

Notes

1 Some thoughts on biography and a chronology of Beethoven's life and music

1 Tri-partite periodizations were grounded in century-old partitions of life cycles and history; the latter was particularly influential in the nineteenth century, when historical perspectives were very strong. See James Webster, "The Concept of Beethoven's Early Period in the Context of Periodizations in General," *BF* 3 (1994), 1–29.

2 Joseph Kerman, *The New Grove Beethoven* (New York, 1983), 89.

3 See Kerman, *ibid.*, who also suggests subdivision of later periods.

4 Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven Essays* (Cambridge, MA, 1988), 121.

5 The University of Connecticut hosted a conference in March 1993 entitled "Beethoven in Vienna 1792–1803: The First Style Period." Selected papers were published in *BF* 3 and 4. A conference on the middle period, "Beethoven in Vienna: the Second Style Period, 1803–1812," was organized by the Historical Keyboard Society of Wisconsin in Milwaukee in April 1994. In October 1996 the late style was discussed at a conference at Harvard University, "International Beethoven Conference: Rethinking Beethoven's Late Period: Sources, Aesthetics, and Interpretation, Nov. 1996"; selected papers from this conference will appear in forthcoming volumes of *BF*.

6 Sources: Thayer–Forbes; Joseph Kerman and Alan Tyson, *The New Grove Beethoven*, "Worklist," 158–92; *The Beethoven Compendium*, ed. Barry Cooper, "Calendar of Beethoven's Life, Works and Related Events" (London, 1991), 12–36; personal communications from Maynard Solomon.

2 Beethoven at work: musical activist and thinker

1 After the death of his mother in 1787, Beethoven assumed increasing responsibility for his family and in 1789 began to receive half of the salary of his father, a court musician who suffered from drunkenness. Although he never returned to Bonn, his ties to his native city were kept alive through his continuing association with his brothers Caspar Anton Carl (1774–1815) and Nikolaus Johann (1776–1848), who moved to Vienna (Nikolaus Johann eventually settled in Linz), and a good

number of close friends, some of whom, like Stephan von Breuning, settled in Vienna. A valuable but dated study of Beethoven's early life is Ludwig Schieder, *Der junge Beethoven* (Leipzig, 1925).

2 See Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792–1803* (Berkeley, 1995), 37–60. DeNora provides the most up-to-date picture of Beethoven's activity in his first decade in Vienna, but her argument that his success, indeed his greatness, was largely a consequence of his and his patrons' skill at cultural politics has been very controversial.

3 Letter to Breitkopf & Härtel, August 1812. *BG* II, no. 591; *Anderson* I, no. 380.

4 See Thayer–Forbes, 840, and Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York, 1977), 273.

5 Wegeler–Ries, 19.

6 Beethoven compared the "greatest pianoforte players [who] were also the greatest composers" to the "pianists of today, who prance up and down the keyboard with passages which they have practised – putsch, putsch, putsch; – what does that mean? Nothing!" See Thayer–Forbes, 599, cited from Tomaschek's autobiography, *Libussa* (Prague, 1846), 359 ff.

7 Article in *London Musical Miscellany*, 1852; Cited in Thayer–Forbes, 185.

8 See *The Beethoven Compendium*, ed. Barry Cooper (London, 1991), 134.

9 See *Beethoven: His Life, Work and World*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (London, 1992), 149–50.

10 See the commentary in Thayer–Forbes, 908, based on a review in *AmZ* 26 (1824), 438.

11 The conversation books, in the edition by K. H. Köhler, G. Herre, and D. Beck (*Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte* [Leipzig, 1968–93]), are an indispensable primary source, but must be used with caution and imagination! They represent only one side of the conversation, there are gaps and illegibilities; moreover, after Beethoven's death Anton Schindler doctored the conversation books and destroyed many of them; see Dagmar Beck and Grita Herre, "Anton Schindlers fingierte Eintragungen in den Konversationsheften," in *Zu Beethoven: Aufsätze und Annotationen*, ed. Harry Goldschmidt (Berlin, 1979), 11–89. Caution is also recommended in reading the reminiscences (many of which were written years after

Beethoven's death) and biographies; some contain deliberate and major falsifications, for example an early biography by Anton Schindler (first published 1840; Eng. trans., 1841; and reissued in translation fairly recently [*Beethoven as I Knew Him*, ed. D. W. MacArdle, London, 1966]), which remained highly influential into the twentieth century. On the unreliability of Schindler, who went so far as to claim friendship with Beethoven many years prior to their actual acquaintance, see Maynard Solomon's introduction to Gerhard von Breuning, *Memories of Beethoven*, tr. Henry Mins and Maynard Solomon, ed. Solomon (Cambridge, 1995), 1–16. Gerhard, the son of Stephan von Breuning, spent much time with Beethoven in his last years. Solomon argues for the credibility of his memoirs, which were first published under the name *Aus dem Schwarzspanierhause* (Vienna, 1874).

12 Cited in Thayer–Forbes, 371, translation revised. Seyfried published these remarks in his appendix to his highly flawed edition of *Ludwig van Beethovens Studien im Generalbass, Contrapunkt und in der Compositionslehre*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1853), 16–17.

13 See Gülke, “Zum Verhältnis von Intention und Realisierung bei Beethoven,” in *Musikkonzepte 8: Beethoven: Das Problem der Interpretation*, ed. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (Munich, 1979), 34–53; citations on p. 39.

14 Thayer–Forbes, 371.

15 A persistent image of Beethoven, particularly in the last decade of his life, is that of an isolated, alienated individual, in an “intellectual environment [that] was shockingly inferior,” whose daily life, “was one of dull mediocrity.” Visitors “tell him how famous he is, he receives them with gracious condescension; in spirit he withdraws from them,” and accepts their praise as a “lonely man rather than by the greatest artist.” Citations from Paul Bekker, *Beethoven* (Berlin, 1912); Eng. trans. by M. N. Bozman (London and Toronto, 1927), 55. This view, colored by romantic notions of the suffering genius, is not entirely wrong, but perhaps too strongly and one-sidedly asserted; Breuning understood Beethoven's greatness but he could also testify to his simpler humanity.

16 Breuning, *Memories*, 74.

17 The publishers (themselves often enough an enemy!) Tobias Haslinger and Anton Steiner were respectively the “Little Adjutant” and the “Lieutenant General,” Diabelli, the Provost Marshal; Beethoven's nickname “Falstaffler” for the violinist Ignaz Schuppanzigh is not inconsistent with this conceit. See Solomon (*Beethoven*, 258–61), who describes a “devoted,

but faintly sycophantic” group of non-aristocratic friends and notes the conspicuous absence of women, in sharp contrast to the significant role played in his life by women, most of whom were aristocrats, in the first two decades of his career in Vienna.

18 See Thayer–Forbes, 1108–10 for a list of his quarters.

19 See Anne-Louise Coldicott, *The Beethoven Compendium*, ed. Cooper, 135.

20 December 1811, in a letter from Xaver Schnyder von Wartensee, a young Swiss musician visiting Vienna, to Hans Georg Nägeli in Zurich. Cited from *Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence*, tr. and ed. Theodore Albrecht, 3 vols. (Lincoln, NB, 1996), I, no. 157.

21 Czerny wrote about Beethoven's piano playing and pedagogy in several sources; among them are *On the Proper Performance of All Beethoven's Works for the Piano* (London, 1846) and *Complete Theoretical and Practical Piano Forte School*, op. 500, 3 vols. (London, 1839–42). Both are translations of German editions issued shortly earlier. On Brunsvik see Thayer–Forbes, 235.

22 There is a voluminous literature on Beethoven's pianism. Three recent studies are: George Barth, *The Pianist as Orator: Beethoven and the Transformation of Keyboard Style* (Ithaca, 1992); Kenneth Drake, *The Sonatas of Beethoven as he Played and Taught Them* (Bloomington, 1981); and William Newman, *Beethoven on Beethoven: Playing His Piano Music His Way* (New York, 1988).

23 Cited in Wegeler–Ries, 82–83. Ries acknowledged that Beethoven's kindness to him stemmed from his friendship with Ries's father Johann, Beethoven's violin teacher in Bonn. Not all of Beethoven's students were treated so gently!

24 Thayer–Forbes, 294; the citation is from an article by Ries in 1824 in the English musical journal *The Harmonicon*. In 1817 Beethoven recommended Aloys Förster as a teacher to the visiting English musician Cipriani Potter.

25 On the relationship between Beethoven and Haydn, see James Webster, “The Falling-Out between Haydn and Beethoven: The Evidence of the Sources,” in *Beethoven Essays: Studies in Honor of Elliot Forbes*, ed. Lewis Lockwood and Phyllis Benjamin (Cambridge, MA, 1984), 3–45. On Beethoven's musical studies see Richard Kramer, “Notes to Beethoven's Education,” *JAMS* 28 (1975), 72–101.

26 Kramer, “Notes,” 73.

27 See Alfred Mann, “Beethoven's Contrapuntal Studies with Haydn,” *MQ* 56 (1970), 711–26. Kramer argues that Haydn was a conscientious teacher, contrary to Beethoven's

claim that he learned nothing from him and his other Viennese teachers (“Notes,” 91).

28 In the years following 1813 he composed forty canons (see Barry Cooper, *Beethoven and the Creative Process* [Oxford, 1990], 25) and sometime in the years 1809–15 he copied a canon by William Byrd from Mattheson.

29 BG VI, no. 1686, 1 July 1823; Anderson III, no. 1203. My translation.

30 BG V, nos. 2107, 2201, and 2203; Anderson II, nos. 1473 and 1532 (BG 2201 not in A.).

31 Anton Diabelli wrote to Beethoven in August 1816 advising him on the project. No publisher is named. Sieghard Brandenburg doubts Schindler’s assertion that Hoffmeister in Leipzig was the interested publisher; see BG III, no. 960 and note 1 (p. 285) and *Letters*, ed. Albrecht, II, no. 230. In 1803 Beethoven had expressed interest in a complete edition of his extant works, “to be made under my supervision and after a severe revision.” The project also did not come to fruition. See Cooper, *Creative Process*, 173.

32 See Alexander Ringer, “Beethoven and the London Pianoforte School,” MQ 56 (1970), 742–58.

33 In a letter to Ries in July 1823 about a collection of piano pieces published by T. Boosey in London, “Allegri di Bravura & Dagli Sequenti Compositori Beethoven, Hummel, Moscheles, Ries, &c.” BG V, no. 1703; Anderson III, no. 1209.

34 Cited from “Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben,” as translated in *Beethoven: Letters, Journals and Conversations*, tr. and ed. Michael Hamburger (New York, 1951), 54–55.

35 See Maynard Solomon’s translation of the diary, in “Beethoven’s Tagebuch,” in his *Essays*, 233–95. Citation on p. 258, entry no. 43. The translation includes a detailed commentary on the entries. Solomon notes that this entry records the “earliest documentary evidence of his high regard for Gluck.” In the diary, Beethoven could unequivocally acknowledge his debt to Haydn. Publicly, however, his remarks were mixed; see Webster, “The Falling-Out,” and in the transmission through reminiscences, more negative than positive evidence emerges.

36 In a letter to Breitkopf & Härtel of October 1810; BG IV, no. 474; Anderson I, no. 281.

37 See Elaine Sisman and Michael Tusa (this volume, pp. 52 and 208) and, for example, Bathia Churgin, “Beethoven and Mozart’s Requiem: A New Connection,” JM 5 (1987), 457–77; Lewis Lockwood, “Beethoven before 1800: The Mozart Legacy,” BF 3 (1994), 39–52; Birgit Lodes, “When I try, now and then, to give musical form to my turbulent feelings”: The Human and the Divine in the Gloria of

Beethoven’s *Missa solemnis*,” BF 6 (1998), 163, fn. 44; and JTW, 34 and 36.

38 From a conversation with Cipriani Potter, Thayer–Forbes, 683.

39 *Ibid.*, 683. Beethoven admired the playing of John Cramer. Tomaschek (*Libussa*) reports on a conversation of 1814, in which Beethoven ridiculed Meyerbeer’s early opera *Die beiden Kalifen* and criticized his percussion playing in a recent performance of *Wellington’s Victory*.

40 BG V, no. 1716; Anderson III, no. 1213. Beethoven, who knew that Spohr disliked Rossini, had critical words for Spohr’s music (that he did not share with Spohr); in turn Spohr (and Weber too) were opposed to much of Beethoven’s music. (See Spohr’s commentary on the Fifth Symphony in *Beethoven: Symphony No. 5 in C minor*, ed. Elliot Forbes [New York, 1971], 186–87, and Weber’s reviews in *Carl Maria von Weber: Writings on Music*, tr. Martin Cooper, ed. John Warrack [Cambridge, 1981].)

41 BG IV, no. 1318; Anderson II, no. 955. The letter describes how Beethoven used Rudolf’s music library in Vienna in order to get ideas for the mass he was composing for the Archduke’s inauguration as Archbishop of Olmütz. Beethoven first expresses the hope that he will be able to work quickly and then turns to aesthetic matters: “The chief purpose is *rapid execution* united to a *better unification of art* [*bessere Kunstvereinigung*], wherein *practical considerations*, however, may of necessity admit certain exceptions; in which connexion, the older composers render us double service, since there is generally real artistic value in their works (among them, of course, only the *German Händel* and *Sebastian Bach* possessed genius).” Translation adapted from Anderson, whose translation of “*Kunstvereinigung*” as “understanding of the arts” is mistaken and misleading.

42 This is a very skeletal summary of a protracted period of very complicated negotiations about the Mass and other works in lieu of or in addition to its sale. The most detailed account is in Thayer–Forbes, 768–70 and 785–94, and Solomon, *Beethoven*, 271–72. In the pertinent correspondence Beethoven referred several times to the “Jew” Schlesinger, a publisher of some of his music; these are among the few instances of anti-Semitic remarks documented for Beethoven.

43 Letter to Zelter, Feb. 1823, BG V, no. 1563; Zelter asked Beethoven to provide an arrangement of the mass that could be performed without instruments; Beethoven did not do so. Letter to Ries, BG V, no. 1580; Anderson III, no. 1143.

44 BG II, no. 496; Anderson I, no. 320. My translation.

- 45 BG II, no. 408; Anderson I, no. 228. Translation by Anderson modified.
- 46 Solomon, *Beethoven*, 28.
- 47 Xenophon, Horace, Homer, Plato, and Aristotle were among the classical authors Beethoven favored. Beethoven practiced German–Italian translation in 1812, see Solomon, *Essays*, 251.
- 48 See Brandenburg’s introduction to BG I, LXVI. Beethoven “would rather write ten thousand notes than one letter of the alphabet,” as he confided in a letter in 1820 to Nikolaus Simrock in Bonn; BG IV, no. 1418; Anderson II, no. 1037.
- 49 Citations from Solomon, *Beethoven*, 36–38. On page 37, Solomon writes: “Beethoven’s was, of course, a popularized conception of Kant – one which had no room for Kant’s epistemology or his exploration of the faculties of knowledge. Beethoven had no training or aptitude for discussion of the distinctions between the world of phenomena and the world of ‘noumena’; the Kantian idea of time and space as a priori forms of perception was beyond the grasp and probably beyond the interest of the teen-age composer who had never gone past grade school . . .”
- 50 BG I, no. 65; Anderson I, no. 51.
- 51 BG II, no. 685; Anderson I, no. 376. Translation by Anderson modified.
- 52 See Arnold Schmitz, *Das Romantische Beethovenbild: Darstellung und Kritik* (Berlin, 1927), 51–53.
- 53 See William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995), 1–15. Citation from the previously cited letter to Rudolph in 1819.
- 54 Solomon also stresses the personal, biographic impulses, which make the work a “search for order” by Beethoven (*Essays*, 3–34). Beethoven in 1809 wanted to compose incidental music to Schiller’s *William Tell* but was assigned Goethe’s *Egmont*; at this time Schiller’s plays had begun to dominate the repertory of the Theater an der Wien after having been banned by the censor. Beethoven often cited passages from Schiller or referred to him in correspondence and in the conversation books and the diary.
- 55 See Sisman, “Pathos and the Pathétique: Rhetorical Stance in Beethoven’s C-Minor Sonata, Op. 13,” BF 3 (1994), 81–106; citation, p. 94. In contemporary writing on music the symphony was usually considered the genre most capable of expressing the sublime; Beethoven’s attribution of pathos to this sonata, one of only several programmatic or descriptive subtitles in his instrumental music, is consistent with his attempt to achieve – in some works – a grander sonata style and an aesthetic status analogous to the symphony. See Glenn Stanley, “Genre Aesthetics and Function: Beethoven’s Piano Sonatas in Their Cultural Context,” BF 6 (1998), 1–30.
- 56 Cf. the diary entry of 1813: “The best way not to think of your woes is to keep busy,” in Solomon, *Essays*, 248.
- 57 Cited from Solomon, *Beethoven*, 117. In deconstructing the Testament Solomon notes a discrepancy between the “real pathos” of some passages and the “stilted, even literary formulations emphasizing his adherence to virtue,” for which reason Solomon “remains unpersuaded by the references to suicide” (p. 118). Solomon suggests that the Testament was meant to be read after his future death, and concludes that it was a symbolic “leave-taking,” in which he “enacted his own death,” and “recreated himself in a new guise, self-sufficient and heroic” (p. 121).
- 58 “Vom Adel” (1792); see Schmitz, *Das Romantische Beethovenbild*, 64.
- 59 Citation from E. T. A. Hoffmann’s review of the Fifth Symphony (AmZ, 1810), cited in E. T. A. Hoffmann’s *Musical Writings*, tr. Martyn Clarke, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge, 1989), 238. The remark on simplicity was written c. 1805 in the Mendelssohn 15 sketchbook, p. 291, and refers to music for piano; that about beauty is recorded in the diary around the time that Beethoven was composing patriotic works for performance at the Congress of Vienna.
- 60 See Winton Dean, “Beethoven and Opera,” in *The Beethoven Reader*, ed. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (New York, 1971), 381–82. Dean’s discussion of *Fidelio* has well-deserved classic status.
- 61 See my review of Scott Burnham’s *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, 1995) in JAMS 50 (1997), 64–83.
- 62 See Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 336. The incident is related by Breuning, *Memories of Beethoven*, 102.
- 63 Solomon sees in the diaries Beethoven’s attempts to resolve a “central conflict – between his longings for human contact and his devotion to art . . . repeatedly Beethoven exhorts himself to break his isolation; he expresses his desire to take meals with friends, to share his griefs with others, and to hold fast to the threads of social and familial kinship” (*Essays*, 236–37).
- 64 On Beethoven’s preoccupation with a star-filled heaven and a brief discussion of other Christian literature that he read, see Birgit Lodes, *Das Gloria in Beethovens Missa Solemnis* (Tutzing, 1997), 113–19. Among the writings are *Golden Grains of Wisdom and Virtue* and *A Little Bible for the Sick and the Dying* (both published in 1819 in Graz) by the future

Regensburg Bishop Johann Michael Sailer. Sometime after 1811 Beethoven, who was fiercely critical of the Catholic Church as an institution, acquired Christoph Christian Sturm's Christian-pantheistic *Reflections of the Works of God in Nature*; the chapter "The Immeasurability of the Starry Heavens" (*Unermeßlichkeit des Sternenhimmels*), from which the following excerpt is taken, is one of several underlined passages in a book to which he repeatedly turned: "King of heaven, Lord of the Stars, Father of the Spirits and Mankind! If only my thoughts could fill the vault of the heavens, so that I might always be aware of your greatness! If I could only elevate myself to those infinite realms, where you have revealed your greatness so much more than on this earth. If I could only pass from star to star, as I now go from flower to flower, until I reach your sanctuary, where you rule with ineffable majesty! But my wishes are in vain, as long as I am a pilgrim here on earth. Only when my spirit is freed from the bonds of its coarse body, will I perceive the greatness and beauty of these heavenly realms. Until then, as long as I live here, I will summon all humanity to praise your greatness." Translation of excerpt in Lodes, *Das Gloria*, 119, n. 151.

65 Solomon, *Essays*, 229.

66 *Ibid.*

67 Diary entry, 1813, translation by author; cf. Solomon, *Essays*, 248, entry 7c. German original: "Leben gleicht der Töne Beben / Und der Mensch dem Saitenspiel."

68 The remark on self-discovery – the aesthetic and psychological core of his entire admonition – is, for Beethoven, unusually eloquent and deserves direct citation; "ja ehe, wenn man sich so selbst mitten in der Kunst erblickt, [verursacht es] ein großes Vergnügen." BG V, no. 1686, Anderson III, nos. 1203 and 1204.

3 The compositional act: sketches and autographs

1 Thayer–Forbes, 372.

2 London, British Library, Add. MS 41631.

3 See *Ludwig van Beethoven: Autograph Miscellany from circa 1786 to 1799*, ed. Joseph Kerman, 2 vols. (London, 1970). For more on Beethoven's early sketches up to 1798, see Douglas Johnson, *Beethoven's Early Sketches in the "Fischhof Miscellany": Berlin Autograph 28*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, 1980).

4 See JTW.

5 See Barry Cooper, *Beethoven and the Creative Process* (Oxford, 1990), 217–18.

6 See JTW 461–508.

7 See Nicholas Cook, "Beethoven's Unfinished

Piano Concerto: A Case of Double Vision?," *JAMS* 42 (1989), 338–74.

8 See, for example, Sieghard Brandenburg, "Die Quellen zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Beethovens Streichquartett Es-dur op. 127," *BJ* 10 (1978–81), 221–76, where the author's description of the autograph of op. 127 refers (p. 268) to "the removal of leaves and correspondingly the new writing of individual bars and sections on inserted leaves."

9 See JTW. Several of the sketchbook descriptions and reconstructions owe much to the work of Sieghard Brandenburg.

10 *Ein Skizzenbuch von Beethoven* (Leipzig, 1865); *Ein Skizzenbuch von Beethoven aus dem Jahre 1803* (Leipzig, 1880); *Beethoveniana* (Leipzig, 1872); *Zweite Beethoveniana* (Leipzig, 1887); all reprinted in 2 vols. (New York, 1970).

11 The most extended general account is in Cooper, *Creative Process*, 104–74.

12 A synopsis sketch for the finale of the *Eroica* is given in N 1880, 50. See also Cooper, *Creative Process*, 106–07.

13 See Robert Winter, *Compositional Origins of Beethoven's String Quartet in C sharp minor, op. 131* (Ann Arbor, 1982).

14 See, for example, Lewis Lockwood, "The Autograph of the First Movement of Beethoven's Sonata for Violoncello and Pianoforte, Opus 69," *The Music Forum 2* (1970), 1–109.

15 Taken from BG IV, 278.

16 See Barry Cooper, "The Revised Version of Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto," in *Performing Beethoven*, ed. Robin Stowell (Cambridge, 1994), 23–48. An alternative hypothesis that the insertions were intended for a chamber version of the work seems far less plausible.

17 See Charles Timbrell, "Notes on the Sources of Beethoven's Opus 111," *ML* 58 (1977), 204–15.

18 See Willy Hess, *Beethovens Oper Fidelio und ihre drei Fassungen* (Zurich, 1953).

19 See Alan Tyson, "The Problem of Beethoven's 'First' *Leonore* Overture," *JAMS* 82 (1975), 292–334.

20 Carl Czerny, *On the Proper Performance of all Beethoven's Works for the Piano*, ed. Paul Badura-Skoda (Vienna, 1970), 11.

21 The Beethoven-Haus is slowly bringing out a complete edition of the sketchbooks, and there are plans to publish some of them elsewhere too.

4 "The spirit of Mozart from Haydn's hands": Beethoven's musical inheritance

1 Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York, 1971), 19.

- 2 Commentators are strikingly divided on which older composer exerted more influence on Beethoven, with models for specific works acting as contested ground, as we will see.
- 3 Musicians and music-lovers in Vienna are listed by these categories in Johann Ferdinand Ritter von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* 1796, facs. ed. Otto Biba (Munich and Salzburg, 1976); chaps. 1–3 tr. Kathrine Talbot in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton, 1997), 289–320.
- 4 Letter of 28 December 1782; Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Wilhelm Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch, and Joseph Eibl, 7 vols. (Kassel, 1962–75), III, no. 715.
- 5 A little-known pianist named Stainer von Felsburg performed a sonata, probably op. 90, in February 1816; see Glenn Stanley, “Genre Aesthetics and Function: Beethoven’s Piano Sonatas in Their Cultural Context,” *BF* 6 (1998), 2.
- 6 On the sometimes problematic nature of the public–private dichotomy, see Mary Hunter, “Haydn’s London Piano Trios and His Salomon String Quartets: Public vs. Private?” in *Haydn and His World*, 103–30.
- 7 On rhetoric in this period, see Elaine R. Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), chap. 2; and *Mozart: The “Jupiter” Symphony*, (Cambridge, 1993), chaps. 2 and 8. On topics, see Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York, 1980); Wye J. Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze di Figaro and Don Giovanni* (Chicago, 1983); V. Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton, 1991); Robert Hatten, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven: Markedness, Correlation, and Interpretation* (Bloomington, 1994); Harold Powers, “Reading Mozart’s Music: Sound and Syntax, Text and Topic,” *Current Musicology* 59 (1995), 5–44.
- 8 Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart’s Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford, 1989), 417–18.
- 9 Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, “Symphonie,” in Johann Georg Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, 4 vols. in 2 (Leipzig, 1771–74), tr. Thomas Christensen in *Aesthetics and Musical Composition in the German Enlightenment: Selected Writings of Johann Georg Sulzer and Heinrich Christoph Koch*, ed. Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Thomas Christensen (Cambridge, 1995), 106. The idea of the grand style of rhetoric as a musical topic of this era is discussed in my *Mozart: The “Jupiter” Symphony*, 9–10 and 47–48.
- 10 See Elaine R. Sisman, “Genre, Gesture, and Meaning in Mozart’s ‘Prague’ Symphony,” in *Mozart Studies* 2, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford, 1997), 27–84.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 73–80.
- 12 Georg August Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* (Leipzig, 1810), tr. in *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits*, ed. Vernon Gotwals (Madison, 1963), 61.
- 13 Hatten, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven*, chap. 4, even claims that the entire sonata op. 101 represents the pastoral as an “expressive genre.”
- 14 The D minor slow movement of the F major quartet op. 18 no. 1, said by Beethoven to describe “the last sighs” of Romeo and Juliet in the Tomb Scene, may also be part of this complex. On the “pathetic accent,” see my “Pathos and the *Pathétique*: Rhetorical Stance in Beethoven’s C-minor Sonata, op. 13,” *BF* 3 (1994), 81–105, at 91, 98, and n. 81.
- 15 Thayer–Forbes, 115.
- 16 In “Mozart and the Nature of Musical Genius,” a paper read at the symposium “Mozart’s Nature, Mozart’s World” at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (February 1991), Mark Evan Bonds described the change over the course of the eighteenth century from “having genius,” a trait that could be cultivated, to “being a genius,” an intrinsic quality of the self.
- 17 Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Musical Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792–1803* (Berkeley, 1995), 87; significantly, DeNora uses Landon’s translation of the relevant passage (in *Beethoven: A Documentary Study* [New York, 1970], 59), which makes it seem a literal playing-out of the “Haydn’s hands narrative”: “[who] has put himself in the hands of our immortal Haydn in order to be initiated into the holy secrets of the art of music.” In fact the original uses the verb “sich übergeben,” or “committed/entrusted himself” to Haydn, which avoids the precise imagery of the “hands of” Haydn. In fact the same verb is used in the subsequent sentence, when Haydn, “during his absence” (presumably in London) “entrusted” his student to Albrechtsberger.
- 18 The nonentities include Clement, a violinist-composer (forty-three lines); Häring, a violinist who leads musical amateurs (“these geniuses”) on the violin (forty lines); Kreybig, conductor of the Hofkapelle and a “genius on the violin” (thirty-nine); and Raphael, a composer and fortepianist who “works at the official statistical office” and is a “true musical genius” (twenty-seven). See Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* 1796, chap. 2.
- 19 Edward Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition* (London, 1759), quoted in Elaine

Sisman, “Haydn, Shakespeare, and the Rules of Originality,” in *Haydn and His World*, 3–56, at 10.

20 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (Hamburg, 1769), ed. Otto Mann (Stuttgart, 1958), 191–92. The rhetorical tone here is strikingly like that of the beginning of Beethoven’s “Heiligenstadt Testament”: “O you men who think or say that I am malevolent, stubborn, or misanthropic, how greatly do you wrong me. You do not know the secret cause that makes me seem that way to you.” Translation in Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York, 1977), 116.

21 Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 114, in *Haydn*, ed. Gotwals, 61.

22 Translated in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. IV: *The Years of “The Creation,” 1796–1800* (Bloomington and London, 1977), 339.

23 Anderson I, no. 9: “I should never have written down this kind of piece, had I not already noticed fairly often how some people in Vienna after hearing me extemporize of an evening would note down on the following day several peculiarities of my style and palm them off with pride as their own.”

24 Douglas Johnson, “1794–1795: Decisive Years in Beethoven’s Early Development,” in BS III, 1–28; Bathia Churgin, “Beethoven and Mozart’s Requiem: A New Connection,” JM 5 (1987), 457–77; Roger Kamien, “The Slow Introduction of Mozart’s Symphony no. 38 in D, K. 504 (‘Prague’): A Possible Model for the Slow Introduction of Beethoven’s Symphony no. 2 in D, op. 36,” *Israel Studies in Musicology* 5 (1990), 113–30; Elaine R. Sisman, “Tradition and Transformation in the Alternating Variations of Haydn and Beethoven,” Acta 62 (1990), 152–82; Carl Schachter, “Mozart’s Last and Beethoven’s First: Echoes of K. 551 in the First Movement of Opus 21,” in *Mozart Studies*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford, 1991), 227–51; Jeremy Yudkin, “Beethoven’s Mozart Quartet,” JAMS 45 (1992), 30–74; Lewis Lockwood, “Beethoven before 1800: The Mozart Legacy,” BF 3 (1994), 39–52, and literature cited in its n. 15, p. 46; Adena Portowitz, “Innovation and Tradition in the Classic Concerto: Mozart’s K. 453 (1784) as a Model for Beethoven’s Fourth Concerto (1805–06),” *The Beethoven Journal* 12 (1997), 65–72.

25 See the literature cited in James Webster, “Traditional Elements in Beethoven’s Middle-Period Quartets,” in *Beethoven, Performers, and Critics: The International Beethoven Congress Detroit, 1977*, ed. Robert Winter and Bruce Carr (Detroit, 1980), 94–133, at notes 8, 10, 11.

26 For example, Johnson proposes Haydn’s Symphony no. 95 as the model for Beethoven’s C minor Piano Trio op. 1 no. 3 (in “1794–1795: Decisive Years,” 18–22), while Basil Smallman writes that the first movement “reflects the spirit more of Mozart than of Haydn, particularly the former’s C minor piano sonata, K 457” (*The Piano Trio: Its History, Technique, and Repertoire* [Oxford, 1990], 51).

27 He copied out parts of Mozart’s String Quartets in G major K. 387 and A major K. 464 in 1799–1800 in preparation for writing his op. 18 quartets; he copied out parts of Haydn’s *Schöpfungsmesse* when commissioned to write the Mass in C in 1807; and he copied out fugal works by Marpurg and J. S. Bach in 1817–18 when writing the “Hammerklavier” Sonata.

28 Douglas Johnson dates the copy of op. 20 no. 1 to 1794 on the basis of the handwriting; see *Beethoven’s Early Sketches in the “Fischhof Miscellany,” Berlin Autograph 28* (Ann Arbor, 1980), 102; Thayer–Forbes, 166–68, places op. 3 in 1793–94; Kurt Dorfmueller asserts 1794 in *Beiträge zur Beethoven Bibliographie* (Munich, 1978), 293.

29 Johnson believes that Beethoven’s sketches for a C major symphony in 1795–96 “owed a good deal to methods he had observed in Haydn’s first set of London symphonies, especially the one in C major (no. 97);” *Beethoven’s Early Sketches*, 464.

30 See H. C. Robbins Landon, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (London, 1955), 227; A. Peter Brown, “The Trumpet Overture and Sinfonia in Vienna (1715–1822): Rise, Decline and Reformulation,” in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Cambridge, 1996), 13–69.

31 Webster mentions this “tradition” in “Traditional Elements in Beethoven’s Middle-Period String Quartets,” 105.

32 Cited in n. 13 above.

33 On the rhetorical character of the “doubting” passage, see my *Mozart: the “Jupiter” Symphony*, 49.

34 Michael Tusa, “Beethoven’s ‘C-Minor Mood’: Some Thoughts on the Structural Implications of Key Choice,” BF 2 (1993), 1–27, esp. 7–9; Joseph Kerman, “Beethoven’s Minority,” in *Write All These Down: Essays on Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1994), 217–37, esp. 225–26.

35 Thayer–Forbes, 209. Tusa argues that the evidence of Beethoven’s works of the 1790s suggests that he must have known it well before the parts were published in 1800; “Beethoven’s ‘C-minor Mood,’” 8n.

36 Tusa, “Beethoven’s ‘C-minor Mood,’” 24–25.

37 On the importance of the properties of keys

in this period, see Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (1981; rpt. Rochester, NY, 1996).

38 For a list of works that use themes resembling the slow movement of Symphony no. 88, see Georg Feder, “Stilelemente Haydns in Beethovens Werken,” in *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn 1970*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus et al. (Kassel, 1971), 65.

39 On difficulty, especially in contrapuntal styles in this period, see my “Genre, Gesture, and Meaning in Mozart’s ‘Prague’ Symphony,” 47–56.

40 This segment of the present chapter is based on chapter 8 of my book *Haydn and the Classical Variation*. On Beethoven’s independent sets of variations, see Glenn Stanley, “Beethoven’s ‘wirklich gantz neue Manier’ and the Path to It: Beethoven’s Variations for Piano, 1783–1802,” *BF 3* (1994), 53–79.

41 Cicero, *Orator*, trans. H. M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library 342 (Cambridge, MA, 1938), xiv.43, p. 339.

42 Themes with different structures usually came from popular arias or other vocal originals.

43 Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main, 1802), s.v. “Variationen, Variationen.”

44 C[hristian] F[riedrich] Michaelis, “Ueber die musikalische Wiederholung und Veränderung,” *AmZ* 13 (1803), cols. 197–200. Michaelis was Beethoven’s exact contemporary (1770–1834). A short biography appears in *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Peter le Huray and James Day (Cambridge, 1981), 286.

45 Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York, 1966), 62.

46 *Ibid.*, 61.

5 Phrase, period, theme

1 *AmZ* 15 (1813), trans. from Stefan Kunze (ed.), *Ludwig van Beethoven: Die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit* (Laaber, 1987), 25.

2 *AmZ* 14 (1812), trans. Robin Wallace in *Beethoven’s Critics: Aesthetic Dilemmas and Resolutions during the Composer’s Lifetime* (Cambridge, 1986), 24.

3 Gustav Jenner, *Johannes Brahms als Mensch, Lehrer und Künstler: Studien und Erlebnisse* (Marburg, 1905), 60, tr. Carl Schachter in “The First Movement of Brahms’s Second Symphony: The Opening Theme and Its Consequences,” *Music Analysis* 2 (1983), 55.

4 For the organization and some of the

terminology of this introduction, I am indebted to William Rothstein, *Phrase Rhythm in Tonal Music* (New York, 1989), 16–101.

5. See Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), 164 and 286.

6. Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *The Art of Strict Musical Composition*, tr. David Beach and Jürgen Thym (New Haven and London, 1982), 114.

7. Rothstein, *Phrase Rhythm*, 15.

8. Carl Czerny, Appendix (c. 1832–34) to Anton Reicha, *Course of Musical Composition*, tr. A. Merrick, ed. J. Bishop (London, [1854]), reprinted in Ian Bent, *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. I: *Fugue, Form and Style* (Cambridge, 1994), 195. Quite frequently, a rising scale is elaborated at the beginning of scherzo movements, as in those of the String Quartet in F major op. 18 no. 1, the First Symphony, the Piano Trio in B \flat major op. 97, and the String Quartet in E \flat major op. 127.

9. In the autograph manuscript of the Scherzo of the Ninth Symphony (mm. 177–238), Beethoven even wrote the numbers “1 2 3 1 2 3” under the score at the beginning of the *ritmo di tre battute* passage. These numbers indicate that the passage is organized in groups of nine bars. For a discussion of hypermeter and the *ritmo di tre battute* passage, see Rothstein, *Phrase Rhythm*, 8–10, and 38–39.

10 *Ibid.*, 26. For a recent discussion of themes combining features of a period and sentence, see William Caplin, “Hybrid Themes: Toward a Refinement in the Classification of Classical Theme Types,” *BF 3* (1994), 151–66.

11 For an interesting discussion of blurred phrase boundaries in late Beethoven, see Edward Cone, “Beethoven’s Experiments in Composition: The Late Bagatelles,” *BS II*, 93–94.

12 Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Introductory Essay on Composition*, tr. and ed. Nancy Kovaleff Baker (New Haven and London, 1983), 54–55.

13 *Ibid.*, 55.

14 The chromatic succession E \flat –E \natural –F plays a prominent role throughout the movement, most obviously as an upbeat figure at the beginning of the coda (mm. 66–69). Analogous chromatic lead-ins are also found in m. 4 of two other early slow movements in A \flat major, those of the Piano Trio in E \flat major op. 1 no. 1 and the Piano Sonata in C minor op. 10 no. 1.

15 Beethoven uses the same technique of repetition in the Cavatina of the String Quartet in B \flat major op. 130, as Lewis Lockwood observes in *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process* (Cambridge, 1992), 215.

- 16 Heinrich Schenker, *Beethovens fünfte Sinfonie* (Universal Edition, 1925), 42.
- 17 For a discussion of unison texture in Classical music, see Janet M. Levy, "Texture as a Sign in Classic and Early Romantic Music," *JAMS* 35 (1982), 507–31.
- 18 See the translation of Hoffmann's review of the Fifth Symphony in *Beethoven: Symphony no. 5 in C minor*, ed. Elliot Forbes (New York, 1971), 153.
- 19 See the opening bars of Fig. 6 of Schenker's analysis of the first movement in *Beethoven: Symphony no. 5*, ed. Forbes, 180.
- 20 This motivic connection is discussed in John Rothgeb, "Thematic Content: A Schenkerian View," *Aspects of Schenkerian Theory*, ed. David Beach (New Haven and London, 1983), 56.
- 21 See Lockwood, *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process*, 200–02.
- 22 For a highly stimulating discussion of Beethoven's rhythm, see William Rothstein, "Beethoven with and without 'Kunstgespräng': Metrical Ambiguity Reconsidered," *BF* 4 (1995), 165–94.
- 23 Schindler–MacArdle, 485.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 417.
- 25 Quoted from *Beethoven: Symphony no. 5*, ed. Forbes, 156.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 156.
- 27 Carl Czerny, *School of Practical Composition: Complete Treatise on the Composition of All Kinds of Music*, tr. John Bishop, 3 vols. (New York, 1979), I, 19.
- 28 Rhythmic acceleration in Mozart's music is examined in Edward Lowinsky, "On Mozart's Rhythm," in *The Creative World of Mozart*, ed. Paul Henry Lang (New York, 1963), 31–55.
- 29 Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York, 1971), 64.
- 30 See the facsimile of the autograph, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Sonata quasi una fantasia "Mondschein," op. 27, no. 2*, ed. Keisei Sakka (Tokyo, 1970), 25.
- 31 For discussions of this procedure in the second movements of the Piano Sonata in E major op. 14 no. 1 and the Piano Sonata in E♭ major op. 27 no. 1, see Carl Schachter, "Rhythm and Linear Analysis: Durational Reduction," *Music Forum* 5 (1980), 220–22; and "Rhythm and Linear Analysis: Aspects of Meter," *Music Forum* 6/1 (1981), 52–53.
- 32 The term "shadow meter" was introduced by Frank Samarotto in a paper, "Strange Dimensions: Regularity and Irregularity in Deep Levels of Rhythmic Reduction," delivered at the Second International Schenker Symposium (1992). Several examples of this procedure are analyzed in Rothstein, "Beethoven with and without 'Kunstgespräng,'" 33 Donald Francis Tovey, *A Companion to Beethoven's Pianoforte Sonatas*, (London, 1931), 105.
- 34 Rothstein, "Beethoven with and without 'Kunstgespräng,'" 174.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 174. I am indebted to William Rothstein (personal communication) for the observation about the suspended fourths in the alto of mm. 1 and 5.
- 36 James Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style* (Cambridge, 1991), 127. For Webster's stimulating discussion of destabilizing opening gestures in Haydn's music, see pp. 127–33.
- 37 I have borrowed this felicitous phrase from Patrick McCreless, "Schenker and Chromatic Tonicization: A Reappraisal," in *Schenker Studies*, ed. Hedi Siegel (Cambridge, 1990), 131.
- 38 See, for example, Edward Aldwell and Carl Schachter, *Harmony and Voice Leading*, 2nd. edn. (New York, 1989), 572–74; Charles Burkhart, "Schenker's Motivic Parallelisms," *Journal of Music Theory* 22 (1978), 145–75; Roger Kamien, "Aspects of the Recapitulation in Beethoven Piano Sonatas," *The Music Forum* 4 (New York, 1976), 195–235; Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York, 1966), 93–103; and Rosen, *The Classical Style*, 120–23 and 130–31.
- 39 Rosen, *The Classical Style*, 129.
- 40 The following selective list of non-tonic opening harmonies does not include instances in slow introductions or themes following slow introductions: V: Piano Trio in G major op. 1 no. 2, Scherzo; V without third of chord: Ninth Symphony, first movement; V⁷: String Quartet in D major op. 18 no. 3, first movement, Piano Sonata in A major op. 101, first movement; V⁹: Piano Concerto no. 3 in C minor, finale; II: Piano Trio in E♭ major op. 1 no. 1, Scherzo; II₆⁵ (IV with added sixth): Piano Sonata in E♭ major op. 31 no. 3, first movement; IV: Sonata for Piano and Cello in G minor op. 5 no. 2, finale, Piano Concerto no. 4 in G major op. 58, finale; VI: String Quartet in E minor op. 59 no. 2, finale; diminished seventh: String Quartet in F minor op. 95, third movement; augmented sixth: Piano Sonata in F♯ major op. 78, finale, Sonata for Piano and Violin in G major op. 96, Scherzo; V⁷ of II: String Quartet in B♭ major op. 130, finale.
- 41 For more detailed discussions of this theme see Roger Kamien, "Aspects of the Recapitulation," 228–33; and Janet Schmalfeldt, "Form as the Process of Becoming: The Beethoven–Hegelian Tradition and the 'Tempest' Sonata," *BF* 4 (1995), 56–71, which considers the entire exposition.

42 Czerny, *School of Practical Composition*, I, 35.

43 See Bathia Churgin, “Harmonic and Tonal Instability in the Second Key Area of Classic Sonata Form,” in *Convention in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth Century Music: Essays in Honor of Leonard G. Ratner*, ed. Wye J. Allanbrook, Janet M. Levy, and William P. Mahrt (Stuyvesant, NY, 1992), 23–57.

44 For a discussion of auxiliary cadences see Heinrich Schenker, *Free Composition*, tr. and ed. Ernst Oster (New York, 1979), 88–89. The auxiliary cadence often corresponds with the “expanded cadential progression” as described in William E. Caplin, “The ‘Expanded Cadential Progression’: A Category for the Analysis of Classical Form,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 7 (1987), 215–57.

6 “The sense of an ending”: goal-directedness in Beethoven’s music

1 Anton Webern, *The Path to the New Music*, ed. Willi Reich (Bryn Mawr, PA, 1963), 51.

2 Heinrich Schenker, *Free Composition (Der freie Satz)*, tr. and ed. Ernst Oster, 2 vols. (New York and London, 1979), I, 129.

3 This expression, and my title, mimics Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (Oxford, 1967).

4 Taken from Don Fowler, “Second Thoughts on Closure,” in *Classical Closure: Reading the End in Greek and Latin Literature*, ed. Deborah H. Roberts, Francis M. Dunn, and Don Fowler (Princeton, 1997), 3. Fowler is here quoting his own earlier study, “First Thoughts on Closure: Problems and Prospects,” *Materiale e discussione per l’analisi dei testi classici* 22 (1989), 75–122. The bibliography (pp. 275–302) to *Classical Closure* provides a wide-ranging list of sources for the study of closure, including several specifically musical studies: Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1991); Kofi Agawu, “Concepts of Closure and Chopin’s Opus 28,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 9 (1987), 275–301; *Playing With Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton, 1991); Catherine Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, tr. Betsy Wing (Minneapolis, 1988); Robert G. Hopkins, *Closure and Mahler’s Music: The Role of Secondary Parameters* (Philadelphia, 1990); Paul Robinson, “A Deconstructive Postscript: Reading Libretti and Misreading Opera,” in *Reading Opera*, ed. Arthur Groos and Roger Parker (Princeton, 1988), 328–46. To these may be added Peter Cahn, “Aspekte der Schlußgestaltung in Beethovens Instrumentalwerken,” *AfMW* 39 (1982), 19–31;

Joseph Kerman, “Notes on Beethoven’s Codas,” *BS III*, 141–60; Lewis Lockwood, “Beethoven and the Problem of Closure: Some Examples from the Middle-Period Chamber Music,” in *Beiträge zu Beethovens Kammermusik: Symposium Bonn 1984*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg and Helmut Loos (Munich, 1987), 254–72; George Edwards, “The Nonsense of an Ending: Closure in Haydn’s String Quartets,” *MQ* 75 (1991), 227–54; Hermann Danuser, “Musical Manifestations of the End in Wagner and in Post-Wagnerian *Weltanschauungsmusik*,” *19CM* 18 (1994), 64–82; and Maynard Solomon, “Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony: The Sense of an Ending,” in *Probleme der symphonischen Tradition im 19. Jahrhundert: Internationales musikwissenschaftliches Colloquium Bonn 1989*, ed. Siegfried Kross (Tutzing, 1990), 145–56.

5 Fowler, “Second Thoughts on Closure,” 4.

6 Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, 1995), xiii. It is because closure – and especially the role of the coda – has been frequently examined in relation to Beethoven’s “heroic” works that I concentrate here on the early and late periods.

7 *Ibid.*, 142.

8 Op. 2, published in 1796, were Beethoven’s first piano sonatas to bear an opus number; however, the three “Kurfürsten” Sonatas WoO 47 had also been published, in 1783.

9 There is an implicit resolution $d^{\flat 3}-c^3$ in mm. 54–55, but c^3 cannot be sounded because of the parallel fifths that would result with the bass progression $g^{\flat}-f$.

10 Eighth Symphony, 1st mvt., m. 190; “Appassionata,” 1st mvt., m. 135. The first movement of the “Razumovsky” String Quartet in F op. 59 no. 1 extends this strategy even to the beginning of the exposition. Both there and at the recapitulation, the opening theme is heard over $\frac{6}{4}$ harmony; only in the coda is it presented with conventional root-position support. Compare Kerman’s suggestion (“Notes on Beethoven’s Codas,” p. 149) of “a general principle behind Beethoven’s codas at this period of his life . . . Again and again there seems to be some kind of instability, discontinuity, or thrust in the first theme which is removed in the coda.”

11 William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Oxford, 1995), 34, hears in the progression $a^{\flat 2}-g^2-f^2-e^2-f^2$ an expanded reference to the turn figure of m. 2.

12 The concept of “gap-fill” has been developed extensively in the work of Leonard B. Meyer: see particularly his *Explaining Music: Essays and Explorations* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: 1973). Also relevant to the present

analysis is Ernst Oster, “Register and the Large-Scale Connection,” in *Readings in Schenker Analysis and Other Approaches*, ed. Maury Yeston (New Haven and London, 1977), 54–71.

13 Naturally, this is a somewhat drastically reductive definition of a classical variation set; for broader discussion see Elaine R. Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1993); and Esther Cavett-Dunsby, *Mozart’s Variations Reconsidered: Four Case Studies (K. 613, K. 501 and the Finales of K. 421 [417b] and K. 491)* (New York and London, 1989).

14 On the early variation sets see Glenn Stanley, “The ‘wirklich gantz neue Manier’ and the Path to It: Beethoven’s Variations for Piano, 1783–1802,” *BF* 3 (1994), 53–79.

15 This, and the concomitant exploration of fugue in the late works, may be explained partly in terms of his seeking to find alternatives to sonata form in the large-scale instrumental genres. Variation technique, or *structure* (as opposed to *form*) might even inflect sonata form: for example, the exposition and recapitulation of the slow movement in the “Hammerklavier” Sonata stand to one another in the relation of “theme” to “variation.” Conversely, many late variation movements are inflected by sonata-form dynamic, as discussed below.

16 For a translation, by Derrick Puffett and Alfred Clayton, of Schenker’s analysis of this movement, see Heinrich Schenker, *The Masterwork in Music: A Yearbook, Volume III (1930)*, ed. William Drabkin (Cambridge, 1997), 51–59. Schenker’s analysis is discussed in Esther Cavett-Dunsby, “Schenker’s Analysis of the ‘Eroica’ Finale,” *Theory and Practice* 11 (1989), 43–51, and in Nicholas Marston, “Notes to an Heroic Analysis: A Translation of Schenker’s Unpublished Study of Beethoven’s Piano Variations, op. 35,” in *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music: Essays in Performance and Analysis*, ed. David Witten (New York and London, 1997), 20–24.

17 On the variation movements in the late quartets, see William Kinderman, “Tonality and Form in the Variation Movements of Beethoven’s Late Quartets,” in *Beiträge zu Beethovens Kammermusik: Symposion Bonn 1984*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg and Helmut Loos (Munich, 1987), 135–51.

18 See Nicholas Marston, “Beethoven’s ‘Anti-Organicism’? The Origins of the Slow Movement of the Ninth Symphony,” in *Studies in the History of Music, 3: The Creative Process* [ed. Ronald Broude] (New York, 1993), 169–200.

19 Further on the variation movement in

op. 109, see Nicholas Marston, *Beethoven’s Piano Sonata in E, op. 109* (Oxford, 1995), 81–96 and 184–251.

20 The return to Tempo 1 and the tonic key at m. 33 in the slow movement of op. 135 may also be taken to articulate a reprise-variation; but the transfer here of the thematic melody to the bass differentiates this case from those mentioned above.

21 As is well known, Beethoven’s most daring departure from the tonal conventions of the genre is to be found in the Variations op. 34, where the variations articulate a series of keys related by descending thirds: F (theme) – D – B♭ – G – E♭ – C min–maj – F. The completion of a V–I cadence coupled with the reprise-character of variation 6 once again engenders clear parallels with sonata-form procedure.

Also noteworthy is the extended coda, which in this case is appropriately *non*-modulating, serving rather to reconfirm the regained tonic.

22 For a translation of Schenker’s unpublished analysis of op. 35 see Marston, “Notes to an Heroic Analysis,” 24–52. On op. 120, see William Kinderman, *Beethoven’s Diabelli Variations* (Oxford, 1987); my review of Kinderman’s book (“In the Beginning,” *19CM* 12 [1988], 87–89) is germane to the present study in that it enlarges upon Kinderman’s claim (p. 129) that “the close of the Diabelli Variations is ambiguous, and pregnant with implications”; see also my comments on the end of the op. 74 finale in “Analysing Variations: The Finale of Beethoven’s String Quartet op. 74,” *Music Analysis* 8 (1989), 318. Op. 120 and op. 74 each challenge the sense of their ending, and in a similar way.

23 For further detail see Marston, *Beethoven’s Piano Sonata in E, op. 109*.

24 In 1793 Koch noted of the symphony that while “the character of magnificence and grandeur” was appropriate to the first movement, that of “gaiety” was necessary in the finale: see Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Introductory Essay on Composition*, tr. Nancy Kovaleff Baker (New Haven and London, 1983), 197–98. That variation and rondo were perceived as less “demanding” than sonata-form structures was not simply a matter of morphological features but also of thematic material: rondo and variation themes were typically more self-contained, simpler in structure, and lighter in tone than sonata themes.

25 What is suggested here of the symphonic finale is frequently also true of the first-movement exposition: Haydn’s second-group and codetta material is generally “lighter” in tone than that of the first group.

26 Beethoven's strategy in the Fifth Symphony has inspired a vast literature, headed by E. T. A. Hoffmann's celebrated 1810 review: see *Ludwig van Beethoven: die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, ed. Stefan Kunze (Laaber, 1987), 100–12, and *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, tr. Martyn Clarke, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge, 1989), 234–51. (Hoffmann's discussion [Charlton edn., p. 250] of the unsettling effect of the closing bars of the finale is interesting in the present context.) The "sense of an ending" created by the finale is due, of course, to much more than the modal shift from minor to major: the militaristic, celebratory quality of the metrically four-square main theme stands in complete contrast to the nervous, obsessive motivic construction of the first movement; the C major of the finale is foreshadowed within the second movement (see mm. 30–38 and their repetitions); and the more immediate minor–major shift is rehearsed *within* the finale with the reappearance of material from the Scherzo, leading to the resumption of the main finale theme, in mm. 153–207.

27 See Maynard Solomon, "The Ninth Symphony: A Search for Order," *19CM* 10 (1986), 3–23; repr. in Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven Essays* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1988), 3–32.

28 Consider also the descending *third* $e^2-d^2-c^{\sharp 2}$ in m. 6 of the first movement: this progression does succeed in shifting the dominant, but upward (via E \sharp) to vi, rather than to I via V^{8-7} voice leading.

29 Beethoven's choice of the dominant minor (e) rather than the relative major (C) as the key of the second group in this movement is bound up with the need to withhold an affirmative statement of C major until the finale.

30 Richard Kramer, "Between Cavatina and Overtura: Opus 130 and the Voices of Narrative," *BF* 1 (1992), 178.

31 Op. 131 "is neither, strictly speaking, one long movement nor a succession of independent movements": Robert Winter, "Plans for the Structure of the String Quartet in C Sharp Minor, op. 131," *BS* II, 134. Winter, however, doubts the seriousness of the numbering, which originated with Beethoven's corrections to the surviving *Stichvorlage* of op. 131: see Robert Winter, "Compositional Origins of Beethoven's String Quartet in C \sharp Minor, op. 131" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1978), 137–39.

32 Beethoven's only other multimovement work in C \sharp minor – the "Moonlight" Sonata, composed a quarter of a century before op. 131 – also reserves a sonata-form movement for its finale, and seems to toy with thematic

transformation: does not the repeated $g^{\sharp 2}$ which is the goal of the ascending arpeggios at the beginning of the first subject in the finale allude to the repeated $g^{\sharp 1}$ in the characteristic dotted rhythm of the first movement?

33 Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (London, 1967), 303–49.

34 Ivan Mahaim, *Naissance et renaissance des derniers quatuors de Beethoven*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964); Klaus Kropfinger, "Das gespaltene Werk: Beethovens Streichquartett op. 130/133," in *Beiträge zu Beethovens Kammermusik: Symposium Bonn 1984*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg and Helmut Loos (Munich, 1987), 328. On Mahaim's interpretation and the substitute finale see Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 367–74; also the review-article by Ora Frishberg Saloman, "Origins, Performances, and Reception History of Beethoven's Late Quartets," *MQ* 80 (1996), 525–40, with a response by Klaus Kropfinger, "What Remained Unresolved [was unerledigt blieb]," *ibid.*, 541–47; and Barbara R. Barry, "Recycling the End of the 'Leibquartett': Models, Meaning, and Propriety in Beethoven's Quartet in B-flat major Opus 130," *JM* 13 (1995), 355–76. See also John Daverio, this volume pp. 162–64.

35 Kropfinger, "Das gespaltene Werk," 315. Certainly, Beethoven's sketches often reveal a strong concern for the ending of a work or movement at an early stage of composition. The genesis of the *Eroica* symphony represents a special case; but for the argument that "its finale . . . was the basic springboard, the essential invariant concept to which the remaining movements of the symphony were then adapted," see Lewis Lockwood, "The Earliest Sketches for the *Eroica* Symphony," in Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1992), 136.

36 Barry Cooper, *Beethoven and the Creative Process* (Oxford, 1991), 209, 214.

37 Joseph Kerman, "Beethoven Sketchbooks in the British Museum," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 93 (1966–67), 83; *The Beethoven Quartets*, 269–70. See also Kramer, "Between Cavatina and Overtura," 187: "To seek the composer's intention is to obscure what ought to be the real task: to seek the meaning of the work."

38 Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 288, 294, 282.

39 Kramer, "Between Cavatina and Overtura," 172–73.

40 *Ibid.*, 181, n. 20, referring to the work of Helga Lühning, "Die Cavatina in der italienischen Oper um 1800," *Analecta Musicologica* 21 (Laaber, 1982), 333–69.

- 41 Kramer, "Between Cavatina and *Overtura*," 176 and Example 6.
- 42 Rudolph Reti, *The Thematic Process in Music* (London and New York, 1951); Ludwig Misch, "Two B Flat Major Themes," in *Beethoven Studies*, tr. G. I. C. de Courcy (Norman, OK, 1953), esp. 26: "the harmonic progression of the first movement shapes the course of the entire tonal structure of the B flat Major Quartet"; Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, esp. 303–25.
- 43 Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 319.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 322. Compare the earlier remarks on the same page in which the sense of an ending in the *Grosse Fuge* is located in its serving to confirm, rather than resolve, "the previous dynamic of disruption."
- 45 Susan McClary, "Sexual Politics in Classical Music," in *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis and Oxford, 1991), 61, 62.
- 46 Abbate, *Unsung Voices*, 56.
- 47 Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 367.
- 48 Kristin M. Knittel, "From Chaos to History: The Reception of Beethoven's Late Quartets" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1992), 221.
- 49 Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 370, 322.
- 50 On the interpretation of op. 130 *als Ganzes* see the essay by Kropfnger in *Beethoven: Interpretationen seiner Werke*, ed. Albrecht Riethmüller, Carl Dahlhaus, and Alexander L. Ringer (Laaber, 1994), 299–316; also 338–47 for essays on op. 133 and its four-hand piano arrangement, op. 134.
- 51 Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 374.
- 52 Walter Riezler, *Beethoven*, trans. G. D. H. Pidcock (London, 1938), 239. Kropfnger, too, speaks of two different "wholes" in his essay on op. 130 in *Beethoven: Interpretationen seiner Werke*, esp. 314–16.
- 53 For an introduction to this issue, see Deborah H. Roberts, "Afterword: Ending and Aftermath, Ancient and Modern," in *Classical Closure*, ed. Roberts, Dunn, and Fowler, 251–73. Although she mentions (p. 266) the possibility that a reader "may have access to an aftermath the author had in mind but never wrote," Roberts does not mention the recent penchant among contemporary authors for writing "fictional" sequels to popular classic novels.
- 54 Commentators have frequently observed various points of connection not only between the new finale and the *Grosse Fuge*, but between the new finale and the earlier movements of op. 130. Most obvious, perhaps, is the relationship of the circle-of-fifths underpinning of the opening theme of the new finale (G–C–F–B \flat) to that of the *Overtura* in the fugue: see Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 372–73; Kropfnger, "Das gespaltene Werk," 323, and *Beethoven:*

Interpretationen seiner Werke, esp. 314 for the suggestion that the newly composed finale might be understood as a "commentary less on the replaced fugal finale than on the fact of the exchange"; Misch, "Two B Flat Major Themes," 28: "the theme of the subsequent finale was derived from the totality of the B flat major quartet, like a new germ cell from a living organism." See also the essay on op. 130 by Michael Steinberg in *The Beethoven Quartet Companion*, ed. Robert Winter and Robert Martin (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1994), 244 (Ex. 20).

55 Despite its chronological priority, the separation of the *Grosse Fuge* from op. 130 and its publication with an individual, higher, opus number contribute to a sense of its functioning as an aftermath, an ending beyond the ending. Meanwhile, compact disc technology, if not live performance, allows the listener to programme *either* finale as an "aftermath" to the other.

56 See Gerhard von Breuning, *Memories of Beethoven: From the House of the Black-Robed Spaniards*, ed. Maynard Solomon (Cambridge, 1992), 101–2.

57 Roberts, "Afterword," 273.

7 The piano music: concertos, sonatas, variations, small forms

1 Recent discussions of this issue include Glenn Stanley, "Genre Aesthetics and Function: Beethoven's Piano Sonatas in Their Cultural Context," *BF* 6 (1998), 1–29; and Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford, 1992), esp. chap. 8, 205–42. Goehr regards the "work-concept" as coming into being only around 1800, whereby "For the first time [extemporization] was seen to stand in strict opposition to composition 'proper'" (p. 234). Notwithstanding Beethoven's sensitivity to alteration of his musical texts, such a perceived opposition between improvisation and composition conflicts sharply with his own practice and convictions, as reflected for instance in his statement to Tomaschek from 1814, cited on p. 106 above.

2 Thayer–Forbes, 115.

3 For a recent study of Bach's impact on Beethoven, see my article "Bachian Affinities in Beethoven," in *Bach Perspectives* vol. III, ed. Michael Marissen (Lincoln, NB and London, 1998), 81–108.

4 An analysis of the social ramifications of Beethoven's challenging keyboard style is offered by Tia DeNora in *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792–1803* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995).

- 5 On Beethoven's musical rhetoric, see Mark Evan Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), esp. 177–91; George Barth, *The Pianist as Orator: Beethoven and the Transformation of Keyboard Style* (Ithaca and London, 1992); and Elaine Sisman, "Pathos and the *Pathétique*: Rhetorical Stance in Beethoven's C-Minor Sonata, op. 13," *BF* 3 (1994), 81–105.
- 6 Cited in Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work* (New York, 1962; first pub. 1945), 243.
- 7 See Thayer–Forbes, 351. Sketches for the original version of the "Waldstein" Sonata (with the *Andante favori*) are found in the "Eroica" Sketchbook (Landsberg 6) and date from the last weeks of 1803; sketches for the replacement slow movement are lacking, but that movement was presumably composed in the spring of 1804.
- 8 Thayer–Forbes, 599; the source is Tomaschek's autobiography, *Libussa* (Prague, 1846), 359ff.
- 9 For a discussion of the aesthetics of sonata form, see Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music*, tr. Mary Whittall (Oxford, 1991), esp. chaps. 5–8, 91–165, and Stanley, "Genre Aesthetics."
- 10 A probing discussion of aesthetic significance in Beethoven is contained in Robert Hatten, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven: Markedness, Correlation, and Interpretation* (Bloomington, 1994).
- 11 See Mies, *Die Krise der Konzertkadenz bei Beethoven* (Bonn, 1970), esp. 52–53. Mies cites Gustav Nottebohm's comment "that of all the quartets the one in C# minor makes in its form the strongest impression of an improvisation" (p. 52).
- 12 Thayer–Forbes, 275.
- 13 See Block, "Organic Relations in Beethoven's Early Piano Concerti and the 'Spirit of Mozart,'" in *Beethoven's Compositional Process*, ed. William Kinderman (Lincoln, NB and London, 1991), 55–81, esp. 73. Charles Rosen points out motivic connections between the first and last movements of Mozart's D minor concerto in *The Classical Style* (New York, expanded edn. 1997), 235, remarking that "for the first time the first and last movements of a concerto are so strikingly and openly related." Beethoven's involvement with Mozart's concerto is confirmed by his surviving cadenzas for the work, WoO 58.
- 14 Douglas Johnson has drawn attention to this relation in "1794–95: Decisive Years in Beethoven's Early Development," in *BS* III, 16.
- 15 Alfred Brendel, in his discussion of the passage in *Music Sounded Out* (London, 1990), 24, imagines questions that this chord might suggest to the audience, including: "Are we really coming to an end?," "Wouldn't you like the cadenza to be over?," "What a ridiculous frenzy!," "Heavens, didn't we forget the trill?," "As it didn't work before, why should it work now?," or simply "Am I fooling you well?"
- 16 See *Ludwig van Beethoven. Klavierkonzert Nr. 3 in c, op. 37, Studienpartitur* ed. Hans-Werner Kùthen (Kassel, London, New York, 1987), preface, v.
- 17 An ongoing discussion concerning the Orpheus "programme" in the *Andante con moto* of Beethoven's Fourth Concerto is contained in Owen Jander, "Beethoven's 'Orpheus in Hades,'" *19CM* 8 (1984), 195–212; Edward T. Cone, "Beethoven's Orpheus – or Jander's?," *19CM* 8 (1984), 283–86; Joseph Kerman, "Representing a Relationship: Notes on a Beethoven Concerto," *Representations* 39 (1992), 80–101; and most recently Jander, "Orpheus Revisited: A Ten-Year Retrospect on the *Andante con moto* of Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto," *19CM* 19 (1995), 31–49.
- 18 This process is a particularly important feature of Beethoven's style, to which Alfred Brendel has drawn special attention in his essays "Form and Psychology in Beethoven's Piano Sonatas" and "The Process of Foreshortening in the First Movement of Beethoven's Sonata op. 2, no. 1," in *Musical Thoughts and Afterthoughts* (Princeton, 1976). Also see Erwin Ratz, *Einführung in die musikalische Formenlehre* (Vienna, 1968), 23–24.
- 19 Beethoven also utilized the four-movement design in the subsequent Sonata in E \flat major op. 7 and in the Sonata in D major op. 10 no. 3, and contemplated a four-movement plan for the C minor Sonata op. 10 no. 1, while sketching that work (see William Drabkin, "Early Beethoven," in *Eighteenth-Century Keyboard Music*, ed. Robert L. Marshall [New York, 1994], 402, n. 10). He returned to the four-movement plan in opp. 22, 26, 31 no. 3, and 106.
- 20 A detailed discussion of this movement is contained in my article "Beethoven's High Comic Style in Piano Sonatas of the 1790s, or Beethoven, Uncle Toby, and the 'Muckcart-driver,'" *BF* 5 (1996), 123–27.
- 21 For a detailed discussion of this relationship, see William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Oxford, 1995), 20–27.
- 22 *A Companion to Beethoven's Pianoforte Sonatas* (London, 1931), 169.
- 23 "Structuralism and Musical Plot," *Music Theory Spectrum* 19 (1997), 13–34, esp. 22–31 (quotation from 31).

24 Thayer–Forbes, 668.

25 Cited by Martin Zenck, *Die Bach-Rezeption des Späten Beethoven: Zum Verhältnis von Musikhistoriographie und Rezeptions-geschichtsschreibung der "Klassik"* (Stuttgart, 1986), 152.

26 See Schindler–MacArdle, 210.

27 Cited in Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York, 1977), 300.

28 The importance of descending third relations in the “Hammerklavier” Sonata is discussed in detail by Rosen in *The Classical Style*, 407–34. See also Ratz, *Einführung in die musikalische Formenlehre*, 201–41.

29 For detailed analysis, see my studies “Integration and Narrative Design in Beethoven’s Piano Sonata in A \flat major Opus 110,” BF 1 (1992), 111–45, esp. 120–21; and the essays on these sonatas in *Beethoven: Interpretation seiner Werke*, ed. Albrecht Riethmüller, Carl Dahlhaus, and Alexander L. Ringer (Laaber, 1994), II, 162–81.

30 A recent discussion of the early variations for piano is offered by Glenn Stanley in “The ‘wirklich gantz neue Manier’ and the Path to It: Beethoven’s Variations for Piano, 1783–1802,” BF 3 (1994), 53–79.

31 Cf. Lewis Lockwood, “The Compositional Genesis of the Eroica Finale,” in *Beethoven’s Compositional Process*, ed. William Kinderman (Lincoln, NB and London, 1991), 82–101, esp. 84–85; reprinted in Lockwood’s *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1992).

32 A discussion and full transcription of the 1819 draft is offered in my book *Beethoven’s Diabelli Variations* (Oxford, 1987); the 1999 rpt. includes my CD of the work with Hyperion Records.

33 Hans von Bülow, notes in his edition of op. 120 (*Ludwig van Beethoven: Variations for the Pianoforte*, vol. II [New York, 1898], 43).

34 Brendel, *Musical Thoughts and Afterthoughts*, 14.

35 This situation parallels that of Mozart, who similarly left only one completed fantasy for solo piano: the Fantasy in C minor K. 475, in addition to incomplete works, such as the Fantasy in D minor K. 397/385g.

36 See N II, 508–11.

37 Cf. William Meredith, “The Origins of Beethoven’s op. 109,” *The Musical Times* 126 (1985), 713–16; and Nicholas Marston, *Beethoven’s Piano Sonata in E, op. 109* (Oxford, 1995), 30–37.

38 The first five apparently have an earlier origin, and Gustav Nottebohm proposed on the basis of sketches that nos. 2–5 dated from the period 1800–04. Nos. 7–11 were sketched by

Beethoven in the summer or fall of 1820 and first published as nos. 28–32 in Friedrich Starke’s *Wiener Piano-Forte-Schule* in 1821.

No. 6 was sketched on a leaf containing work on the Credo of the *Missa solemnis* and probably dates from 1820. No. 7 bears similarity to the third and tenth “Diabelli” variations, and no. 8 also shows a motivic relationship to the third “Diabelli” variation.

39 The beginning of this Allemande, which dates from about 1800, was re-barréd and incorporated into the middle section of the second movement of the quartet.

40 Wilfrid Mellers, *Beethoven and the Voice of God* (New York, 1983), 412. An insightful discussion of paradoxical aspects of op. 126 no. 6 is offered by Sylvia Imeson in her book “*The time gives it prooffe*: Paradox in the Late Music of Beethoven” (New York, 1996), 5, 29–32.

8 Beethoven’s chamber music with piano: seeking unity in mixed sonorities

1 The signal exceptions are the sonatas for cembalo and violin of J. S. Bach, BWV 1014–1019: here co-equal keyboard parts are written out in full, rather than in figured bass, and the reinforcement of the bass line by a gamba is referred to in the title as *se piace*, or optional.

2 William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era* (Durham, NC, 1963), 98–105.

3 Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style* (New York, 1972), 351–65.

4 E.g. see the finales of Mozart’s Piano Trio in B \flat K. 502 or his Piano Quartet in G minor, Haydn’s Piano Trio in E \flat Hob. XV:29 and Beethoven’s Quintet for Piano and Winds op. 16.

5 Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York, 1979), 98; see also Derek Melville, “Beethoven’s Pianos,” in *The Beethoven Companion*, ed. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (London, 1971), 41–67.

6 However, the implementation of these changes was probably a slower process, involving as it did either the purchase of a new instrument or a rather delicate operation on an older one. The new bows, on the other hand, were quickly accepted by violinists as superior. This may well argue against the use of the old style bows for “authentic” performances of late eighteenth-century music. The current fashion of so-called “transitional” bows is also deceptive, as the name implies a much more orderly development process than was the case. In fact, there was a considerable lack of uniformity among bows produced during both Baroque and Classical periods, and even well

into the nineteenth century. See Robin Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance Practice in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries* (Cambridge, 1985), 11–31.

7 Lewis Lockwood, “Beethoven’s Early Works for Violoncello and Contemporary Violoncello Technique,” in *Beethoven-Kolloquium 1977: Dokumentation und Aufführungspraxis*, ed. R. Klein, (Kassel, 1978), 180.

8 Boris Schwarz, “Beethoven and the French Violin School,” *MQ* 44 (1958), 431–47.

9 Solomon, *Beethoven*, 47.

10 This refers to the mature works starting with K. 301. There are also several juvenile works in the accompanied keyboard sonata style.

11 For a flamboyant example of this, see m. 388 of the Trio op. 70 no. 1, mvt. 3.

12 Nigel Fortune, “The Chamber Music with Piano,” in *The Beethoven Companion*, ed. Arnold and Fortune, 202.

13 As if to make amends to the piano for his unconventional first theme, Beethoven offers the piano plenty of virtuoso writing, and a second theme that is kept exclusively to the piano until the recapitulation. Incidentally, in places where a *forte* statement brings all the instruments together, pianos of this period produce a fine jangling effect, clearly intentional on Beethoven’s part, which is mostly lost with the rounder sound of a modern instrument.

14 Such writing is not only typical of Mozart, but also remarkably similar to the Adagio of the violin sonata K. 481 (also an A \flat major movement in an E \flat major work), although in this comparison it is Mozart who is harmonically the more daring.

15 Solomon, *Beethoven*, 73–77; Solomon suggests that there are more subtle and internal reasons why a rift with Haydn may have suited Beethoven at that point, so that the issue of the C minor trio may have been little more than a convenient pretext.

16 See, for example, an unusual thematic use of the lowest string of the cello, an octave below the piano left hand, to achieve a hushed and woolly sonority (m. 390, 3rd movement).

17 This is not to say that the cello part of op. 5 no. 2 is uninteresting; only that it relies more upon safer and less innovative uses of alto and tenor range thematic statements and sustained bass notes; moreover, some particularly subtle and beautiful moments, such as the transition to the recapitulation in the first movement, do not rely upon the cello at all.

18 Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York, 1966), 6.

19 D. F. Tovey, *Beethoven* (London, 1944), 89: “If Beethoven’s early works had been mostly in

the style of [the solo piano sonata] op. 2, no. 3 or the Violoncello Sonata in F, op. 5, no. 1, and he had died before producing anything more characteristic, it would have been possible to argue that here was an ambitious composer who evidently aspired to be greater than either Mozart or Haydn, but who already showed the tendency to inflation that leads through the style of Hummel to the degenerate styles of the virtuoso pianoforte-writers.” Comments on cadenzas later in the same article.

20 Lockwood, “Beethoven’s Early Works for Violoncello,” 176–77.

21 Fortune, “The Chamber Music with Piano,” 216.

22 He does parody an Alberti accompaniment in the first movement of op. 12 no. 3, mm. 29–43, but the articulations in the violin part make it clear that he has in mind a texture more sparkling and distinctive than the unobtrusive Alberti blanket.

23 Solomon, *Beethoven*, 99–100.

24 Interestingly, Niecks describes this work in such different terms – “an idyll, so sweet and lovely is its character” – that it is hard to imagine he is referring to the same music: Frederick Niecks, “Beethoven’s Sonatas for Piano and Violin,” *Monthly Musical Record* nos. 236, 237 (London, 1890) in *The Beethoven Companion*, ed. Thomas Scherman and Louis Biancolli (Garden City, 1972), 180.

25 Schwarz, “Beethoven and the French Violin School,” 431–47.

26 In addition to French school influences on violin figurations, the Triple Concerto has a passage (coda of the first movement, mm. 498–506) which adds triplets in successive instruments to existing trills in a manner so similar to an excerpt from Viotti’s Twenty-Fourth Concerto (Andante sostenuto, mm. 57–61) that the resemblance is probably not coincidental.

27 Hector Berlioz, *Voyages en Allemagne et en Italie* (Paris, 1844) cited in Schwarz, “Beethoven and the French Violin School,” 431–47.

28 Lewis Lockwood, “The Autograph of the First Movement of the Sonata for Violoncello and Pianoforte, Opus 69,” in *Beethoven Essays: Studies in Honor of Elliott Forbes*, ed. Lewis Lockwood and Phyllis Benjamin (Cambridge, MA, 1984).

29 Tyson also discusses changes made between sketchbook and autograph. See: Alan Tyson, “Stages in the Composition of Beethoven’s Piano Trio op. 70, no. 1,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 97 (1970–71), 1–19.

30 Solomon, *Beethoven*, 98.

31 Note that these are fundamentally different from the op. 5 cadenzas that Tovey found

objectionable: although technically extremely difficult, they cannot be construed as virtuoso displays; rather, they are brief improvisatory and developmental commentaries.

32 Alfred Brendel, *Musical Thoughts and Afterthoughts* (Princeton, 1976), 154–61.

33 If one considers the basic beat to be the quarter note, as I think proper here, the tempo is so slow as to be far below the range of normal metronomes.

34 Schwarz, “Beethoven and the French Violin School,” 441.

35 Alfred Brendel, *Music Sounded Out* (London, 1990), 62.

36 Fortune, “The Chamber Music with Piano,” 221.

9 Manner, tone, and tendency in Beethoven’s chamber music for strings

1 Walter Benjamin, “The Image of Proust” (1929), in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, tr. Harry Zohn (New York, 1969), 201.

2 See his letter of 13 July 1802 to Breitkopf & Härtel, in Anderson I, no. 59.

3 Beethoven’s (not always deftly executed) arrangement of the Piano Trio op. 1 no. 3 for string quintet was perhaps stimulated by his displeasure with an overly literal reworking, probably by a Herr Kaufmann. See Alan Tyson, “The Authors of the op. 104 String Quintet,” in BS I, 158–61. On the arrangement of op. 14 no. 1 for string quartet, see Helga Lühning, “Beethoven als Bearbeiter eigener Werke,” in *Münchener Beethoven-Studien* (Munich and Salzburg, 1992), 124–27; and Eberhard Enss, *Beethoven als Bearbeiter eigener Werke* (Taanusstein, 1988), 69–82.

4 AmZ 22 (15 November 1820), 784.

5 Chopin, however, reported to his friend Joseph Nowakowski in April 1832 that the Paris Conservatoire Orchestra made a sensation with a performance of one of Beethoven’s quartets using a string section of fifty players. See Robert Winter, “Performing the Beethoven Quartets in Their First Century,” in *The Beethoven Quartet Companion*, ed. Robert Winter and Robert Martin (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1994), 43.

6 Gustav Schilling, *Encyclopädie der gesamten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst* (Stuttgart, 1835–42), V, 591.

7 Carl Czerny, *School of Practical Composition* op. 600, tr. John Bishop, 3 vols. (London, c. 1848), II, 2–23. Czerny notes that the addition of another viola to the standard quartet group may influence “the invention of ideas, melodies, chords and figures” (p. 17).

8 Beethoven’s sketches for a C major quintet

(WoO 62), probably dating from September through November 1826, point to the neo-classical idiom of the F major String Quartet op. 135 and the new finale for op. 130. See Martin Staehelin, “Another Approach to Beethoven’s Last Quartet Oeuvre: The Unfinished String Quintet of 1826/27,” in *The String Quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven: Studies of the Autograph Manuscripts*, ed. Christoph Wolff (Cambridge, MA, 1980), 309–16.

9 On this point, see James Webster, “Traditional Elements in Beethoven’s Middle-Period String Quartets,” in *Beethoven, Performers, and Critics*, ed. Robert Winter and Bruce Carr (Detroit, 1980), 102.

10 Deryck Cooke, however, goes too far in tracing practically all the principal motivic ideas of the late quartets to the opening of op. 127, in whose upper-voice melody he also finds the four-note pattern embedded. See “The Unity of Beethoven’s Late Quartets,” *Music Review* 24 (1963), 30–49. Although the importance of this cell in the late quartets cannot be denied, Dahlhaus rightly observes that it is less a fixed motive than an abstract sequence of intervals from which Beethoven creates a “magic of association.” See Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music*, tr. Mary Whittall (Oxford, 1991; orig. pub. *Ludwig van Beethoven und seine Zeit*, Laaber, 1987), 227–29. Beethoven’s pattern can be traced to two sources: the B–A–C–H motive, which heads off the humorous canon “Kühl, nicht lau,” dated 3 September 1825, and the family of fugue subjects built around the interval of a diminished seventh (see, e.g., the Kyrie of Mozart’s *Requiem* K. 626, and the finale of Haydn’s F minor Quartet op. 20 no. 4). For a discussion of the canon as a thematic repository for Beethoven’s late quartets, see Emil Platen, “Über Bach, Kuhlau und die thematisch-motivische Einheit der letzten Quartette Beethovens,” in *Beiträge zu Beethovens Kammermusik: Symposion Bonn 1984*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg and Helmut Loos (Munich, 1987), 152–64. The themes of Mozart’s Kyrie and Haydn’s F minor quartet fugue came up in a conversation between Beethoven and Karl Holz in mid-July 1825, at the very time when Beethoven was working on op. 132. See CB VIII, 19. A close relative of these motivic configurations appears in sketches, probably dating from August 1824, for a projected sonata for piano four-hands. See William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Berkeley, 1995), 295–96.

11 On the evidence provided by the sketches for the interdependence of the late quartets, see:

Sieghard Brandenburg, “Die Quellen zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Beethovens Streichquartett Es-dur op. 127,” BJ 10 (1978–81), 127–74; “The Autograph of Beethoven’s Quartet in A minor Opus 132: The Structure of the Manuscript and its Relevance for the Study of the Genesis of the Work,” in *The String Quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven*, ed. Wolff, 283–85, 292–93; and Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 323.

12 See Ludwig Finscher, *Studien zur Geschichte des Streichquartetts I: Die Entstehung des klassischen Streichquartetts. Von den Vorformen zur Grundlegung durch Joseph Haydn* (Kassel, 1974), 279–99. Finscher’s main sources include: Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Preface to *Vermischte Musikalien* (1773); Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Versuch einer Anweisung zur Composition* (1793) and *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1802); Giuseppe Carpani, *Le Haydine* (1812); Carl Maria von Weber’s review of F. E. Fesca’s quartets in AmZ 20 (1818), cols. 589–90; and Gustav Schilling, *Versuch einer Philosophie des Schönen in der Musik oder Aesthetik der Tonkunst* (1838). Similar points of view are expressed in August F. C. Kollmann, *An Essay on Practical Musical Composition* (London, 1799), 14; Schilling, *Encyclopädie*, vol. V, 591–92; and Czerny, *School of Practical Composition*, II, 6–7.

13 Review of op. 127 in *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 4 (1827), 25–27; see *Ludwig van Beethoven—Die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit—Gesammelte Konzertberichte und Rezensionen bis 1830*, ed. Stefan Kunze (Laaber, 1987), 556.

14 See Finscher, *Studien zur Geschichte des Streichquartetts*, 299; and Robert Winter, “Performing the Beethoven Quartets in Their First Century,” in *The Beethoven Quartet Companion*, ed. Winter and Martin, 53–54.

15 See August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, tr. John Black (London, 1914), 17–28.

16 *Fragmente zur Litteratur [sic] und Poesie*, no. 851, in *Kritische Friedrich Schlegel Ausgabe [KFSA]*, ed. Ernst Behler, Jean-Jacques Anstett, and Hans Eichner (Munich, Paderborn, Vienna, 1958–), XVI, 157.

17 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. John Gearey, tr. Ellen von Nardroff and Ernest H. von Nardroff, *Collected Works*, III (Princeton, 1994), 71–73.

18 Schlegel specifically equates “tendency” and formal incompleteness in *Fragmente zur Litteratur und Poesie*, nos. 411, 918, and 960; see KFSA XVI, 119, 163, 165–66. For a commentary on his association of manner, tendency, and tone with the novel, see Peter Szondi, “Friedrich Schlegel’s Theory of Poetical Genres: A

Reconstruction from the Posthumous Fragments,” in *On Textual Understanding and Other Essays*, tr. Harvey Mendelsohn (Minneapolis, 1986), 90.

19 See Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: Die Dokumente seines Lebens; Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Series 8, Supplement, V (Kassel, 1964), 45.

20 Hermann Hirschbach, “Ueber Beethoven’s letzte Streichquartette,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik [NZfM]* 11 (1839), 6. Hirschbach claims that these works relate to the quartets of Haydn and Mozart as “a magnificent novella [does] to its old Italian and Spanish forebears.”

21 On Beethoven’s reading of Schlegel’s translations, see his letter of May 1810 to Therese Malfatti, in Anderson I, no. 258. On his knowledge of Schlegel’s *Vorlesungen*, see Leon Botstein, “The Patrons and Publics of the Quartets: Music, Culture, and Society in Beethoven’s Vienna,” in *The Beethoven Quartet Companion*, ed. Winter and Martin, 102. The published *Vorlesungen* appear in an entry from late September 1824 in a list of books representing “the most outstanding works in their respective fields.” CB VI, 363.

22 Entry of early February 1823, in CB II, 348. Some of Beethoven’s associates voiced less than complimentary opinions of the leading guru of early Romanticism. In a conversation of December 1819, Carl Joseph Bernhard claimed that Friedrich Schlegel did nothing but “eat, drink, and read the Bible”; CB I, 169.

23 Wilhelm von Lenz’s tripartition of Beethoven’s output into early, middle, and late phases has proven to be remarkably resilient despite many attempts to supplant it. As James Webster has argued, this scheme concords with views of temporal organization that are deeply embedded in our culture. See Wilhelm von Lenz, *Beethoven et ses trois styles* (St. Petersburg, 1852); and James Webster, “The Concept of Beethoven’s ‘Early’ Period in the Context of Periodization in General,” BF 3 (1994), 1. Beethoven’s principal chamber works for strings can be easily mapped onto the traditional periodization. Indeed, they fall within three discrete timespans, each between two and five years long. The String Trios op. 8 and op. 9 nos. 1–3, the String Quartets op. 18, and the String Quintet op. 29 date between 1796 and 1801. The Quartets op. 59 nos. 1–3, op. 74, and op. 95 were composed in the five years from 1806 to 1811. The intensely productive period between June 1824 and November 1826 saw the completion of the Quartets opp. 127, 132, 130, 131, and 135. It would be unfruitful, however, to hold too rigidly to this tripartition. The Quintet op. 29,

for instance, belongs chronologically with the early works, but, as I argue below, conceptually with the middle-period quartets.

24 Roland Barthes draws this distinction in “Writing Degree Zero,” though he couches it in terms of the difference between “language” (i.e. style in the broad sense) and “style” (i.e. what I am calling “manner”). See Roland Barthes, *A Barthes Reader*, ed. Susan Sontag (New York, 1983), 31–33.

25 Anderson I, no. 63.

26 Among many studies, see Douglas Johnson, “1794–1795: Decisive Years in Beethoven’s Early Development,” in BS III, 16–17; and Lewis Lockwood, “Beethoven before 1800: The Mozart Legacy,” BF 3 (1994), 45.

27 By Joseph Kerman’s count, the motive occurs no less than 104 times in the course of 313 bars. Its presence was even more pronounced in the earlier, and somewhat longer, “Amenda” version of the quartet, where it appears 130 times. See Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York, 1966), 32.

28 See Finscher, *Studien zur Geschichte des Streichquartetts I*, 298; and Lockwood, “Beethoven before 1800,” 45. For accounts of the points of contact between Mozart’s K. 464 and Beethoven’s op. 18 no. 5, see Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 58–63; and Jeremy Yudkin, “Beethoven’s ‘Mozart’ Quartet,” JAMS 45 (1992), 30–74.

29 Beethoven’s earliest surviving attempts at fugal writing for the quartet medium (Preludes and Fugues, Hess 29–31) date from 1794–95, during his period of contrapuntal study with Johann Albrechtsberger.

30 See Webster, “Traditional Elements,” 94–133 for a thorough exposition of this view.

31 See O. G. Sonneck, *Beethoven: Impressions of Contemporaries* (New York, 1926), 31.

32 Kollmann, *An Essay on Practical Musical Composition*, 19. Cf. the commentary in Michael Broyles, “The Two Instrumental Styles of Classicism,” JAMS 36 (1983), 226–27. As Broyles also points out, Daniel Gottlob Türk’s *Klavierschule* of 1789 even mentions “symphonies” for keyboard instruments.

33 See Winter, “Performing the Beethoven Quartets,” 35–36. Schuppanzigh’s quartet concerts lasted for only three seasons.

34 Dahlhaus makes a similar point in his analysis of the first movement of op. 59 no. 3. See *Ludwig van Beethoven*, 176–77.

35 For a critical review of the many attempts to account for the movement’s form, and a consideration of its ultimate shape in light of Beethoven’s revisions of the autograph (like the first movement of the quartet, the Allegretto was originally to have included a massive repeat of its development and recapitulation), see

Lewis Lockwood, “A Problem of Form: the ‘Scherzo’ of Beethoven’s String Quartet in F major op. 59, no. 1,” BF 2 (1993), 85–95.

36 For Carl Dahlhaus, lyricism and a more relaxed approach to development characterize the works conceived between Beethoven’s heroic, middle phase and his esoteric late period, i.e. op. 74 through op. 97. See *Ludwig van Beethoven*, 203–08. Arguably the elements of what Dahlhaus calls a “transitional” phase were already in place when Beethoven completed the op. 29 quintet in 1801.

37 See AmZ 13 (1811), col. 351; and Elaine R. Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1993), 242–46.

38 Review of op. 131, AmZ 30 (1828), in Kunze, *Ludwig van Beethoven – Die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, 572. An essay on Beethoven’s late music in *The Penny Magazine* (11 January 1840) carried the same notion to extremes in suggesting that Beethoven’s late quartets “are not genuine; that is . . . they have been put together by some enterprising publisher from detached scraps of manuscript found among Beethoven’s papers.” See Elsie and Denis Arnold, “The View of Posterity: An Anthology,” in *The Beethoven Reader*, ed. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (New York, 1971), 504.

39 Theodor Adorno articulated this position in his 1959 essay “Alienated Masterpiece: The *Missa Solemnis*,” tr. Duncan Smith, *Telos* 9 (1976–77), 113–24. For a close reading of Beethoven’s opp. 127, 130, and 132 grounded in Adorno’s thought, see Daniel K. L. Chua, *The “Galitzin” Quartets of Beethoven: opp. 127, 132, 130* (Princeton, 1995).

40 Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 171.

41 *Ibid.*, 181.

42 See Kinsky-Halm, 397. Beethoven explained his comment in a letter to Schott of 19 August 1826: “You said in your letter that it [op. 131] should be an original quartet. I felt rather hurt; so as a joke I wrote beside the address that it was a bit of patchwork. But it is really *brand new* . . .”, Anderson III, no. 1498.

43 See Ludwig van Beethoven, *Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Willy Hess VIII (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1964), 18 and 37; and *Ludwig van Beethoven’s Werke*, Series 25 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1887), 368.

44 Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 201–02.

45 Review of Anton Bohrer, Piano Trio op. 47, in *NZfM* 5 (1836), 16. Schumann seems to have sensed, if only instinctively, the subtle logic behind Beethoven’s interweaving of supremely simple musical ideas with passages of daunting complexity.

46 In Hirschbach’s view, this was especially true of opp. 127, 120, 131, and 135. See *NZfM* 11 (1839), 13–14, 49–50.

47 Ibid., 49–50.

48 In his review of the quartet for an 1829 issue of the *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, A. B. Marx related this infamous passage to what he considered to be the *Grundidee* (“basic idea”) of the quartet: “the melancholy reminiscence of a bygone and more beautiful time.” For Marx, the good humor of the movement is unmasked as a “forced gaiety” approaching “wildness” and “desolation” at the point where the ostinato spins out of control. See Kunze, *Ludwig van Beethoven – Die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, 595.

49 Klaus Kropfinger has argued most vigorously for this view on the basis of his study of the sketches for op. 130; see his “Das gespaltene Werk—Beethovens Streichquartett op. 130/133,” in *Beiträge zu Beethovens Kammermusik: Symposion Bonn 1984*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg and Helmut Loos (Munich, 1987), 315; and “What Remained Unresolved [Was unerledigt blieb],” MQ 80 (1996), 541–47. Cf. also Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 303–04; and Richard Kramer, “Between Cavatina and Overture: Opus 130 and the Voices of Narrative,” BF 1 (1992), 185–89.

50 Stefan Kunze, “Beethovens Spätwerk und seine Aufnahme bei den Zeitgenossen,” in *Beiträge zu Beethovens Kammermusik: Symposion Bonn 1984*, 71. The reviewer of the first performance of op. 130 on 21 March 1826 was not alone in finding the *Grosse Fuge* “incomprehensible, like Chinese.” See AmZ 28 (1826), 311.

51 See Barbara R. Barry, “Recycling the End of the ‘Leibquartett’: Models, Meaning, and Propriety in Beethoven’s Quartet in B-Flat major Opus 130,” JM 13 (1995), 355–76; and Maynard Solomon, “Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony: The Sense of an Ending,” *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991), 290–91.

52 Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 370.

53 For an account of the *Grosse Fuge* as a kind of neo-Baroque *Kunstbuch*, see Warren Kirkendale, “The ‘Great Fuge’ op. 133: Beethoven’s ‘Art of Fuge,’” *Acta* 35 (1963), 14–24.

54 See Kramer, “Between Cavatina and Overture,” 172.

55 For a discussion of the importance of the fantasia tradition in Beethoven’s earlier chamber music, see Lewis Lockwood, “The Problem of Closure: Some Examples from the Middle-Period Chamber Music,” in Lockwood, *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1992), 188. On the *Grosse Fuge* as symphonic poem, see Philip Radcliffe, *Beethoven’s String Quartets* (New York, 1968), 138.

56 Friedrich Schlegel argued for a similar “relativization” of the classical poetic genres –

epos, lyric poem, and drama – in the modern literary genre *par excellence*, the novel. See Szondi, “Friedrich Schlegel’s Theory of Poetical Genres,” 91–93.

57 This was not the only time that Beethoven had second thoughts about the effects of a large movement within a quartet. At one point he contemplated vast repeats of the development and recapitulation (or “seconda parte,” to use Beethoven’s term) in the first and second movements of op. 59 no. 1, but ultimately rejected this idea. See Lewis Lockwood, “Process versus Limits: A View of the Quartet in F major Opus 59 no. 1,” in *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process*, 205–08; and “A Problem of Form,” in *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process*, 90–95. Lockwood also notes that large-scale repeats were added to—and later deleted from—the finale of the same quartet.

10 Sound and structure in Beethoven’s orchestral music

It should be noted that my perspective on the subject of this chapter derives primarily from experiences performing the orchestral works in concert.

1 Paul Bekker, *Die Sinfonie von Beethoven bis Mahler* (Berlin, 1918), 10–20, 56–57. See the argument on this notion that stresses, as does Bekker’s, the formal and structural role played by the orchestral apparatus: in Peter Gülke, “Zur Bestimmung des Sinfonischen bei Beethoven,” *Deutsches Jahrbuch der Musikwissenschaft* (1970), 67–95.

2 See Siegfried Oechsle, *Die Symphonie nach Beethoven: Studien zu Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn und Gade* (Kassel, 1992), 18, 25, 27, 30.

3 Johann Georg Sulzer, *General Theory of the Fine Arts* (1771–74), tr. and ed.

Thomas Christensen, in *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightenment*, ed. Nancy K. Baker and Thomas Christensen (Cambridge, 1995), 101, 106–07.

4 E. T. A. Hoffmann, “Review of Spohr’s First Symphony” (AmZ 13 [1811]), in E. T. A. Hoffmann’s *Musical Writings*, tr. Martyn Clarke, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge, 1989), 272.

5 “Beethoven’s Instrumental Music” (in *Kreisleriana*) and “Review of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony,” in E. T. A. Hoffmann’s *Musical Writings*, 97–100, 238.

6 For Nägeli and the opinions of Fink, Hand, and Schumann see Oechsle, *Die Symphonie*, 31–44.

7 Hoffmann, “Spohr’s First Symphony,” 285.

8 Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music*, tr. Mary Whittall (Oxford, 1991), 50–51, 76–81.

- 9 Dahlhaus, "Symphonie und Symphonischer Stil um 1850," in *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 1983/84 (Merseburg, 1984), 43–50.
- 10 See Bekker, *Sinfonie*, 51.
- 11 Dahlhaus, *Die Musiktheorie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Zweiter Teil: Deutschland* (Darmstadt, 1989), 234–38.
- 12 See Felix Weingartner, *Die Symphonie nach Beethoven* (Leipzig, 1909), 2–3.
- 13 It is interesting to note that many early twentieth-century musical modernists approved of Mahler's re-scoring of Beethoven. See Egon Wellesz's admiring comments on Mahler's changes in the scoring of no. 9 in Egon Wellesz, *Die neue Instrumentation*, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1928), II, 18–22.
- 14 A statistical analysis of the repertoire of the Vienna, Boston, Leipzig, and New York orchestras from their inception further confirms the relative significance of each of the nine symphonies and the various overtures. In the period 1881–1949 the Boston Symphony Orchestra performed no. 5, 49 times; no. 3, 45 times; no. 7, 42 times; no. 6, 35 times; no. 8, 33 times; no. 4, 34 times; no. 1, 27 times; and no. 2, 26 times. No. 9 was done 33 times in part or entirely. The Vienna Philharmonic between 1842 and 1910 performed no. 5, 35 times; no. 7, 33 times; no. 3, 28 times; no. 8, 25 times; no. 4, 20 times; no. 6, 19 times; no. 2, 14 times; no. 1, 10 times; and no. 9, 24 times. The New York Philharmonic from 1842 to 1930 performed no. 5, 101 times; no. 3, 82 times; No. 7, 68 times; no. 6, 46 times; no. 8, 45 times; no. 4, 32 times; no. 2, 20 times; no. 1, 16 times; and no. 9, 31 times. Finally, at the Leipzig Gewandhaus from 1881 to 1915, no. 5 was performed 34 times; no. 7, 32 times; no. 3, 31 times; no. 8, 25 times; no. 2, 15 times; nos. 1 and 6, 10 times each; and no. 9, 34 times. The sources for these data are M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *The Boston Symphony Orchestra 1881–1931* (Boston, 1931); H. Earle Johnson, *Symphony Hall, Boston* (New York, 1979/1950); Richard von Perger, *Fünfzig Jahre Wiener Philharmoniker 1860–1910* (Vienna, 1910); Henry Krehbiel, James Huneker, and John Erskine, *Early Histories of the New York Philharmonic* (New York, 1979); Howard Shanet, *Philharmonic: A History of New York's Orchestra* (New York, 1975); and *Die Gewandhaus Konzerte zu Leipzig 1781–1981*, ed. Johannes Forner, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1981).
- 15 It experienced a serious decline in popularity after 1945 in part as a result of a modernist prejudice on behalf of formalist aesthetics. See Owen Jander, "The Prophetic Conversation in Beethoven's 'Scene by the Brook,'" *MQ* 77/3 (1993), 508–59; also Mahler's comments on no. 6 in Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Recollections of Gustav Mahler* (Cambridge, 1980), 44–45, 113–14.
- 16 Its programmatic content, whether connected to Napoleon or Prometheus (in light of the self-quotation in the last movement), has never been held against it. See Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven*, 19–29.
- 17 See Elisabeth Eleanor Bauer, *Wie Beethoven auf den Sockel kam: Die Entstehung eines musikalischen Mythos* (Stuttgart, 1992), 261 ff; and Mark Evan Bonds, *After Beethoven: Imperatives of Originality in the Symphony* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), passim, on the role of the Ninth Symphony. For further reading see Andreas Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte ihrer Aufführung und Rezeption* (Kassel, 1993); Nicholas Cook, *Beethoven: Symphony no. 9* (Cambridge, 1993); and David Benjamin Levy, *Beethoven: The Ninth Symphony* (New York, 1995). See also Berlioz's comments on no. 9 cited in Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth Century France* (Cambridge, 1995), 104–12, and Karl Goldmark's recollection of Gottfried Preyer's derision of no. 9 in the 1840s at the Vienna Conservatory as a mark of Beethoven's madness in *Notes from the Life of a Viennese Composer* (New York, 1927), 46–48.
- 18 See Albrecht Riethmüller's essay in *Beethoven: Interpretationen seiner Werke*, ed. Albrecht Riethmüller, Carl Dahlhaus, and Alexander L. Ringer, 2 vols. (Laaber, 1994), II, 34–45.
- 19 For the most recent basic and detailed information on the nine symphonies see the entries in *Beethoven: Interpretationen*, ed. Riethmüller, Dahlhaus, Ringer. Also see the analyses contained in Donald F. Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis: Symphonies and Other Orchestral Works* (New York, 1989), and Gerhart von Westerman, *Knauers Konzertführer*, 3rd edn., with an introduction by Wilhelm Furtwängler (Munich, 1951).
- 20 Alban Berg, cited in the 1918 manifesto of the Society for Private Musical Performances in Willi Reich, *Alban Berg* (New York, 1965), 49.
- 21 See Peter Gülke, "Zur Bestimmung," and "The Orchestra as Medium of Realization," *MQ* 80/2 (1996), 269–75.
- 22 I am accepting here the traditional nineteenth-century estimate of the novelty of Beethoven's sound. It should be said that late Haydn possesses more than a few striking precedents, not only in *The Seasons*, but in the late symphonies, no. 103 in E♭ foremost among them.
- 23 See Hector Berlioz–Richard Strauss, *Treatise on Instrumentation* (Huntington LI, n.d.), 177. See also Adam Carse, *The History of Orchestration* (New York, 1925; rpt. 1964),

232–34; and Louis A. Coerne, *The Evolution of Modern Orchestration* (New York, 1908), 53–57.
 24 Kent Kennan and Donald Grantham, *The Technique of Orchestration* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1990), 80.
 25 C. M. Widor, *Die Technik des modernen Orchesters* (Leipzig, 1904), 30. Widor criticizes Beethoven's scoring for clarinets in a passage in *Egmont*, citing insufficient support for a dissonance in a chord through the use of a single clarinet.
 26 *Ibid.*, 48.
 27 *Ibid.*, 253.
 28 H. Riemann, *Handbuch der Orchestrierung* (Berlin, 1921), 29–36.

11 Beethoven's songs and vocal style

1 Published in AmZ 12 (July 1810).
 2 W. H. Wackenroder, *Werke und Briefe* (Heidelberg, 1967), 255. As quoted in Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music*, tr. Mary Whittall (Oxford, 1995), 67. Tieck contributed four essays to Wackenroder's *Phantasien über die Kunst* of 1789–99.
 3 As translated by Linda Siegel in her *Music in German Romantic Literature* (Novato, CA, 1983), 131.
 4 *Ibid.*, 97.
 5 See the preface to J. P. A. Schulz's *Lieder im Volkston* of 1782, as quoted by Jack Stein, *Poem and Music in the German Lied from Gluck to Hugo Wolf* (Cambridge, MA, 1971), 28.
 6 See Achim von Arnim's *On Folksongs* of 1805, as translated by Siegel, *Music in German Romantic Literature*, 202.
 7 *Ibid.*, 43.
 8 A comment from the poet and composer C. F. D. Schubart, as quoted in Margaret Mahony Stoljar, *Poetry and Song in Late Eighteenth-century Germany* (London, 1985), 32.
 9 See Siegel, *Music in German Romantic Literature*, 43.
 10 See Stoljar, *Poetry and Song*, 149.
 11 Christopher Reynolds discusses Beethoven's ways of representing ideas via techniques of concealment in "The Representational Impulse in Late Beethoven, I: An die ferne Geliebte," *Acta* 60 (1988), 43–61. See p. 56 in particular.
 12 Friedrich Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (Stuttgart, 1978), 75–77.
 13 *Ibid.*, 36.
 14 See Douglas Johnson, "1794–1795: Decisive Years in Beethoven's Early Development," *BS* III, 22–24.
 15 Robert Winter, "The Sketches for the 'Ode to Joy,'" in *Beethoven, Performers, and Critics: The International Beethoven Congress, Detroit, 1977*, ed. Winter and Bruce Carr (Detroit, 1980), 184.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 201. See also Maynard Solomon, "Beethoven and Schiller," in *Beethoven, Performers, and Critics*, p. 170.
 17 Winter, "The Sketches to the 'Ode to Joy,'" 207.
 18 See Joseph Kerman, "Voice," *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York, 1966), 191–222.
 19 Richard Wagner, "Opera and Drama," tr. William Ashton Ellis, *Richard Wagner's Prose Works* (London, 1893), II, 290.
 20 See Ludwig Misch, "The Upper Pitches of the Voices more through the Instruments," in *Beethoven Studies*, tr. G. I. C. de Courcy (Norman, OK, 1953), 167–69.
 21 See *Beethoven: Letters, Journals and Conversations*, ed. Michael Hamburger (London, 1951), 193 and 237.
 22 Joseph Kerman, "An die ferne Geliebte," *BS* I, 154.
 23 *Ibid.*, 134.
 24 See Barry Cooper, *Beethoven's Folksong Settings: Chronology, Sources, Style* (Oxford, 1994), 198.
 25 *Ibid.*, 69–92.
 26 See Solomon, *Essays*, 256.
 27 Cooper, *Beethoven's Folksong Settings*, 76.
 28 *Ibid.*, 203–05.
 29 *Beethoven*, ed. Hamburger, 212.
 30 See Lorraine Gorrell, *The Nineteenth-century German Lied* (Portland, Oregon, 1993), 97.
 31 See Helga Lühning, "Gattungen des Liedes," in *Beiträge zu Beethovens Kammermusik*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg (Munich, 1987), 191–204, for a full discussion of the overlapping of genres in Beethoven's songs.
 32 See Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford, 1996), 48.
 33 According to Denis Matthews (*Beethoven* [London, 1985], 208), these arias were written for Joseph Lux, a *buffo* singer at the Bonn court.
 34 *Beethoven*, ed. Hamburger, 223.
 35 See William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Berkeley, 1995), 139–40.
 36 See Stein, *Poem and Music in the German Lied*, 53–54.
 37 Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven*, 3.
 38 Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 147.
 39 Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, 4–5.

12 Beethoven's essay in opera: historical, text-critical, and interpretative issues in *Fidelio*

1 At least that is what one normally infers from Beethoven's comment, "Well, I have quickly had an old French libretto adapted and am now beginning to work on it . . ." in his letter to Friedrich Rochlitz of 4 January 1804. Cited after Anderson I, no. 87a. For the original German see BG I, no. 176.

2 The precise chronology of composition over this span of twenty-three months – documented by sketches in the so-called “Eroica” Sketchbook (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Beethoven aut. Landsberg 6) and “Leonore” Sketchbook (SBB, Beethoven Autograph Mendelssohn 15) – is difficult to ascertain and has led to conflicting hypotheses. For opposed interpretations of the evidence see: (1) Alan Tyson, “Das Leonoreskizzenbuch (Mendelssohn 15): Probleme der Rekonstruktion und der Chronologie,” BJ 9 (1973/77), 469–99; and (2) Theodore Albrecht, “Beethoven’s *Leonore*: A New Compositional Chronology Based on May–August, 1804 Entries in Sketchbook Mendelssohn 15,” JM 7 (1989), 165–90. The title *Fidelio* was chosen by the theater authorities over Beethoven’s preferred title, *Leonore*, probably to avoid confusion with Ferdinando Paer’s *Leonora*, an Italian adaptation of the same story first performed in Dresden on 3 October 1804.

3 For the circumstances of the first performances from the perspective of contemporary observers see Thayer–Forbes I, 386–87, and TDR II, 488–91.

4 A few arias from the opera were performed at a private subscription concert in March 1807 arranged by Beethoven’s patron Prince Franz Joseph Maximilian Lobkowitz. See BG I, no. 251, note 4.

5 Early efforts include Otto Jahn’s piano–vocal score of the 1806 version, which indicated variants from the first version as well (Leipzig, c. 1853), and Erich Prieger’s two publications of his reconstruction of the 1805 version, a piano–vocal score (Leipzig, 1905) and a full score, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1908 and 1910). The most widely available reconstruction is Willy Hess’s edition (in large part a photographic reproduction of Prieger’s score) in *Beethoven. Leonore. Oper in drei Aufzügen. Partitur der Urfassung vom Jahre 1805*, vols. XI–XII of *Beethoven. Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe* (Wiesbaden, 1967). For recent literature on the textual problems of the 1805 version see: Clemens Brenneis, “Beethoven’s ‘Introduzione del Ildo Atto’ und die ‘Leonore’ von 1805,” *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 32 (1990), 181–203; Michael C. Tusa, “The Unknown Florestan: The 1805 Version of ‘In des Lebens Frühlingstagen,’” JAMS 46 (1993), 175–221; and Helga Lühning, “Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Arie des Florestan,” in *Festschrift Christoph-Hellmut Mahling zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Axel Beer, Kristina Pfarr, and Wolfgang Ruf, *Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 37, 2 vols. (Tutzing, 1997), I, 771–94.

6 Oldrich Pulkert, “Die Partitur der zweiten

Fassung von Beethovens Oper ‘Leonore’ im Musikarchiv des Nationaltheaters in Prag,” in *Bericht über den internationalen Beethoven-Kongress 20. bis 23. März 1977 in Berlin*, ed. Harry Goldschmidt, Karl-Heinz Köhler, and Konrad Niemann (Leipzig, 1978), 247–57. See also Lühning, “Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Arie des Florestan,” 779–87. Lühning is currently editing the 1806 version for the complete critical edition of Beethoven’s works published by Beethoven-Haus and G. Henle.

7 See Alan Tyson, “The Problem of Beethoven’s ‘First’ *Leonore* Overture,” JAMS 28 (1975), 292–334.

8 Treitschke’s letters to the theater directors in Darmstadt and Karlsruhe of 20 August 1814 and 10 September 1814, respectively, describe the retention or omission of Leonore’s aria as “gleich thunlich” (“equally feasible”). BG III, nos. 731 and 736. See also Manfred Schuler, “Unveröffentlichte Briefe von Ludwig van Beethoven und Georg Friedrich Treitschke. Zur dritten Fassung des ‘Fidelio,’” *Die Musikforschung* 35 (1982), 53–62.

9 See Helga Lühning, “Beethovens langer Weg zum ‘Fidelio,’” in *Opernkomposition als Prozess*, ed. Werner Breig, *Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten*, 29 (Kassel, 1996), 65–90, especially 82–83. An undated letter from Beethoven to Treitschke from the summer of 1814 (Anderson I, no. 483; BG III, no. 725) reveals that Beethoven contemplated publishing the opera in full score, but Treitschke evidently persuaded the composer that it would be financially more advantageous to sell manuscript copies of the score to the theaters, the normal practice for German opera at the time.

10 See, for instance, the entry in his diary: “Die Oper Fidelio 1814 statt März bis 15ten May neu geschrieben und verbessert” (“The opera *Fidelio* 1814, instead of March, newly written and improved by 15 May”). Cited after Maynard Solomon, “Beethoven’s Tagebuch of 1812–1818,” in BS III, 224.

11 In addition to the music performed at the three productions there survive two pre-premiere versions of Marzelline’s aria, an earlier version of the grave-digging duet, and an incomplete early version of Leonore’s aria. For the early versions of Marzelline’s aria see *Gesänge mit Orchester*, ed. Willy Hess, vol. II of the *Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 35–56. For the early versions of Leonore’s aria and of the grave-digging duet see *Leonore*, ed. Hess, vol. XII of the *Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe*, 555–86.

12 A modern edition of Bouilly’s libretto is available in Willy Hess, *Das Fidelio-Buch* (Winterthur, 1986), 327–63.

13 Jean-Nicolas Bouilly, *Mes récapitulations* (Paris, 1837); quoted after David Galliver, “Fidelio – Fact or Fantasy,” *Studies in Music* 15 (1981), 84.

14 For a review of the evidence see Galliver, “Fidelio – Fact or Fantasy,” 82–92. Further, as David Charlton has shown, scenes of imprisonment and liberation in earlier *opéras-comiques* provided him with numerous models for the treatment of such a topic. See his “The French Theatrical Origins of *Fidelio*,” in *Ludwig van Beethoven: Fidelio*, [ed.] Paul Robinson (Cambridge, 1996), 51–67.

15 For a recent discussion of the theme of freedom in *Fidelio* see Paul Robinson, “Fidelio and the French Revolution,” in *Ludwig van Beethoven: Fidelio*, 68–100.

16 See Alan Tyson, “Beethoven’s Heroic Phase,” *Musical Times* 110 (1969), 139–41.

17 Gerhard von Breuning recalled Beethoven’s answer to the question as to why he had never written a second opera: “I wished to write another opera but I found no suitable text-book for it. I must have a text which stimulates me; it must be something moral, elevating. Texts which Mozart could compose I would never have been able to set to music. I never have been able to get into the mood for setting lewd texts. I have received many text-books, but as I have said, none which I would wish to have.” Quoted after *Beethoven: Impressions of His Contemporaries*, ed. Oscar G. Sonneck (New York, 1926), 206–07.

18 See, for instance, the paraphrase of Kant’s *Critique of Practical Reason* that Beethoven copied into one of his conversation books in early 1820: “das moralische / Gesez in unß /, u. der gestirnte / Him[m]el über unß” Kant!!!” CB I, 235.

19 A modern edition of Sonnleithner’s libretto is printed by Adolf Sandberger in his *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Musikgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1921–24), II, 325–65. See also *Ludwig van Beethoven: alle vertonten und musikalisch bearbeiteten Texte*, ed. Kurt Schürmann (Münster, 1980), 27–75.

20 God is not altogether absent in Bouilly’s libretto, but it is significant that references to “Dieu” (God) in the published French libretto (e.g. Florestan’s Recitative and Romance) become the classical “Dieux” (gods) in Gaveaux’s score. Anti-religious sentiment may also help account for the fact that the second solo ascribed to Leonore in Bouilly’s libretto, the prayerful *Air* “O toi, mon unique espérance” with its explicit references to the Judaeo-Christian Deity (“Dieu”), was not set by Gaveaux (or at least not included in the published score of 1798).

21 In the memorable formulation by Harry Goldschmidt, “Jacobinian harshness” has been tempered in a “Josephinian” manner; see his “Die Ur-*Leonore*,” in *Beethoven*.

Werkeinführungen (Leipzig, 1975), 262. In the event the opera was initially rejected by the censors, who probably feared that audiences would understand Pizarro as a negative symbol of the state. To allay their doubts Sonnleithner reminded them, however, that the action had been set in the sixteenth century and that Pizarro’s evil actions are a matter of personal revenge; what is more, the Empress herself considered the story one of her favorites. See Thayer–Forbes, 385–86.

22 David Charlton’s explication of the ideology of Bouilly’s libretto as a critique of the excesses of the Reign of Terror and thus a typical product of the so-called Thermidorian reaction is persuasive; see Charlton, “The French Theatrical Origins,” 64–67. But whether Beethoven in 1804–05 understood Bouilly’s libretto in this manner is unclear. Certainly the image of Florestan’s imprisonment could bring to mind the Bastille and, by association, the idea of revolution against *royal* abuse; hence the censors’ concerns about the 1805 libretto.

23 The piece in question, formerly thought to be the March in B \flat (1806/5), is now known to be a piece (WoO 2b) formerly attributed to the incidental music to Christoph Kuffner’s tragedy *Tarpeja*. See Brenneis, “Beethoven’s ‘Introduzione del Ildo Atto,’” 193–200. The fact that the title page of the published 1805 libretto describes the work as “Eine Oper in zwey Aufzügen” further suggests that the division into three acts took place fairly close to the time of the premiere.

24 In his letter of 2 June 1806 to his sister, Eleonore von Breuning, Breuning described the goal of the revisions as to make the action “lebhafter und schneller”; see Wegeler–Ries, 62–63. For a critical edition of the libretto of 1806 see *Leonore. Oper in zwei Aufzügen von Ludwig van Beethoven: Das Libretto der Aufführung von 1806*, ed. Helga Lühning (Bonn, 1996).

25 However, Breuning possibly did prepare a new text for Rocco’s aria, since a manuscript score with an alternative text (“Von dem Schlüssel hört erzählen”) survives; see Hess, *Das Fidelio-Buch*, 231–32, as well as *Beethoven. Dramatische Werke*, III [= *Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe*, XIII] (Wiesbaden, 1970), 137 and xxxvi. But the piece was not published in the 1806 libretto, and it was not included in the 1810 piano–vocal score.

26 Martin Ruhnke, “Die Librettisten des *Fidelio*,” in *Anna Amalie Abert zum 65.*

Geburtstag. Opernstudien, ed. Klaus Hortschansky (Tutzing, 1975), 131. Another detail of the 1806 libretto that enhances Leonore's symbolic function is the fact that it is she rather than Marzelline (as had been the case in 1805) who releases the prisoners for their daily exercise in the prison garden, thereby reverting to a detail present in Bouilly's libretto that Sonnleithner had changed.

27 See, for instance, Breuning's detailed description of Marzelline's response to Rocco's praise of "Fidelio" in the dialogue leading up to the famous Canon: "Marzelline (welche während dem Lobe, das Rocco Leonoren erteilte, die größte Theilname hat blicken lassen, und sie mit immer zunehmenden Bewegung liebevoll betrachtet hat . . .)"

28 Whereas Act 2 of the 1805 version starts with the same courtyard setting as the end of Act 1, the corresponding point in the 1806 version (Act 1, scene 4) moves the action to another, more austere, part of the fortress for Pizarro's first appearance.

29 A note in a sketch for a revision of the Marzelline–"Fidelio" duet (SBB, Mendelssohn 15, p. 344), one of the few known sketches for the 1806 version, suggests Beethoven's lead in this textual revision: "hier für Fidelio ein anderer Text, der mit ihr einstimmt . . ." See N II, 454.

30 For Treitschke's reminiscences of the 1814 collaboration with Beethoven see "Die Zauberflöte. Der Dorfbarbier. Fidelio. Beitrag zur musikalischen Kunstgeschichte," in *Orpheus. Musikalisches Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1841*, 239–64, especially 259–64. Like all such memoirs published many years after the fact they must be treated with a certain skepticism.

31 As noted above, Beethoven and Treitschke at first had no plans to reinstate Rocco's "gold aria."

32 Heinrich W. Schwab correctly notes, however, that the placement of the duet at the very start of the opera actually increases the audience's sense of stylistic disruption, since it raises expectations that the work will have a light, comical air about it. See "Fidelio (Leonore), op. 72," in *Beethoven. Interpretationen seiner Werke*, ed. Albrecht Riethmüller, Carl Dahlhaus, and Alexander L. Ringer, 2 vols. (Laaber, 1994), I, 548.

33 For a defense of the aria's original ending (or rather, the ending of 1806) on the grounds that it presents a more truthful picture of Florestan see Romain Rolland, *Beethoven the Creator. The Great Creative Epochs. I: From the Eroica to the Appassionata*, tr. Ernest Newman (New York, 1929), 238.

34 In the manuscript libretto that Treitschke

prepared for Beethoven (Bonn, Beethoven-Haus, NE 85) the text of Leonore's soliloquy differs significantly from that which Beethoven ultimately set. See Lühning, "Beethovens langer Weg," 69–71.

35 As Ruhne ("Die Librettiten des *Fidelio*," 134) observes, the *exceptional* nature of their release corresponds better to the awe-filled music with which the prisoners emerge into the open air.

36 Treitschke, "Die Zauberflöte. Der Dorfbarbier. Fidelio," 260.

37 For example, see Winton Dean, "Beethoven and Opera," in *The Beethoven Reader*, ed. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (New York, 1971), 366–67.

38 On this problem see Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to His Music*, tr. Mary Whittall (Oxford, 1991), 182.

39 For a more extended treatment of Beethoven's compositional approach in *Fidelio*, see my "Music as Drama: Structure, Style, and Process in *Fidelio*," in *Ludwig van Beethoven: Fidelio*, ed. Robinson, 101–31.

40 Schwab, "Fidelio (Leonore), op. 72," 558–59.

41 According to the admittedly unreliable Anton Schindler, Beethoven especially admired *Die Zauberflöte* for the way that Mozart had therein united all of the musical genres from the *Lied* to the chorale and fugue. Schindler (1860), II, 164–65.

42 For a listing of surviving passages from Mozart's works copied in Beethoven's hand see Bathia Churgin, "Beethoven and Mozart's Requiem: A New Connection," *JM* 5 (1987), 475–76.

43 Philip Gossett, "The Arias of Marzelline: Beethoven as a Composer of Opera," *BJ* 10 (1978/81), 141–83, especially 172–74. See also my "Beethoven and Opera: The Sketches for the Grave-Digging Duet in *Leonore*," *BF* 5 (1996), 52–53.

44 As he expressed himself in the letter to Rochlitz of 4 January 1804, "I have finally broken with Schikaneder, whose empire has really been entirely eclipsed by the light of the brilliant and attractive French operas . . ." (original emphasis). Anderson I, no. 87a; BG I, no. 176.

45 For the stylistic evidence of Beethoven's dependence on Bouilly see Dean, "Beethoven and Opera," 343–44, and Rainer Cadenbach, "Die 'Leonore' des Pierre Gaveaux – Ein Modell für Beethovens 'Fidelio'?" in *Collegium Musicologicum: Festschrift Emil Platen zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff (Bonn, 1986), 100–21.

46 On the Cherubini excerpts, taken from the Act 1 Trio and Finale, see Alan Tyson, "Das

Leonoreskizzenbuch (Mendelssohn 15),” 490. It seems significant that two of the items added by Sonnleithner to Bouilly, the new conclusion of Act 2 (Act 1 of 1806 and 1814) and the great quartet in Act 3 (or Act 2), point to Cherubinian models. With respect to the former, Pizarro’s ranting entrance and *Aria con coro* are quite reminiscent of the treatment accorded the villain Dourlinski at the end of Act 2 of *Lodoiska*. And the latter may well have been inspired by the *Morceau d’ensemble et chœur* no. 7 in *Les deux journées*, a frenzied confrontation that, like the original version of the quartet, ends on an unresolved dissonance to signify the lack of dramatic resolution.

47 In the 1805 libretto Leonore’s aria occupies the same position as the strophic *romance* “Qu’il ma fallu depuis deux ans” in Bouilly’s libretto; moreover, Sonnleithner’s first version of the text, transmitted in the printed libretto of 1805, matches the two-stanza structure of the French poem. At some point prior to the premiere, however, Sonnleithner revised the text to facilitate a more typically Italianate structure for the soliloquy. See N II, 447, and Lühning, “Beethovens langer Weg,” 67–69. The verses added in this second version, the prayerful quatrain “Komm Hoffnung, laß den letzten Stern,” were perhaps inspired by the second solo for Leonore in Bouilly’s libretto, the *Air* “O toi, mon unique espérance,” a piece that, as mentioned above, does not occur in Gaveaux’s published score.

48 See Wolfgang Osthoff, “Beethovens ‘Leonoren’-Arien,” in *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung. Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Bonn 1970*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus, Hans Joachim Marx, Magda Marx-Weber, and Günther Massenkeil (Kassel, 1973), 191–99.

49 For a discussion of the surviving sketches for the original version of the aria see Tusa, “The Unknown Florestan,” 183–94, and Lühning “Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Arie des Florestan,” 787–94.

50 On the problem of “leitmotivic” thinking in Beethoven’s opera see Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven*, 188–93.

51 A stage instruction added by Treitschke in 1814 has a guard appear atop the wall at this point.

52 In the following discussion of the Trio, the measure numbers refer to Hess’s edition of the 1805 version.

53 Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven*, 190–93.

54 Peter Gülke, “Kompositorisch genau kalkulierte Unmöglichkeit: Marzelline und Jacquino singen ein Anti-Duett,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 44 (1989), 346–49.

55 For a more detailed discussion of the duet along these lines see my “Beethoven and Opera: The Sketches for the Grave-Digging Duet in *Leonore*,” 1–63.

56 For a more extended discussion see Tusa, “Music as Drama: Structure, Style, and Process in *Fidelio*,” 127–30.

57 For detailed comparisons of the three versions from the perspective of Alfred Lorenz’s theories on musical form see Hess, *Das Fidelio-Buch*, especially 113–225; this material appeared earlier in his *Beethovens Oper Fidelio und ihre drei Fassungen* (Zurich, 1953). Hess’s comparisons and conclusions do, however, require some adjustments in the light of the literature cited above in notes 5, 6, and 7.

58 As is well known, this beautiful section of the finale is based upon a movement (“Da stiegen die Menschen ans Licht”) from Beethoven’s early Cantata on the Death of Emperor Joseph II WoO 87, of 1790.

59 Early reviews noted that the tenor sang badly off-pitch. See Tusa, “The Unknown Florestan,” 210–11. Cuts in the 1806 version the Act 2 Trio “Euch werde Lohn” also tend to leave Florestan less exposed.

60 See below, note 67.

61 Hess’s score of the 1805 version – basically a photographic reprint of Prieger’s – includes a contrabassoon in the duet, but Hess himself notes that the contrabassoon part was added in 1806; see his critical report in the *Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe*, XIII, xl.

62 The new overture was not ready for the premiere in 1814, at which performance Beethoven substituted one of his older overtures, possibly the one to *The Ruins of Athens*. See Alan Tyson, “Yet Another ‘Leonore’ Overture?” *ML* 58 (1977), 201.

63 This revision is anticipated by the piano–vocal score of the 1806 version prepared by Beethoven’s student Carl Czerny (Leipzig, 1810), in which Beethoven may have felt that the piece, removed from its theatrical context, required a full cadence for musical closure.

64 Anderson I, no. 481. Sieghard Brandenburg has recently dated the letter prior to 5 April 1814; see BG III, no. 709.

65 The result is frequently, as Winton Dean observes in his classic essay on the opera, an asymmetrical approach to phrase structure that signals a composer on the cusp of his late style. See “Beethoven and Opera,” 367.

66 Gossett, “The Arias of Marzelline,” 181–82.

67 According to Schindler, Frau Milder-Hauptmann explained to him in 1836 that she had refused to perform the aria in 1814 unless Beethoven rewrote it. Schindler (1860), I, 135–36.

68 For other instances where the declamation of 1814 seems significantly improved see Pizarro's aria (the word "morden" at m. 39), the prisoners' chorus in the Act 1 finale (the phrase "eine Gruft" at mm. 38–39 and the word "frei" at m. 86), and the Adagio of Florestan's aria (the phrase "Wahrheit wagt' ich kühn zu sagen" at mm. 61–62).

69 For comparisons of the various versions see Helga Lühning, "B oder H? Über Beethovens Revisionen des Quartetts 'Er sterbe,'" in *35. Beethovenfest Bonn: Das Buch zum Programm* (Bonn, 1997), especially 75–82, and Schwab, "Fidelio (Leonore), op. 72," 555–58. In this respect the substitution of B \flat for B \natural at m. 92 (a feature already adumbrated in the 1810 piano–vocal score), seems a rare *lessening* of dramatic impact in the 1814 version.

70 See above, note 17. For a summary of Beethoven's abortive operatic plans see Dean, "Beethoven and Opera," 381–86.

71 "Opern und alles seyn lassen nur für deine Weise schreiben . . ." Solomon, "Beethoven's Tagebuch of 1812–1818," 253.

13 Probing the sacred genres: Beethoven's religious songs, oratorio, and masses

1 See Maynard Solomon, "The Quest for Faith," in his *Beethoven Essays* (Cambridge, MA, 1988), 216–29 and 348–51 (notes to the chapter); and Siegfried Kross, "Beethoven und die rheinisch-katholische Aufklärung," in his *Beethoven: Mensch seiner Zeit* (Bonn, 1980), 9–35.

2 His own copy (Reutlingen 1811 edition; today SBB, Mus. ms. Beethoven autogr. 40,2) contains numerous annotations.

3 Günther Massenkeil, "6 Klavierlieder op. 48," in *Beethoven: Interpretationen seiner Werke*, ed. Albrecht Riethmüller, Carl Dahlhaus, and Alexander Ringer (Laaber, 1994), I, 343ff.

4 See Max Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert: Quellen und Studien*, 2 vols. (repr. Hildesheim, 1962), II, 55–57, 494 (statistics), and 527 (supplement).

5 See Helga Lühning, *Beethoven Werke. Gesamtausgabe, Abt. XII Bd. 1: Beethoven. Lieder und Gesänge mit Klavierbegleitung. Kritischer Bericht* (Munich, 1990), 24f.

6 See, for example, op. 48 no. 4, mm. 19ff.; *Adelaide* op. 46, mm. 32ff.; "Abendlied unterm gestirnten Himmel" WoO 150, mm. 10ff. and 44f.; Ninth Symphony, Finale, e.g. at the words, "über Sternen muß er wohnen" (Adagio *ma non troppo, ma divoto*); various passages in the *Missa solemnis*, where the text suggests the human apprehension of God. The musical idea is transformed from word-painting, especially in the earlier works, to a symbol for the

incomprehensible surmounting of the human horizon (above all, in the late works); see Lodes, *Das Gloria in Beethovens Missa solemnis* (Tutzing, 1997), 113–21.

7 Theodore Albrecht argues that Beethoven had already begun the composition in October 1802. See "The Fortnight Fallacy: A Revised Chronology for Beethoven's *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, op. 85, and the Wielhorsky Sketchbook," *Journal of Musicological Research* 11 (1991), 263–84. Beethoven himself emphasized the short gestation period several times in letters.

8 Beethoven presumably had a decisive part in developing the libretto with Franz Xaver Huber.

9 Barry Cooper, "Beethoven's Oratorio and the Heiligenstadt Testament," *The Beethoven Journal* 10 (1995), 20.

10 According to Josef Blöchlinger, Beethoven expressed the view around 1819 that "Christ is nothing but a crucified Jew" (Theodor von Frimmel, *Beethoven-Studien*, 2 vols. [Munich and Leipzig, 1905–06], II, 117); Beethoven's conversation with his nephew at the beginning of September 1823 can be interpreted similarly (CB IV, 102).

11 Sieghard Brandenburg, "Beethovens Oratorium *Christus am Ölberg*. Ein unbequemes Werk," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Oratoriums seit Händel: Festschrift Günther Massenkeil zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Rainer Cadenbach and Helmut Loos (Bonn, 1986), 215f.

12 For a detailed account, see Alan Tyson, "The 1803 Version of Beethoven's *Christus am Ölberge*," MQ 56 (1970), 551–84.

13 The third and fourth lines must be "Schlagt links den Weg nur ein. Er muß ganz nahe sein" (Beethoven to Breitkopf & Härtel on 28 January 1812; BG II, no. 545; Anderson I, no. 345).

14 AmZ 14 (1812); in *Ludwig van Beethoven: Die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, ed. Stefan Kunze (Laaber, 1987), 234.

15 *Ibid.*, 240; from AmZ 14 (1812).

16 *Ibid.*, 237–39; from *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 4 (1828).

17 Jeremiah Walker R. McGrann, *Beethoven's Mass in C, Opus 86: Genesis and Compositional Background*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1991; Ann Arbor, 1993), 205–14.

18 Johann Harich, "Beethoven in Eisenstadt," in *Joseph Haydn und seine Zeit: Festschrift anlässlich der 150. Wiederkehr des Todestages von Joseph Haydn, Bürgehländische Heimatblätter* 21/2 (1959), 179.

19 See Birgit Lodes, "'Von Herzen – möge es wieder – zu Herzen gehn!' Zur Widmung von Beethovens *Missa solemnis*," in *Altes im Neuen: Festschrift Theodor Göllner zum 65. Geburtstag*,

ed. Bernd Edelmann and Manfred Hermann Schmid (Tutzing, 1995), 295–306.

20 For an account of the genesis see Robert Winter, “Reconstructing Riddles: The Sources for Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis*,” in *Beethoven Essays: Studies in Honor of Elliot Forbes*, ed.

Lewis Lockwood and Phyllis Benjamin (Cambridge, MA, 1984), 217–50.

21 Compare letters from 13 November 1821 to Schlesinger, 5 June 1822 to Peters, and 10 March 1824 to Schott and H. A. Probst.

22 Letter to Breitkopf & Härtel: BG II, no. 484; Anderson I, no. 294. Translation modified from Anderson.

23 See Andreas Friesenhagen, *Die Messen Ludwig van Beethovens: Studien zur Vertonung des liturgischen Textes zwischen Rhetorik und Dramatisierung* (Cologne, 1996), 107–21.

24 In his review of the C major Mass, E. T. A. Hoffmann criticized this “utterly strange modulation”: “The reviewer cannot exactly recommend imitating this modulation”; AmZ 15 (1813), quoted from *Ludwig van Beethoven*, ed. Kunze, 257.

25 Rudolf Stephan, “Messe C-Dur op. 86,” in *Beethoven: Interpretationen*, ed. Riethmüller, Dahlhaus, and Ringer, II, 6.

26 Reviewer in the AmZ 17 (1815); quoted from *Ludwig van Beethoven*, ed. Kunze, 249.

27 Beethoven to J. A. Streicher on 19 September 1824; BG V, no. 1875; Anderson III, no. 1307. Translation modified from Anderson.

28 For a lucid discussion of the formal and symphonic dimensions of the Kyrie (and all other movements) of the *Missa solemnis* see William Drabkin, *Beethoven: Missa solemnis* (Cambridge, 1991).

29 See Warren Kirkendale, “New Roads to Old Ideas in Beethoven’s *Missa solemnis*,” MQ 56 (1970), 666ff.

30 See Thrasybulos Georgiades, “Zu den Satzschlüssen der *Missa Solemnis*,” in *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung. Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn 1970*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus, Hans Joachim Marx, Magda Marx-Weber, and Günther Massenkeil (Kassel, 1973), 37–42.

31 For the Gloria, see Birgit Lodes, “‘When I try, now and then, to give musical form to my turbulent feelings’: The Human and the Divine in the Gloria of Beethoven’s *Missa solemnis*,” in BF 6 (1998), 143–79; for the Credo and Benedictus, see William Kinderman, “Beethoven’s Symbol for the Deity in the *Missa Solemnis* and the Ninth Symphony,” 19CM 9 (1985), 102–08.

32 The juxtaposition of contrasting images is already remarkable in the Credo of the C major Mass (unlike, for example, Haydn’s “Nelson”

Mass [Hob. HXII:11] and *Missa in tempore belli* [Hob. HXII:9], the opening section, mm.

1–130, is not held together by either continuous instrumental motion or unified dynamics); compare, as well, the powerfully expressive, often “dramatic” setting of individual statements (e.g. “et expecto,” mm. 268ff.), which usually arises from the declamation of the text (see also “genitum, non factum,” mm. 68–71).

33 Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music*, tr. Mary Whittall (Oxford, 1991), 201.

34 A possible source of inspiration was the “Pie Jesu” from Luigi Cherubini’s C minor Requiem, a work which Beethoven treasured; see Birgit Lodes, “Requiem in der Zeit der schönen Tode,” in *Messe und Motette*, Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen 9, ed. Horst Leuchtmann and Siegfried Mauser (Laaber, 1998), 297.

35 Theodor Göllner, “‘Et incarnatus est’ in Beethoven’s *Missa solemnis*,” *Annuario musical* 43 (1988), 189–99.

36 Drabkin, *Beethoven: Missa solemnis*, 100; Walter Riezler, *Beethoven* (London, 1938), 190.

37 McGrann, *Mass in C*, 409–13.

38 See Beethoven’s note above the Dona section (mm. 96ff.), “Bitte um innern und äußern Frieden” (“Prayer for inner and outward peace”), which in the sketches (Artaria 201, 79) and the autograph (leaf 11) still reads: “Dona nobis pacem representing *inner and outer peace*”; from William Drabkin, “The Sketches and Autographs for the Later Movements of Beethoven’s *Missa solemnis*,” BF 2 (1993), 129.

39 Drabkin, *Beethoven: Missa solemnis*, 93f.

40 The source is a German edition (Landshut, 1831), a translation of the French tenth edition. I am grateful to Professor Friedrich W. Riedel for having drawn my attention to this work.

41 Similarly Thomas a Kempis, *Nachfolge Christi*, Book 3, Chapters 23 (“Four things produce great joy”), 25 (“What constitutes lasting peace of mind and true progress”), and 42 (“Do not build your peace on people”). Beethoven owned the book in a Reutlingen edition.

42 Lombez, *Ueber den innern Frieden*, 355f.

43 *Ibid.*, 355.

44 That the conception of the *Missa solemnis* is relevant for the understanding of other late works can only be suggested here: Beethoven interrupted composition on it after he had already worked out most of the Agnus (except for the conclusion) in order to compose his final two piano sonatas, opp. 110 and 111. See William Drabkin, “The Agnus Dei of Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis*: The Growth of Its

Form,” in *Beethoven’s Compositional Process*, ed. William Kinderman (Lincoln, NB and London, 1991), 156. The fugue subject in op. 110 is closely connected in its motivic material with the fugue subject of the Gloria and the “pacem” theme of the Agnus in the *Missa solemnis*. By interlocking the powerfully expressive slow movement and the fugue Beethoven seems to want to convey the message of the Agnus in purely instrumental music: the solitary sorrowful human of the Adagio ma non troppo finally finds hymn-like transcendence in (inner and outer) peace.

45 This is documented in Beethoven’s autograph copy of the text for the Mass Ordinary (SBB, Mus. Ms autogr. 35,25). The German translation entered next to the Latin text comes from Ignaz Aurelius Fessler, *Ansichten von Religion und Kirchentum*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1805), II, 404–49. For the translation of individual words, Beethoven drew on the Latin–German dictionary by Immanuel Johann Gerhard Schmeller (SBB, Mus. Ms autogr. 40,8), which was also in his possession.

46 German original: “Ist das ästhet. Problem der M.s. das der Nivellierung aufs Allgemein-Menschliche?” See Fragment 298 (1957) from Theodor W. Adorno, *Beethoven: Philosophie der Musik. Fragmente und Texte*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt am Main, 1993), 203. More on the topic appeared in his radio talk written the same year, “Verfremdetes Hauptwerk – Zur *Missa Solemnis*,” in *ibid.*, 204–22, especially 214–16.

47 In addition to the studies by the two authors already cited, see William Kinderman, “Beethoven’s Compositional Models for the Choral Finale of the Ninth Symphony,” in *Beethoven’s Compositional Process*, 160–88.

14 “With a Beethoven-like sublimity”: **Beethoven in the works of other composers**
I would like to thank Richard Boursy for his comments on this chapter.

1 Charles Ives, *Essays Before a Sonata and Other Writings*, ed. Howard Boatwright (New York, 1961), 36.

2 Richard Wagner, *My Life*, tr. Andrew Gray, ed. Mary Whittall (New York, 1983), 35–36. For Wagner’s reception of Beethoven, see Klaus Kropfinger, *Wagner and Beethoven*, tr. Peter Palmer (Cambridge, 1991).

3 Leo Treitler, “History, Criticism, and Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony,” *19CM* 3 (1980), 195.

4 The Ninth’s choral finale has assumed a more central position in subsequent music

history than its opening. Exploiting Beethoven’s prestige, Wagner construed the introduction of voices as pointing toward the music drama as the “symphony” of the future. Expanding on a point originally made by Friedrich Chrysander in an early review, several recent authors have interpreted the reference to the “Ode to Joy” and subsequent events in the finale of Brahms’s First Symphony as a detailed refutation of Wagner’s claim and a deliberate validation of the purely instrumental symphony. See, for example, Mark Evan Bonds, *After Beethoven: Imperatives of Originality in the Symphony* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 138–74. Beethoven’s Ninth also inspired a wide variety of choral symphonies, including Mendelssohn’s *Lobgesang*, Franz Liszt’s *Faust* Symphony, and Gustav Mahler’s Eighth (among others).

5 Theodor W. Adorno, *Alban Berg: Master of the Smallest Link*, tr. Juliane Brand and Christopher Hailey (Cambridge, 1991), 110; Robert P. Morgan, “The Eternal Return: Retrograde and Circular Form in Berg,” in *Alban Berg: Historical and Analytical Perspectives*, ed. David Gable and Robert P. Morgan (Oxford, 1991), 147–49.

6 See, for example, Adorno, *Alban Berg*, 76.

7 Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Recollections of Gustav Mahler*, tr. Dika Newlin, ed. Peter Franklin (London, 1980), 157–58.

8 *Ibid.*

9 For a recent treatment of the Sixth Symphony, see Richard Will, “Time, Morality, and Humanity in Beethoven’s *Pastoral* Symphony,” *JAMS* 50 (1997), 271–329.

10 Along with various inanimate phenomena, Knecht’s heading does mention a whistling shepherd and the “sweet voice” of a shepherdess, but it presents the entire scene as viewed from the outside. As is well known, Beethoven entered the words “Mehr Ausdruck der Empfindung als Malerei” (“More expression of feeling than tone-painting”) in his autograph for the symphony. This touches on an important issue in German aesthetics at the time: whether music is an imitative or expressive art. See Walter Serauky, *Die musikalische Nachahmungsästhetik in Zeitraum von 1700 bis 1850* (Münster-in-Westfalen, 1929).

11 Richard Wagner, “Beethoven,” *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, 3rd edn., 10 vols. (Leipzig, 1897), IX, 61–126. See also Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, tr. Roger Lustig (Chicago, 1989), 132–33.

12 D. Kern Holoman, “Berlioz,” in *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony*, ed. D. Kern Holoman (New York, 1997), 109 and 136 n. 6;

- Judith Silber Ballan, “Marxian Programmatic Music: A Stage in Mendelssohn’s Musical Development,” in *Mendelssohn Studies*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Cambridge, 1992), 149–61; R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: The Hebrides and Other Overtures* (Cambridge, 1993), 70–71.
- 13 *Memoirs of Hector Berlioz, Member of the French Institute, Including His Travels in Italy, Germany, Russia and England, 1803–1865*, tr. and ed. David Cairns (New York, 1969), 104.
- 14 Hector Berlioz, *A Critical Study of Beethoven’s Nine Symphonies*, tr. Edwin Evans (London, 1958), 19.
- 15 See the related discussion in Aaron Copland, “Berlioz Today,” reprinted in *Fantastic Symphony*, ed. Edward T. Cone (New York, 1971), 298 and 300.
- 16 Nicholas Temperley, “The *Symphonie fantastique* and Its Program,” *MQ* 57 (1971), 597.
- 17 See the letter from Mendelssohn to his mother of 15 March 1831; quoted in *Fantastic Symphony*, ed. Cone, 282.
- 18 Friedhelm Krummacher, *Mendelssohn – Der Komponist: Studien zur Kammermusik für Streicher* (Munich, 1978), 87–88.
- 19 A number of writers have pointed out the resemblances, including Joscelyn Godwin, “Early Mendelssohn and Late Beethoven,” *ML* 55 (1974), 280–84; Philip Radcliffe, *Mendelssohn*, 2nd edn. (London, 1976), 93–94; Krummacher, *Mendelssohn – der Komponist*, 192 and 218; Wulf Konold, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und seine Zeit* (Regensburg, 1984), 111–38; Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 574–80.
- 20 *Bref till Adolf Fredrik Lindblad från Mendelssohn, Dohrn, Almqvist, Atterbom, Geiger, Fredrika Bremer, C. W. Bottiger och Andra* (Stockholm, 1913), 19–20, quoted in Krummacher, *Mendelssohn – der Komponist*, 72.
- 21 *Bref till Lindblad från Mendelssohn*, 20; quoted in Krummacher, *Mendelssohn – der Komponist*, 87.
- 22 Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music in the Form of Six Lessons*, tr. Arthur Knodel and Ingolf Dahl (New York, 1947), 79.
- 23 Wagner, “Zukunftsmusik,” *Gesammelte Schriften*, VII, 127.
- 24 See, for example, Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, tr. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989), 255–57.
- 25 See, for example, Margaret Notley, “Discourse and Allusion: The Chamber Music of Brahms,” in *Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music*, ed. Stephen E. Hefling (New York, 1998), 253–54.
- 26 Arnold Schoenberg, “Brahms the Progressive,” *Style and Idea*, tr. Leo Black, ed. Leonard Stein (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1975), 398–441. Schoenberg discusses motivic features of Beethoven’s op. 95 at 423–24.
- 27 Erwin Stein, “Das gedankliche Prinzip in Beethovens Musik und seine Auswirkung bei Schönberg,” *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 9 (1927), 117–21. On the rejection of Beethoven by many other composers in the 1920s, see Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Zur Geschichte der Beethoven-Rezeption* (Laaber, 1994), 13–33.
- 28 Stein, “Das gedankliche Prinzip,” 117–19.
- 29 From Schoenberg’s own analysis of his quartets, reprinted in *Schoenberg, Berg, Webern: The String Quartets, A Documentary Study*, ed. Ursula von Rauchhaupt (Hamburg, 1971), 42 and 36. See also Fred Steiner, “A History of the First Complete Recording of the Schoenberg String Quartets,” *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 2 (1977–78), 132, where Schoenberg cites Liszt’s Piano Sonata and symphonies by Bruckner and Mahler, along with op. 131 again.
- 30 *Schoenberg, Berg, Webern*, ed. Rauchhaupt 36 and 39.
- 31 This scheme summarizes Schoenberg’s analysis in *ibid.*, 39–42. Although Schoenberg stresses Beethoven’s C# minor quartet as an influence, a connection with Liszt’s Piano Sonata is more obvious.
- 32 Robert P. Morgan, “Coda as Culmination: The First Movement of the ‘Eroica’ Symphony,” in *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, ed. Christopher Hatch and David W. Bernstein (Chicago, 1993), 360.
- 33 On this feature in the *Eroica* first movement, see Lewis Lockwood, “‘Eroica’ Perspectives: Strategy and Design in the First Movement,” in *BS* II, 96–99; see, as well, Schoenberg, “Heart and Brain in Music,” in *Style and Idea*, 64–66.
- 34 That the whole-tone formations function as quasi-dominants becomes patent in this passage, which culminates in the dominant of C# minor.
- 35 Pierre Boulez, for example, cited this fugue and that in the “Hammerklavier” Sonata as “rare examples of counterpoint ‘rebell[ing]’ against the increasing claims of harmonic functions.” See *Orientations*, tr. Martin Cooper, ed. Jean-Jacques Nattiez (Cambridge, MA, 1986), 255. And see the remarks by Stravinsky below.
- 36 Stein, “Das gedankliche Prinzip,” 119.
- 37 Stephen Walsh, *The Music of Stravinsky* (Oxford, 1988), 130.
- 38 Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Dialogues and a Diary* (London, 1968), 124.
- 39 Stravinsky and Craft, *Dialogues*, 43. I am

grateful to Richard Wilson for suggesting that I look at this concerto and lending me a score.

40 Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music: Theory, History, and Ideology* (Philadelphia, 1989), 304.

41 Review, “Stravinsky’s Late Beethoven,” from *New York Herald Tribune* of 23 March 1944; reprinted in Virgil Thomson, *The Musical Scene* (New York, 1945), 100–01.

42 Ibid.

43 Eric Walter White, *Stravinsky: The Composer and His Works* (London and Boston, 1979), 391. In a talk after the first performance of the Concerto for Two Pianos, Stravinsky referred to the work as in three movements, indicating that for him the third and fourth constituted one movement. White reprints this talk in his Appendix A as item 6, 581–85.

44 For a discussion of Brahms’s preoccupation with “logic” in music, see Margaret Notley, “Brahms as Liberal: Genre, Style, and Politics in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna,” *19CM* 17 (1993), 113–15.

45 Nicholas Marston, “Schumann’s Monument to Beethoven,” *19CM* 14 (1991), 248 n. 4.

46 Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 103.

47 Nicholas Marston, *Schumann: Fantasie, op. 17* (Cambridge, 1992), 1–22.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 Elizabeth Wilson quotes a conversation between Shostakovich and Druzhinin in *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* (London, 1994), 470.

51 Birgit Lodes reevaluates the evidence for this position in “Richard Strauss’ Skizzen zu den ‘Metamorphosen’ und ihre Beziehung zu ‘Trauer um München,’” *Die Musikforschung* 47 (1994), 234–52. I am also grateful to Bryan Gilliam for our conversation about this composition.

52 Timothy L. Jackson, “The Metamorphosis of the *Metamorphosen*: New Analytical and Source-Critical Discoveries,” in *Richard Strauss: New Perspectives on the Composer and His Work*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Durham, NC, 1992), 195.

53 For an account of the complex chronology, see Geoffrey Block, *Ives: Concord Sonata: Piano Sonata no. 2 (“Concord, Mass., 1840–1860”)* (Cambridge, 1996), 29–30.

54 Ives, *Essays Before a Sonata*, xxv.

55 Ibid., 36.

56 Thus, Mozart’s C minor piano sonata is often anachronistically termed “Beethovenian,” as in Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, tr. Arthur Mendel and Nathan Broder (New York, 1945), 247. For Schubert’s reception of Beethoven, see Edward T. Cone, “Schubert’s Beethoven,” *MQ* 56 (1970), 779–93.

57 Peter Heyworth, “The First Fifty Years,” in

Pierre Boulez: A Symposium, ed. William Glock (London and New York, 1986), 12.

58 Charles Rosen, “The Piano Music,” in *Boulez: A Symposium*, 91, asserts that “the use of op. 106 signifies an aspiration to the sublime in the academic sense” and notes the well-known reference to Beethoven’s sonata at the beginning of Brahms’s C major piano sonata (his op. 1!).

59 Pierre Boulez, *Conversations with Célestin Deliège* (London, 1973), 41.

60 The Beethovenian scherzo has more frequently been discussed for its impact on subsequent composers.

61 See, for example, Glenn Watkins, *Soundings: Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1988), 408–10.

62 See, for example, Steven D. Block, “George Rochberg: Progressive or Master Forger?” *Perspectives of New Music* 20 (1981–82), 407–09.

15 Beethoven’s music in performance: historical perspectives

1 A provocative commentator on this development has been Richard Taruskin, most notably in a pair of essays, “The New Antiquity” and “Resisting the Ninth,” which appeared originally in 1987 and 1989 respectively and have recently been reprinted in revised form in Taruskin’s collection *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York and Oxford, 1995), 202–24 and 235–61.

2 A representative sampling of the types of work currently being pursued in this area can be found in *The Practice of Performance: Studies in Musical Interpretation*, ed. John Rink (Cambridge, 1995).

3 I shall not attempt to deal here with Beethoven’s vocal or choral works: important as they are within his oeuvre, they are mostly peripheral to the main historical trends in performing his music, which have been driven by his pre-eminence as an instrumental composer. There is, not surprisingly, a large literature on performance practice in Beethoven. The most recent volume on the subject is *Performing Beethoven*, ed. Robin Stowell, Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 4 (Cambridge, 1994). Perhaps the most detailed study to focus on one particular area of the composer’s output is William S. Newman, *Beethoven on Beethoven: Playing His Piano Music His Way* (New York and London, 1988). A useful summary of the main issues involved is provided by Anne-Louise Coldicott in *The Beethoven Compendium*, ed. Barry Cooper (London, 1991), 280–89.

4 Beethoven was also a competent violinist, and in his youth played viola in the court

orchestra at Bonn. See Clive Brown, “Ferdinand David’s Editions of Beethoven,” in *Performing Beethoven*, ed. Stowell, 117–18.

5 These were first published by A. Diabelli, Vienna, in (?) 1842, and have been reprinted in a modern facsimile edition, edited by Paul Badura-Skoda, as *Über den richtigen Vortrag der sämtlichen Beethoven’schen Klavierwerke: Czerny’s “Erinnerungen an Beethoven” sowie das 2. and 3. Kapitel des IV. Bandes der “Vollständigen theoretisch-practischen Pianoforte-Schule op. 500.”* (Vienna, 1963).

6 Polish pianist Theodor Leschetizky (1830–1915) was one of the most influential teachers of the nineteenth century.

7 A searching recent examination of Czerny’s writings on and editions of Beethoven is George Barth, *The Pianist as Orator: Beethoven and the Transformation of Keyboard Style* (Ithaca and London, 1992), especially chap. 3. Another important figure in the early performance history of Beethoven’s music was pianist and composer Ignaz Moscheles; although only briefly associated with Beethoven, in his edition of the piano sonatas published during the 1830s he claimed to supply metronome markings that reproduced exactly Beethoven’s own tempi. The notion of an authentic performing legacy no doubt conferred an air of legitimacy to the many “traditional” modifications and accretions to Beethoven’s scores in performance that became established in the course of the nineteenth century.

8 One should not, however, lay too great a stress on the deafness issue. Despite the fact that it obviously left Beethoven unable to cope with such questions as orchestral balance in an actual performance, the virtual sound-world in his mind’s ear seems to have remained astonishingly vivid throughout his life: witness the daringly imaginative textures of the late quartets. Hungarian violinist Joseph Böhm, who in 1825 rehearsed the Quartet op. 127 under Beethoven’s supervision, recalled his great sensitivity to visual indications such as bow movements, “from which he was able to judge the smallest fluctuations in tempo and rhythm”; quoted in Thayer–Forbes, 941.

9 Barry Cooper has recently suggested that even dealing with the most apparently solid state of his music, the work as notated, Beethoven could take a fluid approach, with several divergent sources offering equally valid versions of a work, sometimes occasioned by alterations made for particular performances: see “Beethoven’s Revisions to his Fourth Piano Concerto,” in *Performing Beethoven*, ed. Stowell, 33.

10 I exclude from this category present-day

performances using period instruments and/or playing styles.

11 Although Beethoven can hardly have relished the exact parity of the 15 strings and 15 wind employed in the first performance of the *Eroica* symphony in Prince Lobkowitz’s palace: see Eva Badura-Skoda, “Performance Conventions in Beethoven’s Early Works,” in *Beethoven, Performers, and Critics: The International Beethoven Congress, Detroit, 1977*, ed. Robert Winter and Bruce Carr (Detroit, 1980), 73.

12 For a more detailed account of orchestral and general concert conditions see Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn’s Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution*, *Sociology of Music* 7 (Stuyvesant, NY, 1989). Although the issue is of only marginal interest for the present discussion, it should be noted that Viennese musical life was not limited by the simple dichotomy of public versus private but embraced many shades in between, affecting audience makeup, performance personnel, venue etc.

13 BG III, no. 903; Anderson II, no. 560.

14 See Philip Whitmore, *Unpremeditated Art: The Cadenza in the Classical Keyboard Concerto* (Oxford, 1991), 201. Beethoven may have felt that whereas in a cadenza the performer’s contribution was clearly set apart from the rest of the work, embellishments of the kind added by Czerny were to the average listener indistinguishable from the composer’s original text.

15 For a broad view of Beethoven’s place in the composer-performer culture of his day see Glenn Stanley, “Genre Aesthetics and Function: Beethoven’s Piano Sonatas in their Cultural Context,” *BF* 6 (1998), 1–29. On Beethoven as pianist (and teacher) see the useful summary in Newman, *Beethoven on Beethoven*, 76–82; even after deafness began to undermine his playing – from around 1809 he performed only occasionally in public – he was renowned for his improvisations. Indeed, he preferred improvisation to playing his published sonatas and other works, the performance of which he entrusted instead to pupils such as Czerny and Ries.

16 And impulsiveness had its dangers, even for Beethoven. As early as c. 1799–1800, before deafness began to affect Beethoven’s playing, fellow virtuoso J. B. Cramer reported that, “one day he would play [a composition] with great spirit and expression, but the next day it would sound moody and often muddled to the point of unclarity”; this is recorded by Anton Schindler in Schindler–MacArdle, 413, and quoted in Newman, *Beethoven on Beethoven*,

80. Such impressions were not untypical: on this issue the often unreliable Schindler is supported by other sources.

17 As was the practice of the time, in both situations Beethoven directed in conjunction with the principal violinist, a dual control that in Beethoven's case was essential given his deficiencies as a conductor.

18 For a digest of the most famous reports of Beethoven's conducting see Elliot W. Galkin, *A History of Orchestral Conducting: In Theory and Practice* (New York, 1988), 543–49.

19 See Schindler–MacArdle, 423n.

20 Letter to the publisher Schott, dating from the second half of December 1826, in which Beethoven promised to send metronome marks for the Ninth Symphony (BG VI, no. 2244; Anderson II, no. 1545).

21 On Beethoven's early involvement with the metronome – or chronometer, as it was then called – see Thayer–Forbes, 686–88. A useful summary of the principal issues and scholarship concerning Beethoven and the metronome can be found in Newman, *Beethoven on Beethoven*, 83–99. Beethoven had intended to provide metronome marks for the last five string quartets, but died before he could do so. Except for the “Hammerklavier,” Beethoven supplied no markings for the piano sonatas. Czerny attempted to make good this omission by publishing metronome marks for all the sonatas after Beethoven's death, claiming to be reproducing “authentic” tempi stemming from the composer; but since he produced several different sets during his lifetime, in some cases diverging quite significantly from one another, this claim is rendered highly dubious: see Barth, *The Pianist as Orator*, 61–62.

22 See Taruskin, “The New Antiquity,” 218.

23 See Thayer–Forbes, 687–88.

24 Of those close to Beethoven, Czerny offers the most detailed observations and suggestions on tempo flexibility, although their exact significance and degree of comprehensiveness is not always clear: see Barth, *Pianist as Orator*, chap. 3. Sandra P. Rosenblum, who also discusses Czerny at some length, suggests that Beethoven's use of tempo flexibility set his practice apart from that of Haydn and Mozart, who preferred mostly strict tempi, and that it became gradually more important to both his music and his playing as time went by: see *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music: Their Principles and Applications* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1988), 383–92. While much of the surviving evidence on tempo relates to piano music, it seems clear from the testimony of Schindler, corroborated by more reliable

sources such as Ignaz Moscheles, that tempo flexibility should also apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to other media. In his life of the composer Schindler even included an annotated score example, taken from the Larghetto of the Second Symphony, to illustrate this point in relation to orchestral music (*The Life of Beethoven*, ed. Ignaz Moscheles, 2 vols. [London, 1841], II, 142–44); he implies that his tempo modifications and other directions stem from conversations with the composer about this particular movement (he does not claim to have heard Beethoven conduct the work, however, as Richard Taruskin erroneously states in “Resisting the Ninth,” 256). In the realm of the string quartet, we have contemporary reports of Schuppanzigh's quartet which suggest that the group used considerable tempo modification in playing Beethoven's works for this medium, several of which they introduced. It must be said that in the orchestral domain, Beethoven's desire for tempo flexibility would have posed challenges of ensemble that surely exceeded the capabilities of the kinds of groups with which he typically worked, and of his own conducting; thus a description of Beethoven's conducting by Ignaz von Seyfried, music director of the Theater an der Wien, in which he talks of the composer demanding “an effective *tempo rubato*” when conducting (see Thayer–Forbes, 371), seems more likely to represent what Beethoven sought to achieve rather than what the orchestra actually produced.

25 See Barth, *Pianist as Orator*; in addition, conductor Nikolaus Harnoncourt has carried his ideas on rhetoric in eighteenth-century music into the realm of Beethoven's orchestral works, in performances and recordings with the Chamber Orchestra of Europe in particular.

26 E. T. A. Hoffmann, “Der echte Künstler lebt nur in dem Werke,” in “Beethovens Instrumentalmusik,” *Musikalische Novellen und Aufsätze*, I, ed. E. Istel (Regensburg, 1919), 69; quoted in Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford, 1992), I, in the author's translation.

27 Although this particular phrase is Lydia Goehr's, the idea of a musical museum goes back to Liszt, writing in 1835: see *Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, 205.

28 The main focus here will be on orchestral music; for chamber music see Robert Winter, “Performing the Beethoven Quartets in Their First Century,” in *The Beethoven Quartet Companion*, ed. Robert Winter and Robert Martin (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1994), 29–57; on piano music see William S. Newman,

The Sonata since Beethoven: The Third and Final Volume of a History of the Sonata Idea (Chapel Hill, NC, 1969). As Newman makes clear, the sonata, long associated with the private domain, moved more slowly than other genres into the glare of fully public performance. A phenomenon which has received little attention, and which is beyond the scope of the present study, is the emergence during the nineteenth century of what might be termed, by analogy with the work-concept, the “oeuvre-concept.” The fact that all three dominant areas of Beethoven’s output could be taken to chart in its entirety a progress from youthful genius to aging seer has always seemed attractive, but it was of special relevance for an age fascinated not only by Beethoven’s life, but by the whole concept of biography as a model for music historiography. As possible evidence for a developing desire to hear individual works within a musico-biographical context, it is interesting to note, for instance, that entire cycles of Beethoven’s piano sonatas were already being performed by the early 1860s, and on both sides of the Atlantic: see Newman, *The Sonata since Beethoven*, 13 and 736.

29 The most thorough recent study of this concept is Goehr, *Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*; the centrality of Beethoven to its crystallization is argued by Goehr in a chapter revealingly entitled “After 1800: The Beethoven Paradigm.” See also Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music*, tr. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989), 8–12 and 138.

30 See William S. Newman, “Liszt’s Interpreting of Beethoven’s Piano Sonatas,” *MQ* 58/2 (1972), 193–94. Newman notes that Liszt played only ten of the sonatas in public more than once: the “Moonlight,” “Tempest,” and “Appassionata” Sonatas; opp. 26 and 90; and the last five. In the middle years of his career, as Kapellmeister at Weimar, he became also a significant conductor of Beethoven.

31 *Ibid.*

32 See Newman, *The Sonata since Beethoven*, 56–60.

33 Newman, “Liszt’s Interpreting of Beethoven’s Piano Sonatas,” 196–97. An obvious creative space for Liszt the composer-performer existed in the concerto cadenza; yet, curiously, the only Beethoven concerto he played was the “Emperor,” which does not contain an *ad libitum* cadenza.

34 For examples of such practices in the orchestral arena see David Pickett, “A Comparative Survey of Rescorings in Beethoven’s Symphonies,” in *Performing Beethoven*, ed. Stowell, 205–06.

35 And perhaps a potential projection, too, of listeners’ own identification with the heroic self-actualization played out in the music, to invoke the view of Beethoven’s art set out in Scott Burnham’s *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, 1995).

36 “Address to the Members of the Academy of Fine Arts of the Institute,” in *A Travers Chants* (Paris, 1862), cited in *Mozart, Weber, and Wagner, with Various Essays on Musical Subjects*, tr. Edwin Evans (London, 1918), 101–02; cited in José Bowen, “Mendelssohn, Berlioz, and Wagner as Conductors: the Origins of the Ideal of ‘Fidelity to the Composer,’” *Performance Practice Review* 6/1 (1993), 82.

37 For a detailed discussion of these issues see Bowen, “The Conductor and the Score: The Relationship Between Interpreter and Text in the Generation of Mendelssohn, Berlioz and Wagner” (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1993).

38 Wagner’s most extended discussion of conducting appears in the essay “Über das Dirigieren,” published first in installments in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* from November 1869 to January 1870, and then widely reprinted and translated.

39 Wagner’s principal example of a Beethoven orchestral movement that demands tempo modification is the first movement of the *Eroica* symphony; he implies that the tempo must slacken for both the second subject and the E minor theme in the development. Although the essay is on conducting, his most detailed illustrative examples are in fact taken from chamber works, the “Kreutzer” sonata and the String Quartet op. 131, both cases involving transition from one mood to another.

40 See Nicholas Cook, *Beethoven: Symphony no. 9* (Cambridge, 1993), 56.

41 *Ibid.*, 52–56, from which the music example here is adapted. Cook notes that Wagner’s alteration was employed even by the literalist Toscanini, who also extended the flute transposition back a bar; and that Mahler went even further in rewriting this passage, removing altogether punctuating trumpet and timpani parts.

42 See Pickett, “Rescoring in Beethoven’s Symphonies,” 213. In the context of such widespread retouchings, the perpetuation of textual errors in nineteenth-century orchestral scores and parts of Beethoven may seem less surprising than it otherwise would; indeed, many of these errors have survived up to the present day, and in the case of the symphonies, only now are comprehensively critical editions beginning to appear. A collected – although not fully complete – edition of Beethoven’s works

was published by Breitkopf & Härtel in the mid-1860s (earlier attempts at a collected edition had proved abortive), but this was not a critical edition in the modern sense, and editions of Beethoven based on a comparative evaluation of primary sources had to wait until the twentieth century.

43 It even affected the string quartets, traditionally a bastion of “classical” Beethoven: see Leon Botstein, “The Patrons and Publics of the Quartets: Music, Culture, and Society in Beethoven’s Vienna,” in *The Beethoven Quartet Companion*, ed. Winter and Martin, 77–109.

44 The cause is well known, of course: Cosima von Bülow, née Liszt, left her husband for Wagner in 1869.

45 See New Grove, s.v. “Bülow, Hans (Guido) von,” by John Warrack, 452.

46 Bülow was responsible for the sonatas from op. 53 on, as well as the *Pathétique* and “Moonlight” Sonatas, and opp. 26, 27 no. 1, and 31 no. 3. On this edition and others see William S. Newman, “A Chronological Checklist of Collected Editions of Beethoven’s Solo Piano Sonatas Since His Own Day,” *Notes* 33 (1976–7), 503–30.

47 *On Conducting*, tr. Ernest Newman (New York, 1934), 28. Weingartner’s essay appeared originally in 1895.

48 See Joseph Horowitz, *Understanding Toscanini: How He Became an American Culture God and Created a New Audience for Old Music* (New York, 1987), 87; also Pickett, “Rescoring in Beethoven’s Symphonies,” 221.

49 See Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style: Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance, 1900–1950* (Cambridge, 1992), chap. 1. Philip points out that tempo modification of this era – which he believes must reflect the essentials of much nineteenth-century practice – included dramatic speeding up, something now hardly ever encountered, as well as slowing down, and that this generated a more extreme range of tempi than is typical of current performance practice, which emerged gradually after 1945. Furthermore, such approaches applied to solo and chamber music as well as orchestral music. Philip has written in more detail on Beethoven in “Traditional Habits of Performance in Beethoven Recordings,” in *Performing Beethoven*, ed. Stowell, 195–204.

50 “The New Antiquity,” 223.

51 The first major Beethoven recording, and a landmark for recording history in terms of the combined eminence of both work and conductor, was the 1913 account of the Fifth Symphony by Artur Nikisch and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (HMV D89–92, reissued on CD as Symposium 1087).

52 This is certainly the case in his November 1952 recording with the Vienna Philharmonic (EMI 1C149–53 434 M), where the tempo reaches c. ♩ = 136 in the transition, but has slowed to c. ♩ = 118 by the end of the second subject group.

53 Quoted in Horowitz, *Understanding Toscanini*, 102.

54 Nicholas Cook, “The Conductor and the Theorist: Furtwängler, Schenker and the First Movement of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony,” in *The Practice of Performance*, ed. Rink, 105–25.

55 HMV DB2955–60.

56 *The Recordings of Beethoven: As Viewed by the Critics From High Fidelity* (Great Barrington, MA, 1971).

57 It should be added that the greater freedom always implied by solo performance in comparison with ensemble playing has ensured that Beethoven’s piano music continues to receive a relatively wide range of interpretations, particularly in the area of tempo; see, for instance, the analyses of selected recorded performances presented in Joanna Goldstein, *A Beethoven Enigma: Performance Practice and the Piano Sonata, Opus 111*, American University Studies, Series XX, Fine Arts, vol. II (New York, 1988), chaps. 5–8.

58 Issued in 1994 on Archiv 439 904–2.

59 See Taruskin, “Last Thoughts First,” *Text and Act*, 31–37.

16 The four ages of Beethoven: critical reception and the canonic composer

1 Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke, Dritter Band: Ausgewählte Briefe, Gespräche, Berichte* (Munich, 1964), 882.

2 *Ibid.*, 884–85.

3 Friedrich Rochlitz, *AmZ* 29 (1827), 227.

4 Robin Wallace, *Beethoven’s Critics: Aesthetic Dilemmas and Resolutions during the Composer’s Lifetime* (Cambridge, 1986), 5.

5 Wilhelm von Lenz, *Beethoven et ses trois styles* (1852; repr. New York, 1980); Alexandre Oulibicheff, *Beethoven, ses critiques, ses glossateurs* (Paris, 1857).

6 For an engaging and insightful cultural analysis of contemporaneous views of Beethoven’s compositional idiosyncrasies, see Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792–1803* (Berkeley, 1995), esp. 129–37.

7 As Richard Taruskin has it: “The history of music in the nineteenth century could be written in terms of the encroachment of the sublime upon the domain of the beautiful.” Richard Taruskin, “Resisting the Ninth,” *19CM* 12 (1989), 249.

- 8 E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism*, tr. Martyn Clarke, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge, 1989), 236. Hoffmann's review of the Fifth Symphony originally appeared in the *AmZ*, 4 July and 11 July 1810.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 237–38.
- 10 As Hoffmann writes, specifically regarding the Fifth Symphony: "It unfolds Beethoven's romanticism, rising in a climax right to the end, more than any other of his works, and irresistibly sweeps the listener into the wonderful spirit-realm of the infinite." *Ibid.*, 239.
- 11 For a more detailed discussion of the notion of "beau désordre" as it arises in Hoffmann's Beethoven criticism, see my review of Charlton's edition of *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings* in *19CM* 14 (1990), 286–96.
- 12 This is a central tenet of Karl Philip Moritz's aesthetics of the unified artwork. See Klaus-Dieter Dobat, *Musik als romantische Illusion: Eine Untersuchung zur Bedeutung der Musikvorstellung E. T. A. Hoffmanns für sein literarisches Werk* (Tübingen, 1984), 63.
- 13 On Marx and the cultural milieu of Berlin, see my introduction to A. B. Marx, *Musical Form in the Age of Beethoven* (Cambridge, 1997).
- 14 For a compelling and influential examination of the work concept in Western musical thought and its association with Beethoven, see Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford, 1992).
- 15 For a highly detailed argument in support of the overwhelming – and hitherto underplayed – importance of Marx for the canonization of Beethoven, see Elisabeth Eleonore Bauer, *Wie Beethoven auf den Sockel kam: Die Entstehung eines musikalischen Mythos* (Stuttgart, 1992).
- 16 "... so gilt es nun heute an diesem Musiker Beethoven nachzuweisen, daß durch ihn, da er denn in der reinsten Sprache aller Völker redet, der deutsche Geist den Menschengeist von tiefer Schmach erlöste." *Richard Wagner, Dichtungen und Schriften. Jubiläumsausgabe*, ed. Dieter Borchmeyer, 10 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, 1983), IX, 63.
- 17 See David B. Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870–1989* (New Haven, 1996), 32ff.
- 18 Wagner, *Beethoven*, 38
- 19 *Ibid.*, 49.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 64.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 71–72. And see K. M. Knittel, "Wagner, Deafness, and the Reception of Beethoven's Late Style," *JAMS* 51 (1998), 49–82.
- 22 At one point, Wagner curiously adulterates these bardic strains with some more naturalistic observations about the physical structure of Beethoven's skull, born of a recent exhumation; he reckons the skull's unusual thickness to be a form of biological protection for the overly sensitive brain within. *Beethoven*, 69.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 66.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 83.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 66.
- 26 "Ihm ist das Gefällige versagt; dafür ist sein wahrhaftes Dichten und Tun innig und erhaben." *Ibid.*, 109.
- 27 "Während die deutschen Waffen siegreich nach dem Zentrum der französischen Zivilisation vordringen, regt sich bei uns plötzlich das Schamgefühl über unsere Abhängigkeit von dieser Zivilisation, und tritt als Aufforderung zur Ablegung der Pariser Modetrachten vor die Öffentlichkeit." *Ibid.*, 96.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 109.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 76–78.
- 30 Nor should we forget how important op. 131 was for the development of Wagner's own musical style. See William Kinderman, "Review Article: Wagner's Beethoven," *BF* 3 (1994), 175.
- 31 Arnold Schmitz, *Das romantische Beethovenbild: Darstellung und Kritik* (Bonn, 1927), 178.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 178–79.
- 33 August Halm, *Beethoven* (Berlin, 1927), 64–65.
- 34 See Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics*, 115–25.
- 35 For a valuable discussion of the concept of "objective Geist" in Halm's work, see Lee Rothfarb, "Beethoven's Formal Dynamics: August Halm's Phenomenological Perspective," *BF* 5 (1996), 69–70.
- 36 Halm, *Beethoven*, 328.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 332–34.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 325.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 329.
- 40 "Was aber Beethoven gelang, so vollkommen gelang, daß wir die Idee fast mit Händen greifen können, das ist die Musik der Phasen, der Verwandlungen, der Zeiten und Lebensalter, die dennoch eine untrennbare, eine grandiose Einheit bildet: eine Errungenschaft in der Geschichte des Musik-Geistes, die an Wert durch keine andere überwogen wird." Halm, *Beethoven*, 336.
- 41 "Wir erkennen darum das Motiv Beethovens als den Keim der Sonate, dessen Explosivkraft die Bahn des Werkes aus sich herauschleudert – ohne Zutat – nur durch Variation seines eigenen Inhalts." Walter Engelsmann, "Die Sonatenform Beethovens: Das Gesetz," *Die Musik* 17/6 (March 1925), 431.

I am grateful to Roger Lustig, who introduced me to Engelsmann's essay.

42 "Wer alle übrigen Werke als im gleichen Sinn gewachsen zu erkennen vermag, wird mit mir das Gesetz bilden können:

JEDE SONATE BEETHOVENS IST IN ALLEN IHREN SÄTZEN, TEILEN UND THEMEN AUS EINEM EINZIGEN KOPFTHEMA ODER KOPFMOTIV ENTWICKELT." Ibid.

43 For a more detailed version of this claim see my *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, 1995), 89–102.

44 Donald Francis Tovey, *A Companion to Beethoven's Piano Sonatas* (London, 1931), 3.

45 Ibid., 8.

46 Tovey, "Some Aspects of Beethoven's Art Forms," in *The Mainstream of Music and Other Essays* (New York, 1949), 294.

47 Joseph Kerman, "Tovey's Beethoven," *Write All These Down: Essays on Music* (Berkeley, 1994), 155–72.

48 Guido Adler, "Beethovens Charakter," in *Beethoven-Almanach der Deutschen Musikbücherei auf das Jahr 1927*, ed. Gustav Bosse (Regensburg, 1927), 80.

49 Ibid., 92.

50 Hermann Abert, *Zu Beethovens Persönlichkeit und Kunst* (Leipzig, 1927), 15–20. This essay was initially published in the *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters für 1925*, and was reprinted in a special edition to commemorate 26 March 1927, the hundredth anniversary of Beethoven's death.

51 Abert, *Zu Beethovens Persönlichkeit*, 23.

52 Adler, "Beethovens Charakter," 77. See also Abert, *Zu Beethovens Persönlichkeit*, 11.

53 Adler, "Beethovens Charakter," 87.

54 Abert, *Zu Beethovens Persönlichkeit*, 25.

55 Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Zur Geschichte der Beethoven-Rezeption: Beethoven 1970* (Mainz, 1972), 7.

56 Ulrich Schmitt, *Revolution im Konzertsaal: Zur Beethoven-Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert* (Mainz, 1990); Martin Geck and Peter Schleuning, "Geschrieben auf Bonaparte": *Beethoven's "Eroica": Revolution, Reaktion, Rezeption* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1989); Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics*; DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*; Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*.

57 William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Berkeley, 1995); Thomas Sipe, *Beethoven: Symphony No. 3, "Eroica"* (Cambridge, 1998); Maynard Solomon, "Beethoven and Schiller," in *Beethoven Essays* (Cambridge, MA, 1988), 205–15.

58 See particularly Rose Rosengard Subotnik, "Adorno's Diagnosis of Beethoven's Late Style: Early Symptom of a Fatal Condition," *JAMS* 29 (1976), 242–75.

59 Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York, 1977). For the other studies mentioned in this paragraph, see note 56, including as well Andreas Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie. Die Geschichte ihrer Aufführung und Rezeption* (Kassel, 1993).

60 Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis and Oxford, 1991), 112.

17 Beethoven at large: reception in literature, the arts, philosophy, and politics

1 See Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, 1995).

2 See Robin Wallace, *Beethoven's Critics: Aesthetic Dilemmas and Resolutions During the Composer's Lifetime* (Cambridge, 1986), 10–16, and Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792–1803* (Berkeley, 1995), 161, 180.

3 See DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, passim, and the critical response to this book, including Charles Rosen, "Did Beethoven Have All the Luck?" *The New York Review of Books* (14 November 1996), 57–61, and Nicholas Vazsonyi, book review, *German Studies Review* (October 1997), 436–38.

4 See Ulrich Schmitt, *Revolution im Konzertsaal: Zur Beethoven-Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert* (Mainz, 1990).

5 See Arnold Schmitz, *Das romantische Beethovenbild: Darstellung und Kritik* (Berlin, 1927).

6 The Beethoven-Haus Archive catalogue lists over four hundred entries under the heading "Beethoven in Literature: Poems." See Wallace, *Beethoven's Critics*, 80–82.

7 See Schmitz, *Das romantische Beethovenbild*, 4 and Friedrich de la Motte-Fouqué, *An Beethoven* (1827), in *Erstes poetisches Beethoven-Album: Zur Erinnerung an den grossen Tondichter und an dessen Säcularfeier, 17 Dezember 1870*, ed. Hermann Josef Landau, (Prague, 1872), 187.

8 Clemens Brentano, "Beethovens Musik" (1813), in *Die Propyläen*, December 1920.

9 Franz Grillparzer, "Klara Wieck und Beethoven. F-Moll-Sonate" (c. 1830), in *Beethoven-Almanach der Deutschen Musikbücherei auf das Jahr 1927*, ed. Gustav Bosse (Regensburg, 1927), 54.

10 Ernst Ortlepp, "Haydn, Mozart und Beethoven," in *Gedichte von Ernst Ortlepp* (Leipzig, 1831), 31.

11 Nikolaus Lenau, "Beethovens Büste" (1855), in Landau, *Beethoven-Album*, 107.

12 See Leo Schrade, *Beethoven in France: The Development of an Idea* (New Haven, 1942).

- 13 Charles Baudelaire, *La Musique: Beethoven*, in *Les Fleurs du Mal*, tr. Richard Howard (Boston, 1983), 71.
- 14 Cited in Charmeniz S. Lenhart, *Musical Influence on American Poetry* (Athens, GA, 1956), 173.
- 15 Walt Whitman, “Beethoven’s Septet,” in *The Works of Walt Whitman*, vol. II, ed. Malcolm Cowley (New York, 1968), 158.
- 16 See Donna Beckage, “Beethoven in Western Literature” (Ph.D. diss. University of California, Riverside, 1977), 255.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 257–63.
- 18 T. S. Eliot, “The Music of Poetry,” in Eliot, *On Poetry and Poets* (New York, 1957), 32.
- 19 The Beethoven-Haus Archive catalogue lists over two hundred entries under the heading “Novels and Short Stories.” Deserving more attention than is possible here are Honoré de Balzac’s *Le peau de chagrin* (1831), *La recherche de l’absolue* (1834), *Le lys dans la vallée* (1836), *César Birotteau* (1837), *Béatrix* (1839), and *Ursele Miroet* (1842), Georges Sand’s *Lettres d’un voyageur* (1834), George Bernard Shaw’s *The Love among Artists* (1881), Leo Tolstoy’s *The Kreutzer Sonata* (1889), Marcel Proust’s *La recherche du temps perdu* (1913–28), André Gide’s *La symphonie pastorale* (1918), Antonio Fogazzaro’s *Piccolo mondo moderno* (1930), André Malraux’s *L’espoir* (1937), Aldous Huxley’s *Eyeless in Gaza* (1936) and *Two or Three Graces* (1949), Virginia Woolf’s *The Voyage Out* (1949), Günter Grass’s *The Tin Drum* (1959), and Milan Kundera’s *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* (1984) – to mention only a few by some celebrated authors. See Beckage, “Beethoven in Western Literature,” *passim*.
- 20 E. M. Forster, *A Room With A View* (Norfolk, CT, 1922), 53–54.
- 21 E. M. Forster, *Howards End* (London, 1947), 32–36.
- 22 See Sieghard Brandenburg, “Künstlerroman und Biographie: Zur Entstehung des Beethoven-Mythos im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Beethoven und die Nachwelt: Materialien zur Wirkungsgeschichte Beethovens*, ed. Helmut Loos (Bonn, 1986), 65–80, and Egon Voss, “Das Beethoven-Bild der Beethoven-Belletristik: Zu einigen Beethoven-Erzählungen des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Beethoven und die Nachwelt*, ed. Loos, 81–94.
- 23 Victor Hugo, *William Shakespeare*, cited in Schrade, *Beethoven in France*, 57, 257 n. 15.
- 24 See *ibid.*, 68–71, 145–52, 156.
- 25 Romain Rolland, *Beethoven the Creator*, tr. Ernest Newman (New York, 1964), 10.
- 26 Romain Rolland, *La vie de Beethoven* (Paris, 1903), 78.
- 27 Thomas Mann, *Doktor Faustus: The Life of the German Composer Adrian Leverkühn as Told by a Friend*, tr. H. T. Lowe-Porter (New York, 1992), 58.
- 28 Charles T. Bunting, “An Interview in New York with Anthony Burgess,” *Studies in the Novel* 5 (1973), 505.
- 29 *Ibid.*
- 30 The Beethoven-Haus Archive catalogue lists over forty entries under the heading “Dramas.”
- 31 See Donald F. Sloane, “A Multiple-choice Quiz on the Historical Accuracy of Bernard Rose’s *Immortal Beloved*,” *The Beethoven Journal* 10/1 (Spring 1995), 30–39.
- 32 The Beethoven-Haus Archive catalogue lists almost one thousand entries under the heading “Illustrations, Portraits, and Monuments.”
- 33 Contemporary efforts ranged from pencil sketches by Louis Letronne (1814), August von Klöber (1818), and Josef Daniel Böhm (1819–20) to formal portraits by Willibrord Josef Mähler (1804 and 1815), Franz Klein (1812), Ferdinand Schimon (1818–19), Joseph Karl Stieler (1819), and Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1823). See Alessandra Comini, *The Changing Image of Beethoven: A Study in Mythmaking* (New York, 1987), *passim*.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 86.
- 35 See Robert Schumann, “Monument für Beethoven,” in *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, ed. Martin Kreisig, 5th edn., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1914), I, 134.
- 36 Monuments were erected in Bonn (1845), Heiligenstadt (1863), Vienna (1880), and Berlin (1903).
- 37 Comini, *The Changing Image*, *passim*.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 348–52, 385–87.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 403–15.
- 40 *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, vol. VI: *Human, All Too Human*, Part I, tr. Helen Zimmern (1909–11; rpt. New York, 1964), I, 265.
- 41 Comini, *The Changing Image*, 338.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 398.
- 43 See Jean-Paul Bouillon, *Klimt: Beethoven* (New York, 1987), *passim*, and Comini, *The Changing Image*, 399–403.
- 44 See, for instance, Richard Sterba and Editha Sterba, *Beethoven and His Nephew: A Psychological Study of Their Relationship* (New York, 1937) and Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York, 1977). Beyond the scope of this essay on creative responses to Beethoven, biographical representations also follow the contours of modern Western intellectual development. For critical insight into the history of writing Beethoven biographies, see Maynard Solomon, “Thoughts on Biography,” in *Beethoven Essays* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1988), 101–15.
- 45 Edward Dannreuther, “Beethoven and his

- Works: A Study," *Macmillan's Magazine* 34 no. 201 (July 1876), 194.
- 46 Wilfrid Mellers, *Beethoven and the Voice of God* (New York, 1983), 21–22.
- 47 Christopher Ballantine, *Music and Its Social Meanings* (New York, 1984), 33. See also Janet Schmalfeldt, "Form as the Process of Becoming: The Beethoven-Hegelian Tradition and the Tempest Sonata," *BF* 4 (1995), 37–71, and Scott Burnham, "Criticism, Faith, and the *Idee*: A. B. Marx's Early Reception of Beethoven," *19CM* (Spring 1990), 183–92.
- 48 Friedrich W. Nietzsche, "Beethovens Tod" (1863), in *Jungendschriften, 1861–1864*, vol. II, *Friedrich Nietzsches Werke: Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Munich, 1934), 322–25.
- 49 Friedrich W. Nietzsche, "Schopenhauer as Educator," in *Untimely Meditations*, tr. R. J. Hollingdale (Cambridge, 1983), 140.
- 50 Friedrich W. Nietzsche, "Richard Wagner in Bayreuth," in *Untimely Meditations*, 240–41.
- 51 Friedrich W. Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, tr. Walter Kaufmann (New York, 1967), 37.
- 52 See Theodor W. Adorno, *Beethoven: Philosophie der Musik* (Frankfurt, 1993).
- 53 Theodor W. Adorno, "Theses on the Sociology of Art," tr. Brian Trench, *Working Papers in Cultural Studies* 2 (Spring 1972), 62.
- 54 See Rose Rosengard Subotnik, "Adorno's Diagnosis of Beethoven's Late Style: Early Symptom of a Fatal Condition," in Subotnik, *Developing Variations: Style and Ideology in Western Music* (Minneapolis, 1991), 15–41, John Deathridge, "Fragments of a Single Hidden Music: Adorno's Lifelong Struggle to Write a Fully Fledged Interpretation of Beethoven," *Times Literary Supplement*, 15 September 1995, and Colin Sample, "Adorno on the Musical Language of Beethoven," *MQ* 78/2, (Summer 1994), 385–86.
- 55 Cited in David Drew, "Introduction From the Other Side: Reflections on the Bloch Centenary," introduction to Ernst Bloch, *Essays on the Philosophy of Music*, tr. Peter Palmer (Cambridge, 1985), xxv.
- 56 Bloch, *Essays*, 31, 240, 243.
- 57 Freiherr Kübeck von Kübau refused to keep company with Beethoven because his constant politicizing bored him. See Karl Nef, "Beethovens Beziehungen zur Politik," *Zeitschrift für Musik* 5 (May 1925).
- 58 David B. Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870–1989* (New Haven and London, 1996), 22–31.
- 59 Julius Nitsche, "Jonny neben Beethoven: Erinnerung an eine Jahrhundertfeier in wirrer Zeit," *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin), 26 March 1937.
- 60 See Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics*, passim.
- 61 See Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, tr. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley, 1989), 76.
- 62 See Willem Erauw, "Musica morale, miracolo musicale: Le développement du mythe de Beethoven en Italie du nord au dix-neuvième siècle," *Bulletin de l'Institute Historique Belge de Rome*, 66 (1996), 171.
- 63 Bettina Brentano, Letter to Goethe, 10 May 1810, in *Movements, Currents, Trends: Aspects of European Thought in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Eugen Weber, (Lexington, MA, 1922), 127.
- 64 Georges Pioch, "Beethoven," in *Portraits d'hier* (1909), cited in Schrade, *Beethoven in France*, 193.
- 65 See Ruth A. Solie, "Beethoven as Secular Humanist: Ideology and the Ninth Symphony in Nineteenth-Century Criticism," in *Explorations in Music, the Arts, and Ideas: Essays in Honor of Leonard B. Meyer*, ed. Eugene Narmour and Ruth A. Solie (Stuyvesant, NY, 1988), 36.
- 66 Karl Rafael Hennig, *Beethoven's neunte Symphonie* (Leipzig, 1888), cited in Solie, "Beethoven as Secular Humanist," 22.
- 67 Andrew Horvat, "Beethoven Mania Touches the Right Chords," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 4 January 1990, 16–17, and Yano Jun'ichi, "Why is Beethoven's Ninth so well loved in Japan?" *Japan Quarterly* 12 (1982), 477.
- 68 *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, vol. VI: *Human, All-too-Human*, Part II, tr. Paul V. Cohn (1909–11; rpt. New York, 1964), 68.