³⁰⁵ Julius Grimm (1821-1911), professor of law and a politician,
[https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julius_Grimm_\(Politiker\)/](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julius_Grimm_(Politiker)/).

³⁰⁶ <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz23789.html/>.

³⁰⁷ <https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction.action?detailid=b3074/>.

³⁰⁸ Mentioned in the letter from Arnold to Julius Grimm dated Oct. 4, 1855, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach: Mediennummer: HS008118437.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., letters dated Feb. 4, 1856 and Feb. 25, 1856.

letter to Julius Grimm.³¹⁰ It seems that Grimm claimed that Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold had not returned some manuscripts. When requesting the manuscripts 12 years earlier, Arnold had written: "I pledge on my holiest word of honor that I will most expeditiously and conscientiously return that which will be entrusted to me..."³¹¹ and later, when asking for a more time to study the manuscripts, he wrote:³¹²

"You have been so kind as to place the manuscripts at my disposal for an indeterminate period of time, but I do not want to retain them for a whole year without giving you notice, so that you do not consider me among those unthankful who, after having received what they have requested, no longer concern themselves with gracious giver."

It seems that Grimm had now not only stated that his manuscripts had not been returned but he had also made offending remarks regarding Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold. In his letter, Emil Arnold denied the claims and threatened legal action if Grimm would maintain his slander. Emil also stated that his father's estate had been carefully inspected by himself and others and that Grimm's manuscripts were not among them. Furthermore, of the many persons who had put documents at his father's disposal, Grimm was the only one to make this claim.³¹³ As a conciliatory gesture, Emil proposed to put a manuscript at Grimm's disposal, which he – Emil – presumed his father may have written in collaboration with Julius Grimm. This was the manuscript "*Volkslieder aus dem Siebengebirge gesammelt von Prof. Grimm und Dr. Arnold*", a copy of which Brahms possessed (see above, page 63). The document will be discussed in more detail further down (page 70).

Franz Espagne

In his search for material, Arnold also communicated with *Franz Espagne*,³¹⁴ who was the Custodian of the Music Department of the

³¹⁰ Ibid., letter dated Nov. 1, 1867.

³¹¹ Ibid., letter dated Oct. 4, 1855.

³¹² Ibid., letters dated Feb. 4, 1856.

³¹³ In this vein: back in 1845, Arnold had asked Schumann to lend him a copy of his "*Paradies & Peri*" and, as the two of them were not well-acquainted yet, Arnold passed on a character reference written by *Friedrich Hofmeister*. (Hofmeister (1782-1864) was a major music publisher in the 19th century (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Hofmeister_Musikverlag/.) Hofmeister wrote that he had known "Doctor Arnold as an extremely meticulous man of business for many years" and would guarantee for the return of the documents. Indeed, Arnold was true to his word. (Dahmen H, p.81-85.)

³¹⁴ Franz Espagne (1828-1878), librarian, music theoretician and editor (<http://weber-gesamtausgabe.de/de/A004259.html/>).

"Königliche Bibliothek"³¹⁵ in Berlin. Espagne had acquired this position from *Siegfried Dehn*,³¹⁶ who happened to have been Clara Wieck's music teacher. Again here, one can speculate on the importance of knowing the right people, as we can guess that Clara Schumann may have been the person who enabled the contact between Espagne and Arnold.

In any case, Espagne had access to a large collection of musical documents and the correspondence indicates that Arnold was very interested in old manuscripts from the 16th century. In a letter written in May 1859,³¹⁷ he supplies Espagne with a list of material he already has and requests access to further works from that period which the library possesses. On the next page there is an excerpt listing some of Arnold's requests. These and other works mentioned in the correspondence indicate that Arnold was very knowledgeable on the topic of old folk songs and knew where to look in the hope of finding new material.

Incidentally, in a letter written to Espagne about six weeks later,³¹⁸ Arnold reports on finding an old missal from the 10th century in Mönchengladbach³¹⁹ and that he has arranged for it to be sent to Berlin pending Espagne's request. He then goes on to remind Espagne of his previous letter and that he is still waiting for a response. In an obvious attitude of expected reciprocity, he writes that his main purpose to go to Mönchengladbach had been in Espagne's interests and that he finds that Espagne could indeed return the favor by responding. All of this is, as usual, couched in polite circumlocution suggesting high respect for the addressee.

³¹⁵ Today it is the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin_State_Library#History.

³¹⁶ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siegfried_Wilhelm_Dehn/.

³¹⁷ Letter dated May 30, 1859, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-1716286/>.

³¹⁸ Letter dated July 16, 1859, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-1716287/>.

³¹⁹ A town located about 60 Km west of Elberfeld, with a Cathedral harboring a number of relics, including old scripts. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C3%B6nchengladbacher_M%C3%BCnster/.

| Request: | Refers to: |
|--|---|
| "Oeglin 1512" | <i>Erhard Öglin</i> (1470-1520): a printer who published " <i>Liederbuch zu vier Stimmen</i> " in 1512. ³²⁰ |
| "Arnt von Aich um 1519" | <i>Arnt von Aich</i> (died ca. 1528/30): a printer in Cologne. ³²¹ Sometime between 1513 and 1518, he published the oldest known collection of secular folk songs " <i>75 hubscher Lieder myt Discant, Alt, Bas und Tenor</i> ". ³²² |
| "H. Finck 1536" | <i>Heinrich Finck</i> (1444/5-1527): a composer of hymns / sacred songs and conductor in the Renaissance. ³²³ |
| "Ott, 1. ^{er} & 3. ^{er} Thl 1534 & 1544" | parts of a " <i>Liedersammlung</i> " published by <i>Hans Ott</i> (died 1546), a book seller and editor of well-known collections of music. ³²⁴ |
| "Forster, 1-4 ^{er} Thl 1539-1552" | <i>Georg Forster</i> (1510-1568): a composer, doctor and musical editor in the Renaissance. ³²⁵ He edited and published a song collection in five volumes called " <i>Frische teutsche Liedlein</i> ", which incidentally also contained some of Finck's works. ³²⁶ |
| "Trium vocum cantiones, Petreius, 1541" | " <i>Trium vocum cantiones centum tomi primi</i> " ³²⁷ published by <i>Johannes Petreius</i> (1497-1550), a woodcarver and printer. ³²⁸ |
| "Tricinia, Wittenberg 1542" | <i>Tricinia, Tum Veterum Tum Recentiorum In Arte Musica Symphonistarum</i> , ³²⁹ published by <i>Georg Rhau</i> (1488-1548), a printer and cantor. ³³⁰ |
| "Bicinia, Wittenberg 1545" | <i>Bicinia Gallica, Latina, Germanica ex praestantissimis musicorum monumentis collecta</i> , also published by Rhau. ³³¹ |
| "Rotenbucher Bergkreien, 1551" | <i>Erasmus Rotenbucher</i> (ca. 1525-1586) who was song collector and published " <i>Bergkreyen</i> " in 1551. ³³² |
| "Ochsenkun 1558" | <i>Sebastian Ochsenkun</i> (1521-1574) was lute player and composer. In 1558 he published a collection of songs and chorales " <i>Tabulaturbuch auf die Lauten</i> ". ³³³ |

³²⁰ <https://www.augsburgwiki.de/index.php/AugsburgWiki/OeglinErhard/>.

³²¹ <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz514.html#ndbcontent/>.

³²² <http://www.zeno.org/Schmidt-1902/A/Aich,+Arnd+von/>.

³²³ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinrich_Finck/.

³²⁴ <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz74047.html#adbcontent/>.

³²⁵ [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg_Forster_\(Komponist\)/](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg_Forster_(Komponist)/).

³²⁶ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frische_teutsche_Liedlein/.

³²⁷ <http://www.worldcat.org/title/trium-vocum-cantiones-centum-tomi-primi/oclc/52393942/>.

³²⁸ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_Petreius/.

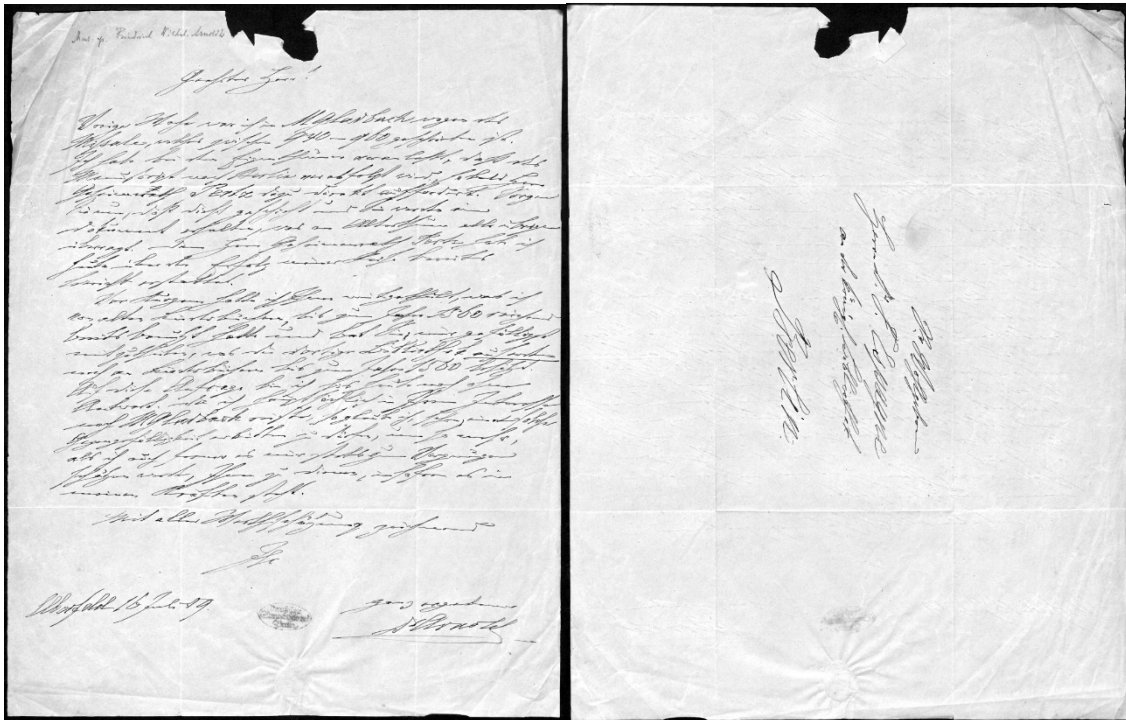
³²⁹ https://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest_cbu_00019396/.

³³⁰ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg_Rhau/.

³³¹ http://www.worldcat.org/title/deutsche-zwiegesange-aus-georg-rhaws-bicinia-gallica-latina-germanica-ex-praestantissimis-musicorum-monumentis-collecta-wittenberg-1545/oclc/248439412&referer=brief_results/.

³³² https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erasmus_Rotenbucher/.

³³³ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sebastian_Ochsenkun/.



Letter to Espagne dated July 16, 1859

Arnold's handwriting is very slanted and hurried. Note the lines in the paper indicating how the letter was folded and the location of the seal, at the bottom and at the top, where it was removed.

Ludwig Uhland

Another person Arnold contacted in his quest for material was his old professor from his university days, Ludwig Uhland. Uhland had himself researched and published folks songs.³³⁴ Arnold had asked Uhland, who was still living in Tübingen, for information on specific folk songs collections from sources Uhland had access to. In a letter dated November 1861,³³⁵ Uhland responds, saying that he has checked the content of the libraries in Zurich, in Munich and in Zwickau as well a library of an old friend *Joseph Laßberg*,³³⁶ (a bibliophile who had privately collected over 10 thousand old books and manuscripts). Uhland sent Arnold a number of documents which listed and named old folk songs and where they could be found, requesting that the documents be returned when no longer needed.

About a year later in 1862, the two men met (whether in Tübingen, Elberfeld or perhaps Menzenberg is not clear) and Uhland publicly praised

³³⁴ Uhland L. *Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder*. Stuttgart & Tübingen, Cotta'scher Verlag. 1844.

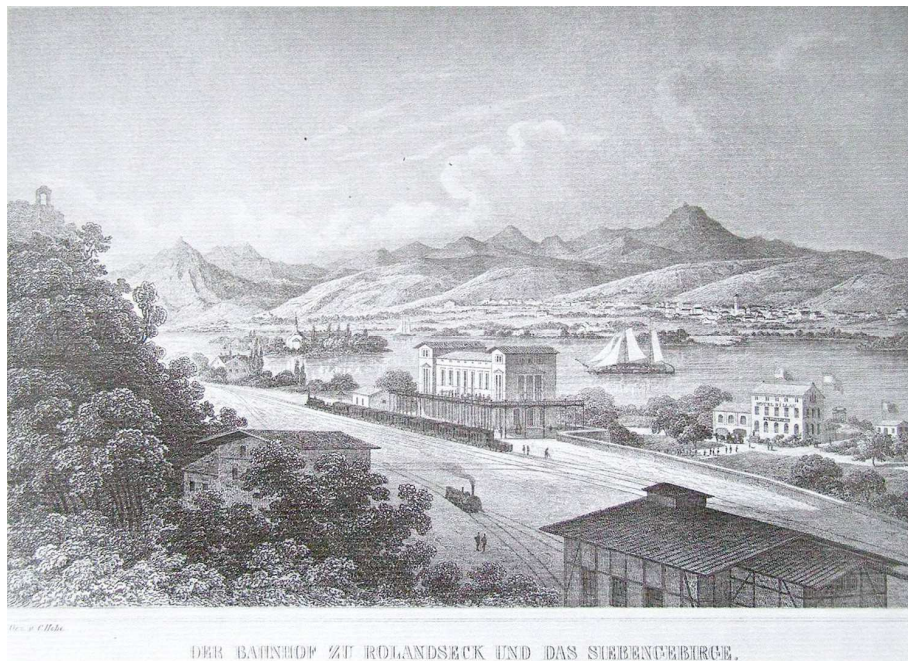
³³⁵ Letter dated Nov. 14, 1861, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-46580/>.

³³⁶ Baron Joseph Maria Christoph von Laßberg (1770-1855) antiquary, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_von_La%C3%9Fberg/.

Arnold's competence in this field of research: "[I have] never conversed with a man who knows how to appraise the German folk song with such enthusiasm and such deep expertise."³³⁷

Jacob Grimm

Everyone is familiar with *Grimms' Fairy Tales*, old folk stories which were compiled and published in the beginning of the nineteenth century by the Grimm brothers.³³⁸ The elder brother *Jacob Grimm* was also known for his work as a linguist, lawyer and mythologist.³³⁹ Furthermore, he was a collector of folk songs and no doubt often met with other like-minded specialists. Both Grimm and Arnold had Karl Simrock as a common contact (see pages 61ff and Bozarth³⁴⁰) and it may well be that they met and got acquainted at Simrock's house in Menzenberg. It is believed that, at some time, Arnold and Jacob Grimm gathered old folk song material together: they went wandering in the Siebengebirge region, a hilly, largely wooded area on the east bank of the Rhine south of Bonn and north-east of Bad Honnef – just around the corner from Menzenberg.



Siebengebirge in 1857 with Rolandseck train station in the foreground and Bad Honnef on the east bank of the Rhine³⁴¹

³³⁷ Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog".

³³⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grimms%27_Fairy_Tales/.

³³⁹ Jacob Ludwig Carl Grimm (1785-1863), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacob_Grimm/.

³⁴⁰ Bozarth GS, 1996, p. 374.

³⁴¹ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABahnhof_Rolandseck_1857.jpg/.

The idea that the two men went on this tour has been primarily based on a copy of the manuscript which was found in Brahms' library (see page 62). It carries the title

"Volkslieder aus dem Siebengebirge gesammelt von Prof. Grimm u. Dr. Arnold. (nach Dr. A's Handschrift kopirt)".

[Folk songs from the Siebengebirge region collected by Prof. Grimm and Dr. Arnold (copied from Dr. A.'s handwritten original)].

Brahms had made numerous comments in his copy and he had musically arranged three of the melodies which the manuscript contained.³⁴²

An early mention of this manuscript (1889) can be found in a short review³⁴³ of a collection of German folksongs published by *Max Friedlaender*.³⁴⁴ The review states that 21 of the melodies originated from Arnold's previously unpublished "*Volkslieder aus dem Siebengebirge*", with no mention of Grimm. Friedlaender did not have access to the original but used Brahms' copy.³⁴⁵

In 1893, a collection of folksongs called "*Deutscher Liederhort*"³⁴⁶ was published by Ludwig Erk³⁴⁷ and *Franz Magnus Böhme*.³⁴⁸ Böhme included a precise list of all of their sources, including those from Arnold.³⁴⁹ Among other things listed, Böhme mentions a manuscript "*Volksmelodien aus dem Siebengebirge*" which was "written in Dr. Arnold's own hand". Böhme also states that "according to [Arnold's] son, Dr. Arnold collected these melodies in a summer trip in 1860 together with a lawyer." The name Grimm is not mentioned.

In his epic work "*Johannes Brahms*", Max Kalbeck makes two references to the manuscript. In Volume I, he writes: "Good fortune placed Grimm's and Arnold's '*Volkslieder aus dem Siebengebirge*' in his hands, which he could copy from Arnold's manuscript ..."³⁵⁰ and in Volume IV "In [Brahms'] estate is a small booklet with folk songs, many of which come

³⁴² Bozarth GS, 1983, p. 183.

³⁴³ Gesellschaft für Deutsche Philologie in Berlin (Hrsg.). *Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie*. Leipzig, Carl Reissner. 1889: 395pp.

³⁴⁴ Max Friedlaender (1852-1934) was a singer, music editor and musicologist. He published *Hundert deutsche Volkslieder*. Leipzig, Peters. 1887. See, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_Friedlaender_\(musicologist\)/](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_Friedlaender_(musicologist)).

³⁴⁵ Erk L, Böhme FM. *Deutscher Liederhort*. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel. 1893, Vol. I: XVII.

³⁴⁶ Erk L, Böhme FM. *Deutscher Liederhort*. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel. 1893-4; Vol. I-III.

³⁴⁷ This was the folk song researcher with whom Zuccalmaglio disagreed in the letter reproduced on page 36.

³⁴⁸ Franz Magnus Böhme (1827-1898), a composer and folk song researcher, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franz_Magnus_B%C3%B6hme/.

³⁴⁹ Ibid. Vol. I, p. XVII.

³⁵⁰ Kalbeck, Max. *Johannes Brahms*. Band I. Wien und Leipzig, Wiener Verlag. 1904: 191-2.

from the "*Volkslieder aus dem Siebengebirge*" collected by "Professor Grimm and Dr. Arnold".³⁵¹ These accounts confirm that a person named "Grimm", who was also a "professor", had collaborated with Arnold in this endeavor. Kalbeck does not say which Grimm he meant. In his volumes he mentions – apart from Jacob Grimm – a number of other "Grimms":

- *Wilhelm Grimm*,³⁵² Jacob's brother,
- *Hermann Grimm*,³⁵³ Wilhelm's son and Jacob's nephew,
- *Julius Otto Grimm*,³⁵⁴ (not related) a composer who met Brahms in 1834; the two became good friends.

Jacob Grimm was a professor but so were the other three Grimms whom Kalbeck mentioned.

And then there is Julius Grimm (see page 66), the professor of law who had lent Arnold some manuscripts and, after Arnold's death, complained about never having gotten his manuscripts back. In his letter to this Grimm,³⁵⁵ Emil Arnold rebuffed the accusations but, as an appeasement, offered him access to:

"... a notebook written in my father's hand which contains 134 melodies and titled: [...] *Volkslieder aus dem Siebengebirge gesammelt von Prof. Grimm und Dr. Arnold*".

This appears to imply that – for Emil Arnold – the person who collected the songs with his father may have been Julius Grimm but that Emil doesn't know for sure who his father's companion was.

"*Volkslieder aus dem Siebengebirge*" was never published and so there is no unequivocal naming of its authors. Emil Arnold inherited the manuscript on the death of his father in 1864 and probably it was still in his possession when he himself died in 1877 (see below, page 89). During that time he had lent it out to Böhme and he may have put it at Brahms' disposal as well. According to Bozarth, Brahms most likely had it copied sometime during or after 1878.³⁵⁶ To whom he returned the original is not known, Böhme suggested³⁵⁷ it was *Adolph Fürstner*,³⁵⁸ who had taken over the

³⁵¹ Kalbeck, Max. *Johannes Brahms*. Band IV. Berlin, Deutsche Brahms Gesellschaft. 1914: 355.

³⁵² Wilhelm Carl Grimm (1786-1859), philologist, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wilhelm_Grimm/.

³⁵³ Herman Grimm (1828-1901), academic and writer, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herman_Grimm/.

³⁵⁴ Julius Otto Grimm (1827-1903), composer, conductor and musician who spent most of his career in Münster, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julius_Otto_Grimm/.

³⁵⁵ Letter dated Nov. 1, 1867, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach: Mediennummer: HS008118437.

³⁵⁶ Bozarth GS, 1983, p. 183.

³⁵⁷ Erk L, Böhme FM, Vol. I, p. XVII.

³⁵⁸ Adolph Fürstner (1833-1908) owner of a music publishing business in Berlin, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adolph_F%C3%BCrstner/.

Arnold's stock after Emil's death (see page 89). However, this has been discounted³⁵⁹ and the whereabouts of the original remain unknown.

To my knowledge, the first explicit mention of Jacob (sic!) Grimm as Arnold's partner is by Bozarth in his publication of 1996. When citing the title of the manuscript, Bozarth placed the name "Jacob" in square brackets (i.e. "Prof. [Jacob] Grimm"),³⁶⁰ implying that Jacob is presumed to be Arnold's companion. Later publications have taken this up and do not hesitate to name Arnold's co-author as Jacob Grimm.³⁶¹

Putting all this together tells us that when Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold went for a summer trip in the Siebengebirge in 1860 to collect folk songs, he was accompanied by a "lawyer" called "Professor Grimm". This appellation fits to both Jacob Grimm and Julius Grimm as both had studied law and were correspondingly academically distinguished. When reading the sources from between 1870 and 1990, it seems that those who preoccupied themselves with the German folk song in the late 19th and early 20th century and who were familiar with the manuscript are presuming that Jacob Grimm was the person in question but his forename is not mentioned.

Emil Arnold doesn't seem to be certain either, but he – and he alone – says he is a lawyer. It strikes me that most people would not describe Jacob Grimm as a lawyer but rather more in terms of the work he was famous for, namely a literary scholar. This seems to indicate that Emil presumed that the "lawyer" Julius Grimm, and not the "philologist" Jacob Grimm had been Arnold's companion.

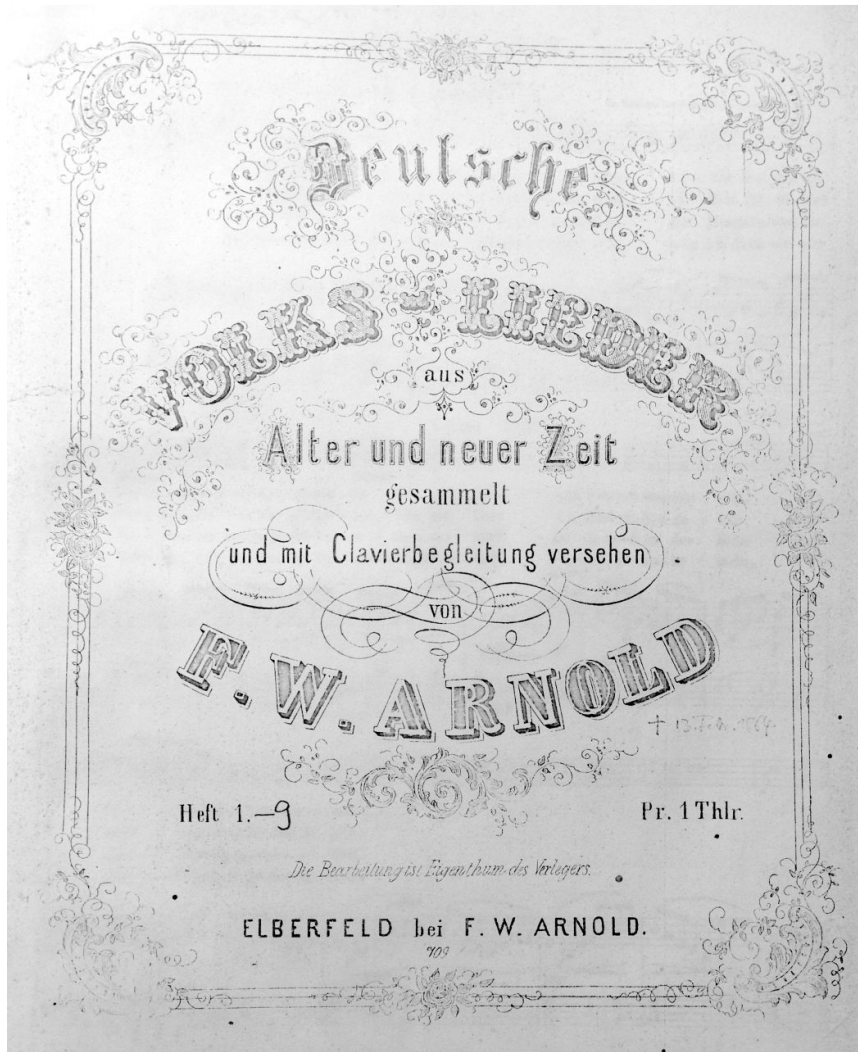
On the other hand, there is no indication – apart from the correspondence with the Arnolds – that Julius Grimm was particularly involved in researching the German folk song. Why should Julius Grimm take part in exploring the countryside for such cultural assets? Jacob Grimm fits much better in this respect, in particular as he was part of the circle of scholars who met at Karl Simrock's house at Menzenberg bordering on the Siebengebirge.

So we have two alternatives. In 1860 the 50-year-old Friedrich Arnold – together with either the 39-year-old professor of law Julius Grimm or the 75-year-old Jacob Grimm – travelling from town to town in the German countryside near the Rhine, conversing with the local people and documenting the songs and melodies that were typical for that region.

³⁵⁹ Morik W, p. 37, footnote 1.

³⁶⁰ Bozarth GS, 1996, p. 368.

³⁶¹ See for example: Clive HP. *Brahms and His World: A Biographical Dictionary*. Lanham, Scarecrow. 2006: p. 10.



Title page of "*Deutsche Volkslieder aus alter und neuer Zeit, gesammelt und mit Clavierbegleitung versehen von F.W. Arnold. Heft 1*"³⁶²

The foregoing makes clear that over the years, Arnold collected numerous folk songs from various sources, including written sources as well as oral reports. Indeed, his granddaughter Lily Schnabel recounted to her own granddaughter Adriana: "He would travel to small villages where the people still sang old, maybe nearly forgotten songs. He would write down the words and the music notation, so they have survived for future reference."³⁶³ A further allusion to his travelling is given in a letter Arnold wrote to *Heinrich Bellermann*³⁶⁴ in May 1863. In this letter, he mentions a

³⁶² Courtesy of the University of Cologne, Institute of Musicology.

³⁶³ Schnabel L, p. 20.

³⁶⁴ Heinrich Bellermann (1832-1903), German music theorist (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinrich_Bellermann/). Bellermann worked together with Arnold on the editing of the *Locheimer Liederbuch*.

summer trip to Switzerland and Austria and that he is planning to travel "... to Einsiedeln and St. Gallen, from there to Innsbruck through all of Tyrol and Steiermark, in order to collect old catholic folk songs and search for old catholic missals".³⁶⁵ It seems that he never did make that journey but rather, due to "mental exhaustion", took a longer trip in the Harz (a wooded, low mountain range in mid-north Germany) to recuperate.³⁶⁶

Regardless of Arnold's sources, he used his musical abilities and experience to categorize the old folk songs he found, to modernize their notation and to adapt their arrangement.³⁶⁷ One of the results of this long-lasting effort was his collection *Deutsche Volkslieder aus alter und neuer Zeit*³⁶⁸ (see opposite page). This collection was published posthumously between 1864 and 1877. The first volume was reviewed by Zuccalmaglio (see page 60). More recently, the piano arrangements of the songs have been described as "in no way primitive, mostly moving around a single motif while remaining transparent (mostly for three voices) and rarely overloaded".³⁶⁹ As mentioned above, the series also served Brahms as a model for his own collection of folk songs. In the end however, this work was not destined to become as well known as the work – described in the next chapter – with which he preoccupied himself with in the last years of his life.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁵ Letter dated May 30, 1863, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-753423/>.

³⁶⁶ Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog".

³⁶⁷ Bozarth GS, 1983, p. 96. Bozarth GS, 1996, p. 372. Wiora A, p. 130.

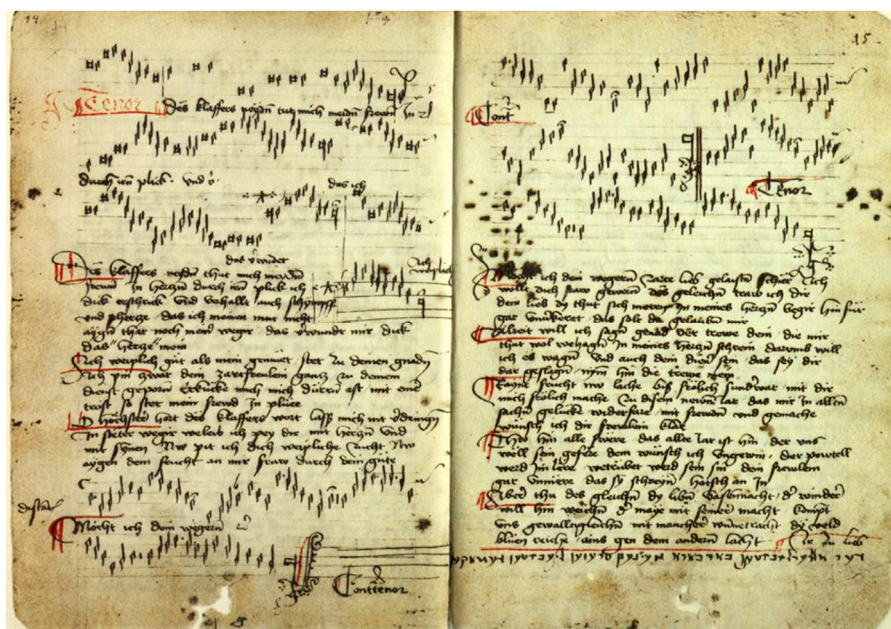
³⁶⁸ Arnold FW. *Deutsche Volkslieder aus alter und neuer Zeit gesammelt und mit Clavierbegleitung versehen*. Elberfeld, Arnold. 1864-1871: Heft 1-9.

³⁶⁹ Morik W, p. 37.

³⁷⁰ Wiora A, p. 140. Bozarth GS, 1996, p. 372.

The Locheimer-Liederbuch

The *Locheimer-Liederbuch*³⁷¹ – the full title is "*Das Locheimer-Liederbuch und der Ars organisandi von Conrad Paumann*" – is a handwritten manuscript containing about 45 songs from the period of the late Middle Ages to the early Renaissance. The songs, both secular and sacred, were put on paper between 1540 and 1560 by the school associated with the Nuremberg organist and composer *Conrad Paumann*.³⁷² The second part – *Ars organisandi* – contains 31 of Paumann's organ tablatures.



Pages from the *Locheimer Liederbuch*³⁷³

Exactly where this manuscript had spent its time from the 16th century onwards is not clear. It turns up again in 1811 when a polymath named *Christoph von Murr*³⁷⁴ bought the manuscript.³⁷⁵ Eight years later it was put up for auction and bought by Andreas Kretzschmer (the musicologist who later published a collection of folk songs together with Zuccalmaglio, see page 57). In the following years, Kretzschmer and others published a few of the *Locheimer* songs in musical journals. In 1828 the manuscript

³⁷¹ Also known as *Lochamer Liederbuch*: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lochamer-Liederbuch/>.

³⁷² Conrad Paumann (ca.1410-1473) organist, lutenist and composer of the early Renaissance, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conrad_Paumann/.

³⁷³ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ALochamer_14v15r.jpg/.

³⁷⁴ Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (1733-1811) polymathic scholar, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christoph_Gottlieb_von_Murr/.

³⁷⁵ Here and in the following, see the Introduction in Arnold FW. *Das Locheimer Liederbuch*.

changed hands again when a librarian and book collector called *Carl Zeisberg*³⁷⁶ acquired it. Again, some of the songs were published by Kretzschmer and Zuccalmaglio. Also, *Annette von Droste-Hülshoff*,³⁷⁷ a well-known German poet, arranged a few of the songs for voice and piano. And, incidentally, the person who brought the *Locheimer Liederbuch* to her attention³⁷⁸ was her brother-in-law Joseph Laßberg, Ludwig Uhland's old friend mentioned above.

A few years after Zeisberg's death in 1850, it was bought by the library that he had worked for, namely the *Stolbergische Bibliothek Wernigerode*.³⁷⁹ This was a private library founded by the Stolberg family in Wernigerode in the 16th century and contained tens of thousands of books, manuscripts, prints, letters, etc. Once again, we see the connections and interrelationships between people who are involved in specific topics and move in specific social groups. Precisely this is reflected in how Arnold acquired access to this manuscript which played a central role in his work up to the time of his death.

Sometime after 1858, Philipp Wackernagel, whom Arnold had assisted in his work on a hymnal of sacral songs (see page 56), returned the favor by acquainting him with *Graf von Stolberg-Wernigerode*, proprietor of the *Stolbergische Bibliothek*.³⁸⁰ Arnold was granted access and began his work studying and editing the manuscript.

As the pages from the *Locheimer Liederbuch* show – see reproduction above – old musical manuscripts are not characterized by contemporary aspects of notation and they are not readily translated. When confronted with such manuscripts, reading them requires knowledge (or educated guesses) on various aspects which indicate how the music is to be played. These include the *clef* or *key* which indicate the pitch of the written notes, the *bar* which carries information on timing and beats, *accidentals* which indicate changes in pitch as well as *tablature* which is a fingering notation as an alternative to notes.

In particular, the reader needed to be versed in *mensural notation*³⁸¹ which was in use between the 13th and 16th centuries. It had been develop-

³⁷⁶ Carl Wilhelm Zeisberg (1804-1850) librarian and antiquary,
https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carl_Zeisberg/.

³⁷⁷ Annette von Droste-Hülshoff (1797-1848) writer, poet and composer,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Annette_von_Droste-H%C3%BClshoff/.

³⁷⁸ <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lochamer-Liederbuch/>.

³⁷⁹ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stolbergische_Bibliothek_Wernigerode/.

³⁸⁰ See the Introduction in Arnold FW. *Das Locheimer Liederbuch*.

³⁸¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mensural_notation/.

ed by a medieval music theorist **Franco of Cologne**³⁸² as a system of musical notation in which the length of the notes were not dependent on the context but rather on the notation itself. He published his work "*Ars cantus mensurabilis*" around 1250. Arnold had preoccupied himself at length with Franco and his work, as is documented in his letters to Bellermann.³⁸³ Arnold had actually planned to write a commentary to Franco's work but, as stated in the letter of March 5, 1863, he ceded this to Bellermann, who was more knowledgeable, while simultaneously offering, as co-author, to contribute the historical context.³⁸⁴

As is evident from this and other correspondence with persons who preoccupied themselves with old musical documents, Arnold had long been studying manuscripts and old records from different centuries (see e.g. the excerpt from the letter to Franz Espagne, page 66). He must have thus been quite well-versed in the historic uses of language, form and notation. He now applied this to the interpretation of the *Locheimer Liederbuch*.

Arnold had worked on this for a number of years and, around the beginning of 1863, he was invited by **Friedrich Chrysander**³⁸⁵ – a music theorist and publisher – to prepare his work for publication in Chrysander's music journal "*Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft*".³⁸⁶ Arnold's preoccupation with the *Locheimer Liederbuch* had been repeatedly interrupted due, on the one hand, to his other commitments and, on the other, because he often suffered from attacks of gout which incapacitated him for months at a time. In the fall of 1862 he had written Heinrich Bellermann, mentioning that he planned to send him a manuscript.³⁸⁷ This was interrupted by an attack of the gout which prevented him from working throughout the winter of 1862-63. In the course of 1863, he re-worked his manuscript and corresponded with Heinrich Bellermann on the topic. To discuss and clear up ambiguous points Arnold planned to visit Bellermann in Berlin in the summer. This was hindered by the "mental exhaustion" and several weeks' recuperation in the Harz mentioned on page 75.

³⁸² In German: Franco von Koeln also known as "Franco of Paris" or "Franco Teutonicus", https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franco_of_Cologne/.

³⁸³ Letters dated March 5 and May 30, 1863, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-753421/>, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-753423/>.

³⁸⁴ In the letter of March 5, Arnold writes "On this topic you are the undisputed expert and whoever tries to cross your path can only do this out of stupidity."

³⁸⁵ Karl Franz Friedrich Chrysander (1826-1901) music historian, critic and publisher, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Chrysander/.

³⁸⁶ See letter from Arnold to Bellermann dated March 5, 1863 (<http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-753421/>).

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

Arnold did however meet Bellermand in Berlin in late August / early September. This visit seems to have been both productive as well as pleasant and, in a letter dated Sept. 20, Arnold is profuse in his thanks, both for the professional assistance and for the hospitality.³⁸⁸ In the fall, Chrysander read the manuscript and wrote Arnold a long commentary with suggestions for improvement.³⁸⁹ Towards the end of the year 1863 Arnold had prepared the manuscript, including his edited version of the *Locheimer Liederbuch* and the *Ars organisandi* as well as a lengthy introduction. This was sent to Chrysander who reviewed the material for publication. The galley proofs of the introduction were sent to Arnold in February 1864.³⁹⁰ On February 12, he worked late into the night on the corrections. He was not able to complete this work as he passed away in the night to the 13th of February.

The preparation of the publication were not stopped: the manuscripts were carefully reviewed and revised by Bellermand and were published in 1867 in the 2nd volume of the *Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft* under the title:



"The Locheimer Song Book including the Ars Organisandi by Conrad
 Baumann
 as Documents of the German Song as well as the Earliest Regulated
 Counterpoint and the oldest Instrumental Music.
 Critically edited by Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold."

It seems a fitting, albeit premature, conclusion to a life permeated with music.

³⁸⁸ Letter dated Sept. 20, 1863, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-753429/>.

³⁸⁹ See letter to Bellermand dated Dec. 20, 1863, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-753430/>.

³⁹⁰ See the "Nachwort" in Arnold FW. *Das Locheimer Liederbuch*, p.225.

Health – Illness – Death

There are no mentions known to me of Arnold's health when he was a child. The first mention of health problems is found in the letter he wrote to Hermann Hauff, the editor of the "Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände", in which Arnold complains of weak eyesight (see chapter "*Student Days*", page 16). This seems to have been temporary as no further mention can be found in later documents.

However, in the letters to Robert Schumann from February and May 1851, Arnold explains interruptions and delays in their business as resulting from his suffering from gout.³⁹¹ From these letters it is clear that this condition had been present since at least late 1850, when he was 40 years old.

Gout is not a very pleasant disease. It is caused by an excess of uric acid in the blood, and is often found in people who preferably eat red meat, drink beer and are overweight, although it also has a genetic factor.³⁹² It is a form of arthritis and leads to joint pain, particularly in the toes. Sudden, very painful attacks lasting several days are often followed by longer periods of chronic pain and discomfort which can involve the incapacity for normal daily activity.

This was certainly the case with Arnold, as can be seen in the above mentioned letters he wrote to Schumann:

February 7, 1851³⁹³

"Respected Sir!

"What must you be thinking of me, that it has taken me so long to confirm that I have indeed received, with thanks, 22 Thaler, 20 silver pennies. The sad cause for this long delay is that for the last eight weeks I have been shackled to my bed-of-pain and only now am I able to at least get up from my bed, although I cannot leave my sick room. This affliction has fallen precisely in the period when the music business is at its liveliest, to no small detriment to my person. You also have had to suffer as a result ...".

May 31/June 1, 1851³⁹⁴

"... As you know, I have been incapacitated as a result of gout since the beginning of December and, although I have recovered

³⁹¹ Dahmen H, p. 91-93, 96-97.

³⁹² <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gout/>.

³⁹³ Dahmen H, p. 91-92.

³⁹⁴ Dahmen H, p. 97.

considerably, I have up to now not been able to spend time in my business locale. As a result of this six months' interruption of my business activity, I am now almost six months behind in my work, to my great inconvenience. The outstanding bills from last year, the invoices for the Leipziger Messe³⁹⁵ have not been prepared, etc."

The gout seems to have accompanied Arnold from that time on. In June 1857, in a letter to Woldemar Bargiel, he writes:³⁹⁶

"... [Unfortunately] I then had severe attacks of gout, under which I have been suffering for years, and this time I was completely incapacitated for several months. As a result, I have not been able to study your sonata³⁹⁷."

And further, in his correspondence with Heinrich Bellermann from March 1863, mentioned above, he states:³⁹⁸

"... Last fall I had requested your opinion on a manuscript³⁹⁹ which I was to have completed within a few weeks' time. No sooner was this letter sent than I suffered a severe attack of gout which forced me to immediately travel to the spa in Aachen.⁴⁰⁰ Unfortunately I came back as ill as when I had left and I have spent a miserable winter during which all work had to be postponed. Only after the recent wonderful spring days have I completely recovered, shudder however at the sight of all the mass of work that needs to be done."

These entries make clear that the disease greatly affected Arnold in his daily affairs and the attacks must have been painful, crippling and long-lasting. For someone with a wide range of interests and commitments, it would have been very frustrating to be tied to the bed or unable to function properly. Writing in itself must have been difficult. Indeed, in his correspondence with Bellermann, one of the letters is not in his own handwriting,⁴⁰¹ suggesting perhaps that at the time of writing, Arnold was not able to do so and that someone else, probably a family member, wrote

³⁹⁵ The Leipziger Messe is a trade fair that goes back to the Middle Ages and which still takes place today. In the 19th century it drew business for all over Europe (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leipzig_Trade_Fair/). Obviously Arnold also did business there.

³⁹⁶ Letter dated June 1, 1857, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-1485074/>.

³⁹⁷ *Sonate für Pianoforte u. Violine op. 10*, published by Arnold in 1858 (<https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/>, Signatur: 4 Mus.pr. 11122).

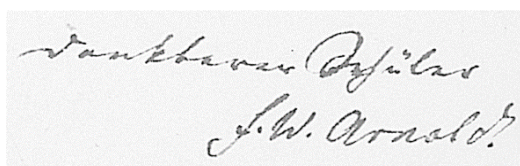
³⁹⁸ Letter dated March 5, 1863, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-753421/>.

³⁹⁹ Most likely the *Locheimer Liederbuch*.

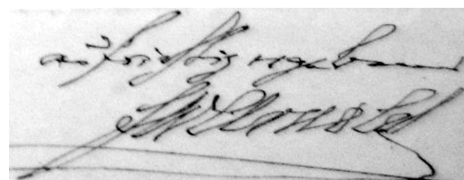
⁴⁰⁰ The thermal baths in the city of Aachen had already been used by the Romans. They are among the hottest (72°C) in Central Europe and in the 19th century they were recommended in particular for treating gout (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aachener_Thermalquellen/).

⁴⁰¹ Letter dated May 30, 1863, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-753423/>.

the letter for him. The deterioration of his handwritten can also be seen when comparing the originals written in 1834 (to Uhland⁴⁰², below left) and the ones to Bellermand almost 30 years later (e.g. March 5, 1863⁴⁰³, below right):



1834 "dankbarer Schüler
[thankful student]
F.W. Arnold"



1863 "aufrichtig ergeben
[sincerely yours]
F.W. Arnold"

One can see that the smooth, flowing, relaxed script has become jagged, more oblique and sketchy. Some of these changes can probably be attributed to the natural development of a person's handwriting over time but in Arnold's case, his illness is certain to have had an effect, in particular with respect to illegibility. Indeed, in my experience of reading and transcribing his letters, the later ones became increasingly difficult to decipher.

Whether the disease was a consequence of lifestyle or simply inherited is not known. There exists only one picture of Arnold, a photograph of a destroyed portrait, painted when he was in his twenties (see page 19). Here, in spite of the poor image quality, he looks slender and healthy. As he grew older and his career progressed, he will have had enough resources to live well. We do not know if he pursued a healthy lifestyle. The only hint on his preferences for food and drink that I have been able to find is of a more amusing nature. In a letter to Bellermand in which he describes the hot summer weather, Arnold jokes:⁴⁰⁴

"Here the heat is so [tropical] that one can cut a steak out of the first guileless ox that comes along, only the pepper you will have to supply yourself."

There are indications that Arnold liked to smoke cigars. In a letter to Schumann from December 1851 he writes:⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰² Letter dated July 15, 1834, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-243763/>.

⁴⁰³ Letter dated March 5, 1863, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-753421/>.

⁴⁰⁴ Letter dated August 13, 1863, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-753426/>.

⁴⁰⁵ Dahmen H, p. 111.

"Most honored Sir,

"The cigar samples have in no way been forgotten, rather they have not come, as the local wholesalers do not supply samples and one is never sure of obtaining the genuine product at the retailer. I therefore take the liberty of presenting you with a little box of cigars that my friends and I have consistently found good. This way you will at least have an idea and let me know whether you prefer your cigars stronger or lighter."

However, as recent research suggests,⁴⁰⁶ this will not have been likely to increase his risk of provoking gout.

The disease certainly shaped his daily life for almost 15 years but it probably played only an indirect role in his demise. In particular, the impression of Arnold given by his letters is that he was an active person who worked hard and was always busy dealing with diverse projects. Being held back from all his tasks and obligations time and again by his gout was certainly frustrating and will have led to stress and pressure when the bouts of the disease receded. In the night that he died, he had been working late on the corrections of the *Locheimer Liederbuch*. When he didn't appear the next morning, his family found him in his bed, lifeless. According his obituary,⁴⁰⁷ Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold died from a stroke on February 12th, 1864.

⁴⁰⁶ Wang W, Krishnan E. *Cigarette smoking is associated with a reduction in the risk of incident gout: results from the Framingham Heart Study original cohort*. *Rheumatology* (Oxford). 2015 54:91-95 (doi: 10.1093/rheumatology/keu304).

⁴⁰⁷ Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog".

Epitaph

Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold was buried two days later, on Sunday, February 14th. Two weeks later, the local newspaper "*Elberfelder Zeitung*" printed a eulogy.⁴⁰⁹ It begins as follows:

"On Sunday evening the week before last, a group of solemn men with melancholy hearts surrounded an open tomb on the Catholic Cemetery in Elberfeld, listening to the steady strains of an ancient funeral song which was offered by the *Steinhaus* choral brothers as a final affectionate gift for a man with whom, they all knew, the fine arts had lost one of its most significant authorities, one of its hallowed disciples, sadly all too prematurely!

Indeed, whichever possible adversary – even the most zealous, as long as honest and fair – of the deceased may deny that, with Arnold, a man has passed away who was at home in every realm of Art and Science; be it as a creative, performing or critical musician or as man of letters, he had accomplished the remarkable if not the extraordinary and, as a particular expert with knowledge of the most minute details of our musical literature, made monumental contributions; a true researcher who, in his long-lasting, ceaselessly pursued studies, marked with significant sacrifices, on the venerable long-established folksong, had already made a name for himself in all of Germany, who, with his most recent published works, had secured entitlement to the distinction of true classicality which have been long been happily accorded to men such as Grimm, Uhland, Wackernagel and Brüggemann."

Astonishing, the amount of information that can be included in two (!) sentences. Not only the somber atmosphere of the funeral but a bold and approving precis of many essential aspects of Arnold's life are related. Even a hint is included – with the mention of a "possible adversary" – on perhaps controversial aspects of his work or person. The obituary continues with more praise as well as the occasional mild censure followed by a recounting of the various stages of his life – a source which I have often referred to in the previous pages. Indeed many of the later articles on the life of Arnold have used this eulogy as source.⁴¹⁰ Who wrote the eulogy itself is not clear:

⁴⁰⁹ *Elberfelder Zeitung*, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*".

⁴¹⁰ Among others, for example:

- Chrysander F, in his postscript in the *Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft*, Bd. II. 1867.
- Baum ML, in the *General-Anzeiger der Stadt Wuppertal*, Oct. 28, 1961.

it is only signed "rs.". It has been suggested⁴¹¹ that it may have been the painter, graphic artist and caricaturist *Richard Seel*,⁴¹² native to Elberfeld, who had close contact to the *Elberfelder Liedertafel* and so also to Arnold. Whoever he was, he ended his obituary with the following:

"The funeral cortege and the eloquent ceremony being held today [Feb. 26] by the *Elberfelder Singverein* in his honor are evidence of the sympathy he and his family are being shown. At this very moment, as these words are being written, a Requiem is being performed for him – the most beautiful of all – Mozart's!! Could he have chosen himself, of all the sublime strains of this venerated master, he might have wanted to slumber away with this oeuvre! He will remain, for us and others, unforgettable!"

A day later, on February 27th the following was reported in the "*Täglicher Anzeiger*":⁴¹³

"Yesterday in the Large Hall of the Casino the local choral society celebrated the parting of its member Dr. F.W. Arnold with Mozart's Requiem directed by Music Director Schornstein.⁴¹⁴ This was preceded by Mr. J. H. Zapp⁴¹⁵ who had given a synopsis of the life of the deceased from which it became clear what a great loss for musical scholarship has been incurred by his passing in the prime of his life."

- Schwendowius B, in *Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte*. 1972.

- Speer F, in his dissertation *Klaviere und Flügel aus dem Wupperthale*. 2000.

- Dahmen H, in his introduction to *Briefwechsel Robert Schumanns mit dem Verlag Arnold in Elberfeld*. 2008.

⁴¹¹ Speer F. footnote, p. 451-452.

⁴¹² Johann Richard Seel (1819-1875), born and died in Elberfeld, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Richard_Seel/.

⁴¹³ *Täglicher Anzeiger für Berg und Mark*, Feb. 27, 1864, in the column "Local News".

⁴¹⁴ This was *Hermann Schornstein*, the son of the previous director Johannes Schornstein, who had been a friend of Arnold and at whose funeral Arnold had given a speech (see page 16).

⁴¹⁵ Probably a member of the extended Zapp family who were quite numerous in Elberfeld and Barmen with several involved in the music business, see Speer F, in particular footnote p. 202.

Legacy

Arnold's death was unexpected and certainly left the family in turmoil. The sudden loss of husband and father must have meant personal shock and grief for the family members. Furthermore, the breadwinner who had organized the business and provided for them was no longer there. However, the music and publishing businesses were prospering and, if handled properly, would represent a source of income and security for the future. Formally, Arnold's business passed on to his widow Maria on the 1st of March, 1864,⁴¹⁶ but we may presume that she did not run the business. This was done by Arnold's twenty-five year old son Emil, who preoccupied himself with the day-to-day commerce.⁴¹⁷

Emil had previously been involved in his father's work, as can be deduced from Arnold's letters to Bellermand. In 1863 Arnold mentions to Bellermand that he is sending his son to London to do some research for him⁴¹⁸ and Emil was to have met Chrysander there.⁴¹⁹ Considering the multitude of tasks and projects Arnold had, it seems unlikely that he would have been able to meet all his obligations on his own. It is thus not surprising that he involved his son in his business.

After Arnold's death, Emil will have had to deal with his father's estate. This can be seen in a letter written to Franz Espagne, the Custodian of the Music Department of the "Königliche Bibliothek" in Berlin (whom Arnold had contacted with requests for texts and manuscripts, see chapter "*The German Folk Song*"). On July 21, 1864, several months after Arnold's death, Emil wrote Espagne,⁴²⁰ stating that Zuccalmaglio had alerted him (Emil) to the fact that the Königliche Bibliothek was planning to acquire some of the works that Arnold had collected in his private library. Emil sent him a list of the corresponding works and suggested that Espagne inform him of which of these the Königliche Bibliothek would like to bid for.

Further evidence of Emil's taking over responsibility is given by the correspondence with Julius Grimm, who had complained that Arnold had not returned his manuscripts (see page 65). Emil's letter to Grimm indicates

⁴¹⁶ Schulz OA. *Allgemeines Adressbuch für den Deutschen Buchhandel den Antiquar-, Musikalien-, Kunst- und Landkarten-Handel und verwandte Geschäftszweige*. Leipzig, Verlag Otto August Schulz. 1867: p. 6.

⁴¹⁷ Risch EG. "100 Jahre dienst an Wuppertals Musik. Zum Geschäftsjubiläum der Musikhandlung A.P. Küpper". *General-Anzeiger der Stadt Wuppertal* Oct. 25/26, 1941.

⁴¹⁸ Letter dated May 30, kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-753423/.

⁴¹⁹ Letter dated August 13, kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-753426/.

⁴²⁰ Letter dated July 21, 1864, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-1716290/>.

not only that he also had to deal with difficult and unpleasant situations but that he was able to do so with skill and confidence.

Emil Arnold did not only preoccupy himself with the cataloging of his father's manuscripts and with their return to their rightful owners or with their sale to interested collectors. He also ensured the publication of his father's "*Deutsche Volkslieder aus alter und neuer Zeit*", the product of so many years of collecting, sorting, interpreting and arranging.⁴²¹ The first volume appeared in his own publishing house "F.W. Arnold" in 1864 and the ninth, last known work, in 1871.⁴²²

A further indication that Emil was involved in the publication business comes from a letter that Zuccalmaglio wrote to him in the fall of 1866.⁴²³ Zuccalmaglio was offering Emil a folk song for publication. He explains that the song was originally a children's song, that he has added a few verses of his own and that it had been set to music by Dr. *Heinrich Sommer*.⁴²⁴ He also makes a reference to a recent (posthumous) publication of Arnold's work, most likely one of the issues of *Deutsche Volkslieder aus alter und neuer Zeit*.⁴²⁵

Emil's sister Lina also did her best to support her brother in his publishing business. In 1871 she had written to her former music teacher Johannes Brahms, with whom she maintained life-long letter contact, and asked him whether it could be possible for him to have some of his works printed by the publishing house F.W. Arnold.⁴²⁶ Unfortunately this did not happen because, as Brahms explained with apologies, he was legally bound to his present publishers.

In the beginning of 1867, on the 3rd of January and just short of three years after the death of her husband, Maria Arnold, née Frambach died at the age of 61 in Elberfeld of unknown causes. On her death certificate,⁴²⁷ her profession was noted as "Musikalienhändlerin",⁴²⁸ meaning the

⁴²¹ In his review of the first volume, Zuccalmaglio mentions "[Arnold's] heirs have begun to make his collection publically available". See von Waldbrühl W [Zuccalmaglio's pseudonym]. "*F.W. Arnold und das deutsche Volkslied*". In: Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel; 1865, Neue Folge. III. Jahrgang. Ausgabe Nr. 31 (2. August 1865): 512-515.

⁴²² See "F.W. Arnold's Compositions and Arrangements", page 95.

⁴²³ Letter dated Nov. 12, 1866, <http://www.duesseldorf.de/dkult/DE-MUS-037814/340011/>.

⁴²⁴ Hans **Sommer** (1837-1922), composer and mathematician who often based his operas on fairy tales, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_Sommer_\(composer\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_Sommer_(composer))).

⁴²⁵ Arnold FW. *Deutsche Volkslieder aus alter und neuer Zeit gesammelt und mit Clavierbegleitung versehen*. Elberfeld, Arnold. 1864-1871: Heft 1-9.

⁴²⁶ Letter from Brahms to Lina Arnold written in May 1871, http://www.brahms-institut.de/db_bbv/.

⁴²⁷ Stadtarchiv Wuppertal, Sterbe-Urkunde 23/1867.

⁴²⁸ "Musikalienhändlerin" = "Retailer in the Music Trade".

business was still officially in her hands. This changed formally at the end of that year when both "Emil Arnold and Miss Agnes Arnold" are listed as the owners.⁴²⁹ Emil continued with both branches of the business: musical notes and instruments on the one hand and the publishing house on the other. There is no indication of an active role that Agnes might have played but it may well have been that she – now twenty-four years old – was also involved in the day-to-day management.

In 1871, things began to change again. Agnes Arnold met Wilhelm Bredemeyer, the old family friend mentioned in the chapter "*Marriage*", page 30. According to Lily Schnabel, a short time after this meeting they were engaged to be married and did so in Elberfeld on December 12th.⁴³⁰ After the marriage the couple took their honeymoon and then went on to Leeuwarden in the Netherlands, the home of Bredemeyer.

In April of the following year 1872, Emil Arnold moved the publishing business to Dresden. The reason for this is not clear. Perhaps the fact that Agnes had moved to Leeuwarden and was no longer involved in the shop (dealing with customers, bookkeeping, orders and bills, or whatever she was responsible for) or that Emil had no penchant for the sale and lease of instruments and notes and this led to his relocation to Dresden.⁴³¹ Here he continued running the publication business in the center of present day Dresden, first at the address Wallstrasse 13 and later Webergasse 35.⁴³² Emil Arnold died soon after: Böhme alludes to 1876⁴³³ but another source mention 1877⁴³⁴ and Emil Arnold was listed at his address until that year. He will have been 37 years old.

In the meantime Lina Souchon had married *Adolph Souchon* from Oels.⁴³⁵ After Emil's death, Lina Souchon née Arnold managed the publishing house until 1878, when she sold it to Adolph Fürstner, publisher in Berlin.⁴³⁶ The "Fürstner Musikverlag" was later integrated into "B. Schott's

⁴²⁹ Schulz OA. *Allgemeines Adressbuch für den Deutschen Buchhandel den Antiquar-, Musikalien-, Kunst- und Landkarten-Handel und verwandte Geschäftszweige*. Leipzig, Verlag Otto August Schulz. 1872: 7.

⁴³⁰ Schnabel L, p. 23-24; see also the Marriage Certificate at <https://www.openarch.nl/>.

⁴³¹ Schulz OA. *Allgemeines Adressbuch für den Deutschen Buchhandel den Antiquar-, Musikalien-, Kunst- und Landkarten-Handel und verwandte Geschäftszweige*. Leipzig, Verlag Otto August Schulz. 1875: 8.

⁴³² See the publications of Dresden's registry office:

http://wiki-de.genealogy.net/Kategorie:Adressbuch_f%C3%BCr_Dresden/.

⁴³³ Erk L, Böhme FM, p. XVII.

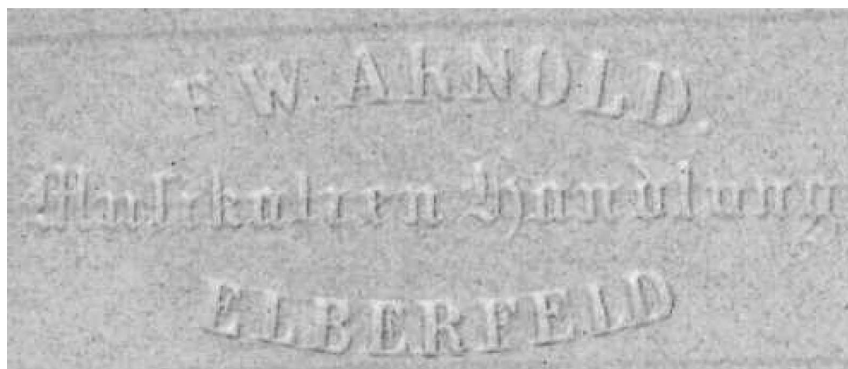
⁴³⁴ <http://www.musikdrucke.htwk-leipzig.de/wordpress/?p=2792/>.

⁴³⁵ Schnabel L, p. 25. Oels is a small city just east of Breslau in present day Poland, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ole%C5%9Bnica/>.

⁴³⁶ Burger K. *Verzeichniss der Sammlungen des Börsenvereins der deutschen Buchhändler. II. Verzeichnis der Buchhändlerischen Geschäftsrundschreiben*. Leipzig, Verlag des Börsenvereins der Deutschen Buchhändler. 1897: 13.

Söhne", a music publisher founded in 1770, which still exists today under the name "Schott Music".⁴³⁷ Thus, all of the music pieces published by F.W. Arnold found their way into the inventory of one of the major current European music publishers.

At the time that Emil moved to Dresden in 1872, Agnes – now Bredemeyer – sold the notes and instrument business to *Andreas Peter Küpper*.⁴³⁸ Küpper had started by working for F.W. Arnold as a messenger boy.⁴³⁹ He was intelligent enough to understand the business and to work his way up. At the time of Arnold's death, Küpper was a neighbor and was one of the witnesses at the civil registry when Arnold's death was registered (see the Certificate, page 85). After having taken over the Musikalienhandlung, adding his name to the business, he successfully managed the shop until his death in 1909. It was then bought and managed by *Hans Faßbender* who was able to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the "Musikalienhandel" in 1941. Two years later the shop was bombed out and, after the war, Faßbender continued selling from his private home for several years.⁴⁴⁰ Thus ended the business started by Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold back in 1841 in Elberfeld.



Embossed letterhead of Arnold's business⁴⁴¹
 "F.W. ARNOLD. Musikalien Handlung ELBERFELD"

⁴³⁷ <http://www.schott-musik.de/about/>.

⁴³⁸ Burger K. *Verzeichniss der Sammlungen des Börsenvereins der deutschen Buchhändler. II. Verzeichnis der Buchhändlerischen Geschäfts Rundschreiben*. Leipzig, Verlag des Börsenvereins der Deutschen Buchhändler. 1897: p. 13.

⁴³⁹ Here and in the following: Risch EG. *100 Jahre dienst an Wuppertals Musik. Zum Geschäftsjubiläum der Musikhandlung A.P. Küpper*. General-Anzeiger der Stadt Wuppertal Oct 25/26, 1941.

⁴⁴⁰ Speer F, p. 441-442.

⁴⁴¹ Copied from a letter written by Arnold to Woldemar Bargiel, June 17, 1858, <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-1485188/>.

Who was Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold?

When I started researching on F.W. Arnold, I had only heard my mother's stories about him and read my great-grandmother Lily Schnabel's account. During her childhood and youth, my mother often spent time with her grandmother. Especially in the time before the Second World War, my mother regularly visited her on Saturdays and the stories of the family were often told. My mother's re-telling of these stories as well as the *Family History*⁴⁴² written by Lily in 1947 gave me my initial impression of Arnold as a man who was involved in music, knew many of the composers of the day, was well-known and respected in his own right. And that the family was proud to have such a forebear.

Later, after I had started researching Arnold's background, one of the first documents I came upon was his obituary, published in the *Elberfelder Zeitung*⁴⁴³ shortly after his death in 1864. This gave me another, relatively comprehensive account of Arnold's life. Most of the main points known to me up to then were confirmed and other details emerged. As is fitting for an obituary, the tone was laudatory and Arnold was praised for his many achievements. Furthermore, the wide range of his interests as well as his acquaintance with some of the good and the great of his time were recounted. All the admiration notwithstanding, there were also some polite and veiled hints of minor frailties woven into the text. It left me wondering who indeed Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold was.

Searching for details of Arnold's life has led me to a wide variety of contemporary as well as modern documents – it is astounding how much is available. While reading and deciphering the various types of information I was able to gain access to, I have shaped my subjective impression of Arnold's personality.

Arnold was certainly a confident man, someone who possessed little self-doubt and strode with self-assurance through life. The first distinct recorded indication of this personality trait is the manner in which he approached the establishment of his business in Elberfeld in 1841. As recounted in chapter "*The Music Business, Part II*" (page 37), he was not at all daunted by the fact that Elberfeld already had a prospering music

⁴⁴² Schnabel L. 48pp.

⁴⁴³ Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "*FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog*".

business.⁴⁴⁴ He seemed to be sure that, in spite of the competition, he would be successful. Indeed, he WAS successful, as his competitor closed his shop in 1842.⁴⁴⁵

That this faith in his own abilities was a central feature in the pursuit of the variety of his activities can be evidenced from a number of other incidents. For example, his confidence is reflected in his encounter with the actor Eduard Jerrmann (see page 20). Arnold seems to have had no problem approaching him with his proposal write a positive critique for a fee and, when Jerrmann fiercely attacked him publicly, he does not seem to have been greatly perturbed.

Hoffman von Fallersleben – one of Simrock's guests in Menzenberg, see page 61 – reports in his autobiography, an incident when he met Arnold in Düsseldorf in September 1855.⁴⁴⁶ Hoffmann von Fallersleben states that Arnold divulged his views on the German folk song and his corresponding research, declaring that he [Arnold] was the only person who understood the matter and that he planned to publish a number of works which would include everything worth printing on the subject. Hoffmann von Fallersleben comments that, although Arnold is certainly knowledgeable, as well as a diligent researcher and seems to have a fine collection, he appeared to be overestimating his capabilities somewhat.

A further example of Arnold's self-assurance may be found in a letter he wrote later in his life – when he was working on the origins of the German folk song – to the publishers Cotta.⁴⁴⁷ Earlier, back in his student days, he had had contact to this venerable, established German publisher when he was trying to get his novellas printed (see page 17). Now, in this particular letter written in 1863, he offered a paper for publication dealing with a very old musical document. He predicted that his authentic presentation of this historical document would become a permanent fixture in the musical literature and be indispensable for future research. Moreover, to impress on the addressee that he was no amateur, he added:

"My name is not unknown in the music literature as I have had the pleasure to receive a number of distinctions including an award

⁴⁴⁴ This was the "Musikalienhandlung" of *Friedrich Wilhelm Betzhold* (1805-1873) whose business at the time had one of largest assortments of instruments, musical notes and accessories in the Rheinland (see Speer F, p. 442).

⁴⁴⁵ Speer F, p. 450.

⁴⁴⁶ Hoffmann von Fallersleben AH. *Mein Leben, Bd. VI*. Hannover, Karl Rümpler. 1868: 110.

⁴⁴⁷ Letter to the J.G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, dated Oct. 5, 1863, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach: Mediennummer: HS00489590X.

granted by Holland⁴⁴⁸ (see Fétis Biographie universelle, Vol.1)⁴⁴⁹ ".

In general, he seems to have had no qualms in approaching people of influence, power or social standing, be it his eminent professor Ludwig Uhland, the editors Theodor Hell and Bernard Rave, the directors Derossi, Hummel and Mühling. His father-in-law was head of finances of the city of Cologne. He easily became acquainted with the musicians and composers of the day and he wasted no time in getting to know them when the opportunities arose: Liszt, the Schumanns, Brahms, among others.

It is conceivable that he had an example in his father Theodor, who himself had had good social standing and – to judge by his activities – did not lack self-confidence (see the chapter "*Origins*", page 9 ff.). Being the only son of such a man and growing up on his estate may well have infused him with the feeling that the world lay at his feet.

Several corollaries arise from this kind of personality trait. It is thus not surprising that he would be outgoing. As is obvious from his biography, Arnold was well-connected, knew many people and personalities and so he moved easily in his social circles. He was also an instigator, active in many societies, associations and organizations and his leading role in several of them will have boosted his self-esteem. This would also have been furthered by various forms of social recognition.

- He received a prize from the "Society for the Advancement of Musical Arts" in Amsterdam for a thesis on "*Rhythm and Tonality in old Netherlandish Folk Lullabies*".⁴⁵⁰
- He was an honorary member of the "Germanische Museum" in Nuremberg.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁸ I.e. the Society for the Advancement of Musical Arts in Amsterdam.

⁴⁴⁹ Here Arnold is referring to *François-Joseph Fétis* who compiled information on the musicians of his day. I have found an entry on Arnold in Fétis FJ. *Biographie universelle des musiciens*. 2nd Edition. Paris, Firmin Didot Frères. 1866-1868.

⁴⁵⁰ The prize was given by the "Gesellschaft für Beförderung der Tonkunst" for his thesis on "*Rhythmik und Tonalität der altniederländischen Volksweisen*". In: *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung*, Band 8, Nov. 3, 1860 (can be found in the archive of <http://bluemountain.princeton.edu/>).

⁴⁵¹ *Elberfelder Zeitung*, Feb. 27, 1864: "FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog".

The "Germanische Museum" was founded in 1854 as an institution to further German culture. Today it is known as the "Germanisches Nationalmuseum" and is Germany's largest museum of cultural history, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Germanisches_Nationalmuseum/. According to the "Jahreskonferenz" from 1853, honorary membership was granted to "... only men ... who have rendered outstanding services to advancement of the scientific aims of the Museum or to German Historical Sciences in general" (Historisches Archiv des Germanisches Nationalmuseums).

- He received a gold medal – also named "goldene Huldigung" – from **Friedrich Wilhelm IV**, King of Prussia from 1840-1861 for his arrangement of Becker's "Sie sollen ihn nicht haben" (see chapter "*Musical Pursuits: Part I*", page 33).⁴⁵² It was inscribed "Suum cuique" (to each his due).⁴⁵³
- He received a further medal from **Ludwig I von Bayern**, King of Bavaria from 1825-1848.⁴⁵⁴
- The King of Saxony (**Friedrich August II** (1836–1854) or **Johann von Sachsen** (1854–1873)) wrote him a letter of great appreciation.⁴⁵⁵
- The Princess of Prussia consents to having a volume of songs written by Arnold dedicated to her.⁴⁵⁶

Receiving recognition from and being praised by such noble personalities will no doubt have strengthened Arnold's feeling of self-worth.



Medal awarded by Ludwig von Bayern⁴⁵⁷

Arnold must have been a curious person, restlessly on the lookout for new ventures. This is reflected in the many occupations, business endeavors, responsibilities, projects, contacts and acquaintances, travels

⁴⁵² Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog".

⁴⁵³ Schnabel L, p. 19. Here the inscription is given as "sum cinque". See also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suum_cuique/.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid. and Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog".

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶ Arnold FW. *Sechs Gesaenge für Sopran oder Tenor mit Begleitung des Pianoforte. Ihrer Königlichen Hoheit der Frau Prinzessin Friedrich von Preussen geboren Prinzessin von Anhalt-Bernburg in tiefster Ehrerbietung gewidmet*. 23tes Werk. Köln, Eck & Comp. 1836.

⁴⁵⁷ Photos made available by my brother Anthony Van Leeuwen. The medal obverse show a winged figure next to a column holding a staff and the text reads: "Glück der Ehe" ("Happiness of marriage"). The text on the reverse side reads "Nichts ist wahrlich so wünschenswerth und erfreuend als wenn Mann und Weib, in herzlicher Liebe vereinigt ruhig ihr Haus verwalten den Feinden ein krankender Anblick aber Wonne den Freunden und mehr noch geniessen sie selber" (roughly: "Nothing is truly so desirable and pleasing as when man and woman, united in sincere love, manage their household, their enemies a sickly sight, their friends a joy, and even more so they delight in each other").

and journeys he had over the thirty odd years of his adult life. Reading the letters he wrote gives a sense of him always being in a rush, which is not only evident with respect to their content but also reflected in the impatient character of his handwriting.

It has been suggested that being such a versatile person may also have detracted from his impact in musical circles. Morik states that his efforts in researching the German folk song have, historically, not been properly recognized, not only because his diverse professional activities were detrimental to a sustained effectiveness but also that his wide-ranging musical interests fragmented these efforts.⁴⁵⁸

Whether Arnold was well-off is not known but his means must have been sufficient to lead a life compatible with those in the circles he socialized in. For instance when he became a salaried employee at Eck & Comp. in 1840, he received 400 Thaler (see "*Transition*" page 35). This was a modest salary and was probably supplemented by income from other activities. His later commercial ventures such as the Musikalienhandlung and his publishing business were viable and were able to support his family of five as well as funding Arnold's extensive research activities including travelling.

However, experiences from his student life (page 17) as well as comments made his granddaughter (page 18) suggest that, as fast as the money came in, it was spent. There is further evidence that Arnold often had to keep a close eye on balancing income and expenses. For example, economic straits once compelled him to ask Schumann for a deferral of payment of his royalties which Arnold justified by citing his incapacitation due to the gout.⁴⁵⁹ Later, in September 1853, Schumann noted that another royalties payment was two months overdue. Arnold requested a further two months' time to settle the debt, stating that an outstanding revenue had not been booked as expected. In the end, Schumann received his reimbursement at the end of December.⁴⁶⁰ A further indication of the unstable state of Arnold's finances is reflected in the apologies that Arnold gives for the delay in issue of "*Gesänge der Frühe*" which he blames on losses incurred bankruptcy (most likely of one of his business partners).⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁸ Morik W, p. 36.

⁴⁵⁹ Letter dated May 31, 1851, see Dahmen H, p. 97.

⁴⁶⁰ See letters between Sept. 21 and Dec. 29, 1853 and the corresponding footnotes, Dahmen H, p. 117-124.

⁴⁶¹ See letter dated April 4, 1855, Dahmen H, p. 127-128.

His endeavors – be they of a business nature or more concerned with his research projects – were often characterized by a drive to enhance his own advantage, i.e. to act in his own interest. For instance, when he wanted to establish his "Musikalienhandlung" in Elberfeld, he knew that he would be encroaching on the commercial territory of F.W. Betzhold, who was running a well-established business (see footnote on page 91). Nonetheless, in a letter describing the financial basis for his planned business, he withholds this fact and states that, in the area around Elberfeld, no shop of importance existed and that the musically interested local people needed to travel to Cologne and elsewhere in order to satisfy their needs.⁴⁶² This was, at the least, a somewhat skewed view of the situation.

There are other examples of how he seeks to further his commercial interests. When Schumann's "*Bunte Blätter*" had been published, Arnold immediately suggested that Clara Schumann could publicly perform some of the pieces as well as recommend them to her students. This was no doubt motivated by Arnold's wish to increase the sale of the sheet music.⁴⁶³

He also makes it quite clear in his later letters to Woldemar Bargiel that, although he respects him as a fine composer, he is not prepared to publish further pieces simply because he does not expect to be able to recoup his investment (see the chapter "*Music Publisher – Contact to Musicians*", page 52).

This trait is also evident in his dealings with Franz Espagne, recounted in the chapter "*The German Folk Song*" (page 56). Arnold quite expected Espagne to deliver the manuscripts he had asked for. When they did not arrive in a timely fashion, Arnold wrote again and professed to have done Espagne a favor (finding him an old missal) in the expectation that this would push the latter into action.

In his attitude toward life, Arnold was probably easy-going and good-natured. His granddaughter described him as being "cheerful, witty and carefree".⁴⁶⁴ She also noted that "In his younger days he was handsome and cheerful and all the girls were in love with him".⁴⁶⁵ This did not fall on the favor of his future wife who, according to Lily Schnabel, complained in her letters: "... that it was bad enough for her that all the girls were fond of him,

⁴⁶² Risch EG. *100 Jahre dienst an Wuppertals Musik. Zum Geschäftsjubiläum der Musikhandlung A.P. Küpper*. General-Anzeiger der Stadt Wuppertal Oct. 25/26, 1941.

⁴⁶³ Letter dated Dec. 11, 1851, see Dahmen H, p. 110.

⁴⁶⁴ Schnabel L, p. 20.

⁴⁶⁵ Personal communication from Hans Schnabel, 1979.

but he did not need to wink back at them."⁴⁶⁶ Apparently, the man was a bon vivant.

It is thus not surprising that Arnold has also been described as an entertaining person. His eulogist elaborates, portraying Arnold as having "incomparable esprit and a gritty humor" and being "a very welcome and interesting conversationalist". It seems, however, that he might have sometimes overdone it, as it is also noted that this "also led to those small shortfalls that no one is without, which do not offend and be easily overlooked".⁴⁶⁷

Beyond being a charming and interesting person in social settings, he is also portrayed as a friend and helper. In his obituary he is described as being "an encouraging and benign judge, a supporting and helping friend".⁴⁶⁸ Furthermore, I found that the letters between him and his correspondents at times reflected a sense of fondness and true friendship. This is evident, for example, in the manner in which Zuccalmaglio addresses Arnold: instead of the usual verbose and grave formalities of closing a letter – such as: "Please accept the assurance of my highest consideration ..." – he concludes with "Your old faithful ...".⁴⁶⁹ It also seems that, after having worked together on the *Locheimer Liederbuch* for some time, he was truly befriended with Heinrich Bellermann: Arnold's later letters are characterized by expressions of deep thankfulness and affectionate familiarity, e.g. closing with "A thousand warm greetings to you and your admirable wife from your devoted ...".⁴⁷⁰

Last but not least, I found that Arnold's remembrance of receiving his father's blessing – recounted in the dedication of his novella *The Blood Bridge* – reflects real warmth for and gratefulness to the "noble old man".

All in all, Arnold was a multi-faceted person, not just in his undertakings but also in character. He had a varied life, lived in different places, knew many people, travelled a lot, was restless in his endeavors and left behind a fine trace of accomplishments. I would have liked to have met him.

⁴⁶⁶ Schnabel L, p. 20.

⁴⁶⁷ Elberfelder Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1864: "FW Arnold, +11.2.1864: ein kurzer Nekrolog".

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Letter dated March 8, 1862, <http://www.duesseldorf.de/dkult/DE-MUS-037814/401569/>.

⁴⁷⁰ Letter dated fall of 1863, kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-753427/.

Acknowledgements

Access to the internet and appropriate computer software makes a lot of the searching for, collecting and organization of information a rather solitary affair. Nonetheless, a number of people have been helpful and, in some cases, invaluable in retrieving facts and material which have helped shape the present biography. Although I don't list all those persons here, I do mention the following.

My mother, *Addie Van Leeuwen*, has supplied me, in form of detailed verbal accounts and various family documents, with the very basics for this kind of project. No question ever remained unanswered and most answers delivered new and useful information, often clothed in colorful anecdotes.

My brother *John Van Leeuwen* has also been fascinated by our family stories and he has at times directed my attention to interesting details which have helped augment some aspects of the narrative.

My brother *Tony Van Leeuwen* supplied me with photos of Arnold's medals.

Maria Welt, retired bookseller and proficient on an old Seidel & Naumann typewriter, was kind enough to transcribe numerous handwritten letters and documents written in Sütterlin script – a calligraphy which few today can decipher – thus giving me first-hand access to personal, professional and business aspects of Arnold and his correspondents as well as the intricate and labyrinthine detail of German bureaucracy.

George Bozarth, professor of Historical Musicology at the University of Washington, supplied me with his papers on Brahms which illuminated the relationship between Arnold and Brahms as well as their common interest in the German folk song.

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I am also very thankful to various staff members of the numerous archives, listed in the references, whom I contacted with the requests for information and documents. Without exception, these persons were

understanding, friendly and very helpful in supplying me, if possible, with the material that I was looking for.

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F.W. Arnold's Compositions and Arrangements

The following list of Arnold's compositions and arrangements is not complete. It has been gleaned from several sources. The sources are listed in brackets [] at the end of each item. They include:

- **Schwendowius B.** *Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold*. In: Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte, Heft 97: Rheinische Musiker, Bd. 7, Hrsg. Kämper D. 1972: p. 12

indicated as [SB],

- **Handbuch der Musikkultur**, Band 1-3. Leipzig, F. Hofmeister. 1845

indicated with page number as e.g. [**Handbuch**, p. 119],

- **Hofmeister XIX**, accessed at <http://www.hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/>

indicated with date and page as e.g. [**Hofmeister**, Sept. 1835, p. 86].

Other sources are given unabbreviated. For any one item, several sources may be given.

The definite dates of publication are not known for all items. Some may be imputed from the publication date of the source and these dates are put in brackets [].

The list begins with those with an opus number, the remaining are ordered according to their (presumed) publication dates.

With Opus number:

- *Potpourri (Themen aus Don Juan) für Flöte, Violine und Gitarre (Opus 7)*.
Cologne, Eck & Co. [SB]
- *Erstes Potpourri (Themen aus Hans Heiling von Marschner) für Flöte (oder Violine) und Gitarre (Opus 13)*.
Cologne, Eck & Co. [before 1845]. [SB; Handbuch, p. 119]
- *Zweites Potpourri (Themen aus Hans Heiling) für Flöte (oder Violine) und Gitarre (Opus 14)*.
Cologne, Eck & Co. [before 1845]. [SB; Handbuch, p. 119]
- *12 Lieblingsstücke für 2 Gitarren (Opus 15)*.
Cologne, Eck & Co. [before 1845]. [SB; Handbuch, p. 119]
- *Die ersten Lektionen, enthaltend Übungsstücke und Cadenzen für Gitarre (Opus 16)*.
Cologne, Eck & Co. [SB]
- *12 brillante und progressiv geordnete Walzer für Gitarre, Heft 1 (Opus 17)*.
Cologne, Eck & Co. [SB]

- *12 brillante und progressiv geordnete Walzer für Gitarre, Heft 2* (Opus 18).
Cologne, Eck & Co. [SB]
- *3 Rondeaux brillants sur des Motifs favoris de l'Opéra : Norma de Bellini pour Pianoforte*. No. 1–3, in A, G, F (Opus 19).
Bonn, Simrock. 1835. [Hofmeister, Sept. 1835, p. 86]
- *3 leichte und brillante Rondinos über Themen aus Norma* (Opus 20).
Cologne, Eck & Co. [before 1845]. [Handbuch, p. 72]
- *Rondeau über Motive aus Norma von Bellini für Pianoforte und Violine (oder Flöte) in F* (Opus 21).
Bonn, Simrock. 1836. [SB; Hofmeister, March 1836, p. 20]
- *3 leichte und brillante Rondinos über Themen an die Nachtwandlerin* (Opus 22).
Cologne, Eck & Co. [before 1845]. [Handbuch, p. 72]
- *6 Lieder und Gesänge für Alt (oder Bariton) und Klarinette; Die Nachtigall, Neue Liebe, Wunsch, An den Mond, Heißes Verlangen, Entschuldigung* (Opus 24).
Cologne, Eck & Co. 1847. [SB; Hofmeister, Oct. 1847, p. 159]

Without Opus number:

- *Air varié, An die Sterne, Rondoletto, Romanze*.
In: Pfennig-Magazin für Gesang und Gitarre. Herausgegeben von einem Verein Rheinländischer Tonkünstler. Redigirt von F.W. Arnold. Cologne, Gaul & Tonger. 1834 1(1): 18, 24, 34, 51. [SB; <http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/>]
- *Allegretto, Rondino, Air varié*.
In: Pfennig-Magazin für Gesang und Gitarre. Herausgegeben von einem Verein Rheinländischer Tonkünstler. Redigirt von FW. Arnold. Cologne, Gaul & Tonger. 1835 1(2-4): 85, 138, 190. [<http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/>]
- *Sechs Gesänge für Sopran oder Tenor mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*. Ihrer Königlichen Hoheit der Frau Prinzessin Friedrich von Preussen gebornen Prinzessin von Anhalt-Bernburg in tiefster Ehrerbietung gewidmet.
Cologne, Eck & Comp. 1836. [https://www.zvab.com/buch-suchen/autor/ARNOLD,-F-W-:cm_sp=brcr-_bdp_-author/]
- *Die Heimat, Walzer, Larghetto, Rondo, Rondoletto, Lied aus der Ferne, Contredanse Varié*.
In: Hebe – ein Pfennig-Magazin für Freunde und Freundinnen des Gesanges und Gitarre. Redigirt von Dr. F.W. Arnold. Cologne, Tonger. 1837 2(1-4): 9, 18, 33, 69, 101, 180, 191. [SB; <http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/>]
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Cologne, Eck & Co. [before 1845]. [SB; Handbuch, p. 87, 119]
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Cologne, Eck & Co. [before 1845]. [SB; Handbuch, p. 55]
- *Beethoven, Zweite Symphonie op. 36, für Violine und Klarinette arrangiert von F.W. Arnold*.
Cologne, Eck & Co. [SB]
- *Beethoven, Erste Symphonie op. 21, für Violine und Klarinette arrangiert von F.W. Arnold*.
Leipzig, Peters. [SB]
- *Sechs Serenaden für Gitarre, Flöte und Violine*.
Mainz, Schott. [SB]
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Stuttgart, Wackernagel, Kleines Gesangbuch Nr. 190. 1860. [SB]
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Stuttgart, Wackernagel, Kleines Gesangbuch Nr. 96. 1860. [SB]

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Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold was a multi-faceted person. From 1828 to 1832, he studied theology and philosophy in southern Germany. After his studies he moved to the Rhineland (Cologne and Elberfeld) and in the course of his life was a musician, writer, theater critic, editor, composer, businessman, publisher and music researcher. His primary focus was on music: he played several instruments, he composed and arranged. He set up a successful music retail business, established a music publishing house and made a name for himself as a collector and connoisseur of the German folk song. He was acquainted with many of the composers and musicians of his day, including Robert and Clara Schumann, Franz Liszt and Johannes Brahms. He was curious and outgoing and confident in his undertakings, living a very busy life pursuing his wide ranging musical interests. At the age of 54, he died unexpectedly in the midst of finalizing his edition of the "Locheimer Liederbuch", a collection of 15th century songs.