

BEETHOVEN'S FOURTH SYMPHONY:
RECEPTION, AESTHETICS, PERFORMANCE HISTORY

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Despite its established place in the orchestral repertory, Beethoven's Symphony No. 4 in B-flat, op. 60, has long challenged critics. Lacking titles and other extramusical signifiers, it posed a problem for nineteenth-century critics espousing programmatic modes of analysis; more recently, its aesthetic has been viewed as incongruent with that of the "heroic style," the paradigm most strongly associated with Beethoven's voice as a composer. Applying various methodologies, this study argues for a more complex view of the symphony's aesthetic and cultural significance.

Chapter I surveys the reception of the Fourth from its premiere to the present day, arguing that the symphony's modern reputation emerged as a result of later nineteenth-century readings and misreadings. While the Fourth had a profound impact on Schumann, Berlioz, and Mendelssohn, it elicited more conflicted responses—including aporia and disavowal—from critics ranging from A. B. Marx to J. W. N. Sullivan and beyond. Recent scholarship on previously neglected works and genres has opened up new perspectives on Beethoven's music, allowing for a fresh appreciation of the Fourth.

Haydn's legacy in 1805–6 provides the background for Chapter II, a study of Beethoven's engagement with the Haydn–Mozart tradition. I examine

the influence of Haydn's "London" Symphonies (especially Nos. 99, 102, and 103) on aspects of the Fourth's orchestration, structure, and design. The cyclic treatment of harmonic rhythm represents a rich intersection of innovation and tradition; Theodor W. Adorno's observations on "suspended time" provide a framework for exploring this intersection.

Chapter III focuses on the Fourth as performed in Beethoven's Vienna. Through imagined reconstructions of three performances—at the Lobkowitz Palace (March 1807), University Hall (December 27, 1807), and Imperial Grand Ballroom (April 4, 1825)—I suggest ways in which performance circumstances could mediate musical meaning. A special focus is the Amateur Concerts of 1807–8, an ambitious public series during which Beethoven's first four symphonies were performed. The series not only helped to cement Beethoven's reputation, it also placed his orchestral works at the center of a project of cultural renewal after the French occupation in 1805.

The appendices consider aspects of the Fourth's sketches and autograph score, shedding new light on Beethoven's methods of composing and revising the symphony.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born in 1983, Mark Ferraguto was raised in Woburn, Massachusetts. He began his career in music as a member of the Boston Boy Choir, receiving education and musical training at the Boston Archdiocesan Choir School. He went on to attend Belmont Hill School and matriculated to the College of the Holy Cross in 2001.

At Holy Cross (BA, 2005), Mark pursued a major in music and a minor in French, studying piano with Sarah Grunstein and Marian C. Hanshaw, and organ with James David Christie. In 2003–4, he lived in Strasbourg, France, where he took courses at Université Marc Bloch and studied piano and harpsichord at the Conservatoire National du Région de Strasbourg. In 2004, he received the Holy Cross Fenwick Scholar Award, which enabled him to spend his senior year working on a thesis in place of the traditional course load. He researched and wrote about the programmatic impulse in Beethoven's instrumental music, under the guidance of Jessica Waldoff.

Mark began graduate studies at Cornell University (MA, 2008; PhD, 2012) in 2005, supported by an Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship. He pursued a degree in musicology (under the supervision of James Webster) and a concentration in performance practice, studying early keyboards with Annette Richards and David Yearsley. In 2009, he traveled to Berlin to conduct archival research supported by Cornell's Society for the Humanities, and in 2010–11, he taught a First-Year Writing Seminar, Music of War and Peace, for Cornell's

Knight Institute. He was awarded the American Musicological Society's Paul A. Pisk Prize in 2011 for his paper on Russianness in Beethoven's "Razumovsky" Quartets. His work has been published in *Studia Musicologica* and *Keyboard Perspectives*.

To my father and in loving memory of my mother

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INTRODUCTION

According to a concert-hall witticism, Beethoven composed just four symphonies: the Third, Fifth, Seventh, and Ninth. For musical and extramusical reasons, these symphonies have come to exemplify his so-called heroic style, the aesthetic paradigm that has become largely synonymous with his voice as a composer. While the canon of pieces in this style has never been firmly established, there can be no doubt that its *locus classicus* is the Third Symphony (1803–4), the “Sinfonia eroica.” Its programmatic title, its associations with the legend of Prometheus, its retracted dedication to Napoleon, and its proximity to Beethoven’s writing of the “Heiligenstadt Testament” have made it a powerful agent in the mythologizing of man and music. This symphony, along with the Fifth (1808), were central in formulating the concept of Beethoven’s “heroic decade,” the period from roughly 1802 to 1813 “during which,” according to Maynard Solomon, “he reached the highest order of creativity.”¹

If the status accorded to the Third and Fifth Symphonies justifies the notion of a heroic decade, it does so at the expense of other works seen as incommensurate with their aesthetics. No better illustration exists than the Fourth Symphony (1806), a work that, despite many original features, has long been viewed as conservative, even regressive. It has therefore posed a problem

¹ Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer, 1998), 163. The interrelated concepts “heroic style,” “heroic decade [or period],” and “heroic phase” are explicated in Lewis Lockwood, “Beethoven, Florestan, and the Varieties of Heroism,” in *Beethoven and His World*, ed. Scott Burnham and Michael Steinberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 27-47.

for critics who believe that the “Eroica” signaled a sea change in Beethoven’s style. J. W. N. Sullivan famously wrote in 1927 that the Fourth, along with the Sixth and Eighth Symphonies, is “not in the main line of Beethoven’s spiritual development.”² While recent critics have tended to be more diplomatic, the symphony has nonetheless remained at odds with the concept of Beethoven’s “symphonic ideal,” which Joseph Kerman—in the authoritative context of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*—has described as perhaps his “greatest single achievement.”³ Indeed, the Fourth has suffered perhaps most of all from gestures of omission; it is absent from several of the most important recent studies of Beethoven’s style and only briefly mentioned in a number of others.⁴ And when it has been examined, it has often been through an unlikely lens: in light of the “Heiligenstadt Testament,” scholars and critics have tended to view Beethoven’s astonishing productivity in the early 1800s as a complex musical and psychological reaction to the onset of deafness.⁵ To be sure, such an interpretation offers a compelling way of thinking about the relationship between his life and his music. But it is also limiting, insofar as it tends to

² J.W.N. Sullivan, *Beethoven: His Spiritual Development* (London: Unwin Books, 1964), 87.

³ Kerman, who coined the term, locates the symphonic ideal in the Third, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Ninth Symphonies, citing their “forcefulness, expanded range, and evident radical intent” as well as the impression they create of a “psychological journey or growth process.” Joseph Kerman et al., “Beethoven, Ludwig van,” in *Grove Music Online (Oxford Music Online)*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40026pg14> (accessed June 14, 2012).

⁴ For a review of the literature on the Fourth Symphony, see Chapter I.

⁵ The classic text is Alan Tyson, “Beethoven’s Heroic Phase,” *The Musical Times* 110 (1969), pp. 139-141.

privilege the small group of pieces said to exemplify the themes associated with the “heroic style” and to marginalize others, notably the Fourth Symphony.⁶

The preoccupation with Beethoven’s personal crises has also impeded the study of his music more generally. On one hand, as K. M. Knittel has suggested, the tendency to read Beethoven’s life as a narrative of struggle and transcendence has resulted in an incomplete picture of him: the “events, sources and witnesses that support this Romantic plot have been highlighted, while other conflicting views have been suppressed, generating a limited vision of Beethoven’s life—the Beethoven myth.”⁷ On the other hand, the Romantic portrayal of the deaf Beethoven as a kind of high priest of art—one whose works resulted from profound, even divine, inspiration—has reinforced the idea that his music somehow transcended the constraints of materiality. The composer’s own words have often been cited as evidence for this claim: “What do I care about your wretched fiddle,” he allegedly asked Ignaz Schuppanzigh, “when the spirit seizes me?”⁸

⁶ There is a substantial literature on the ways in which the “Beethoven Hero” paradigm (explored in Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995]) has obscured and even suppressed other aspects of his musical style, including individual works and indeed, whole genres. See Lewis Lockwood, “Beethoven, Florestan, and the Varieties of Heroism”; Nicholas Cook “The Other Beethoven: Heroism, the Canon, and the Works of 1813-14, in *19th-Century Music*, 27/1 (2003), pp. 3-24; and Nicholas Mathew, “Beethoven and His Others: Criticism, Difference, and the Composer’s Many Voices,” *Beethoven Forum* 13/2 (2006), and “Beethoven’s Political Music and the Idea of the Heroic Style” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2006).

⁷ K.M. Knittel, “The Construction of Beethoven,” in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 118-150, 121.

⁸ Carl Dahlhaus, citing the “wretched fiddle” anecdote, maintains that Beethoven introduced the idea that “a musical text, like a literary or philosophical text, harbors a meaning which is made manifest but not entirely subsumed in its acoustic presentation—that a musical creation can exist as an ‘art work of ideas’ transcending its various interpretations.” *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 10. The source for the anecdote itself is uncertain; possibly it first appeared in A.B. Marx, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen*, Vol. 2 (1859), 45-6.

Although Beethoven sometimes attempted to distance himself from the practical considerations of music making,⁹ there can be no doubt that he carefully considered the material and social factors that contributed to the creation of dynamic and profitable artworks. His private remarks, his correspondence with patrons and publishers, and the sheer variety of his published works show that he strove to strike a balance between amateur and connoisseur tastes, popular and learned styles, marketable trends of all kinds (including the overtly political) and the desire to be original. As the breadth of the recent literature on his symphonies suggests, coming to terms with his music requires more than merely investigating the scores; it requires placing the musical work at the intersection of multiple axes: artistic, social, political, biographical, hermeneutic, economic, performative, and historical, among others.¹⁰

While recent literature has been indispensable for opening new ways of thinking about Beethoven's music, these studies of context often remain

⁹ For instance, in a letter to publisher Franz Anton Hoffmeister, Beethoven famously entertained the possibility of a "market for art" (*ein Magazin der Kunst*), "where the artist would only have to bring his works and take as much money as needed." Emily Anderson, ed., *The Letters of Beethoven*, 3 vols. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961), Vol. 1, No. 44 (January 15[?] 1801).

¹⁰ On cultural contexts for Beethoven's symphonies, see Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Mark Evan Bonds, *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven* (Princeton University Press, 2006); Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton University Press, 1995); Nicholas Cook, *Beethoven: Symphony No. 9* (Cambridge University Press, 1993); David Wyn Jones, *Beethoven: Pastoral Symphony* (Cambridge University Press, 1995) and *The Symphony in Beethoven's Vienna* (Cambridge University Press, 2006); Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); Stephen Rumph, *Beethoven after Napoleon: Political Romanticism in the Late Works* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); and Nicholas Mathew, "Beethoven's Political Music, the Handelian Sublime, and the Aesthetics of Prostration," in *Nineteenth-Century Music* 33/2 (Fall 2009), pp. 110-150.

disconnected from individual works. This examination of the Fourth Symphony contrasts with many previous studies in its application of multiple contextual approaches to a single work; by applying various lenses, I hope to paint a richer and more complete picture of this symphony than has hitherto been possible. Of course, any method that positions Beethoven's symphonies in reference to their cultural contexts must take into account the particular circumstances of Viennese musical life in the early 1800s. While Haydn had the freedom and resources to cultivate a new and increasingly public style of symphony composition during his two residencies in London, Beethoven, a rising star in early 1800s Vienna, depended in a more fundamental way on the aristocratic patronage system.¹¹ At the same time, he submitted his symphonies to the free market, hoping to establish his reputation as an international composer and to gain income from publishing firms.¹² His target audience for symphonies, then, was more heterogeneous than is often assumed: it included not only the concertgoing 'public'—a socially diverse category encompassing several classes and many sensibilities—but also specific firms, patrons, performers, and even critics.

In this sense, Beethoven's symphonies may be viewed as products of a particular network of social and economic interactions (Figure i.i). Through

¹¹ Haydn's public style, Melanie Lowe suggests, created divergent meanings that reflected the individual and collective subjectivities of listeners of different social standings. *Pleasure and Meaning in the Classical Symphony* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007). See also Elaine Sisman, "Haydn's Career and the Idea of the Multiple Audience," in Caryl Clark, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 3–16.

¹² Beethoven's desire to achieve international recognition—and thus become what he called a "true artist" (*ein wahrer Künstler*)—is indicated by several letters from this period; in Anderson, *The Letters of Beethoven*, see, in particular, Vol. 1, No. 137 (November 18, 1806) and No. 143

patrons, Beethoven had access to orchestras and performance spaces; through publishers, he had access to markets far outside Vienna. In the musical economics of his day, symphony production depended on multiple agencies, each of which needs to be given consideration in thinking about the character of individual works.¹³

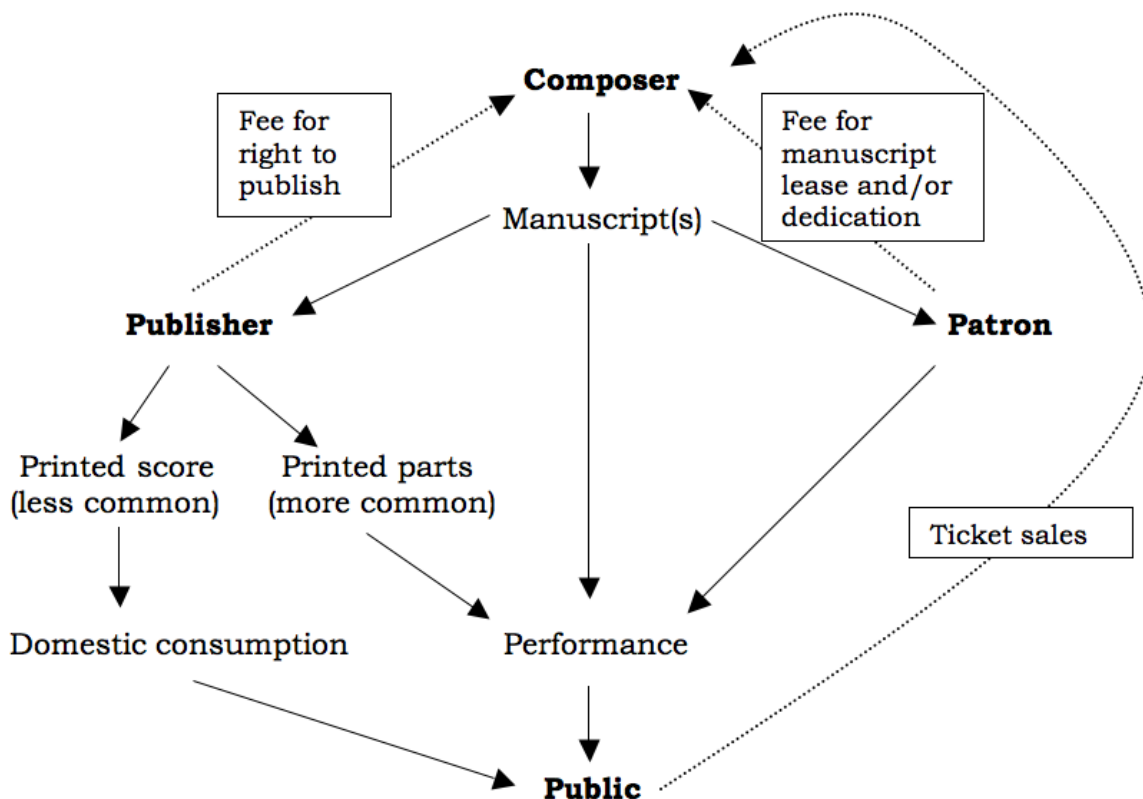


Figure i.i: The symphony circa 1800: from composer to public

Not shown in this model is the figure of the critic. Critics not only advertised and generated interest in Beethoven’s compositions, they were also crucial in shaping his reputation among publishers, patrons, and audiences. In their

(May 11, 1807).

¹³ Beethoven rarely held concerts for his own benefit, though this was an option. In general, the

reviews and speculative writings, critics contributed to the establishment of a shared musical taste, playing a pivotal role in formulating new conceptual categories for approaching his music.¹⁴

The extent to which this network of interactions informed Beethoven's experience as a composer is especially evident in his correspondence with publishers. Of particular interest in this context is a letter to publisher Breitkopf & Härtel from July 1806. Between sales pitches, Beethoven alludes to a review of the "Eroica" that had appeared in Germany's leading music journal, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (published by the same firm). Although it is not clear to which specific review Beethoven refers, its mere presence clearly touched a nerve:

I hear that in the *Musikalische Zeitung* someone has railed violently against the *symphony* which I sent you last year and which *you* returned to *me*. *I have not read the article*. If you fancy that you can injure *me* by publishing articles of that kind, you are very much mistaken. On the contrary, by so doing you merely bring your journal into disrepute, the more so as I have made *no secret* whatever of the fact that you returned to me *that particular* symphony together with some other compositions—¹⁵

costs were too high and the resources too difficult for him to procure on his own.

¹⁴ As David Gramit demonstrates, the development of German music criticism also valorized the ideology of its serious music culture, to the extent that it became something of a moral obligation or duty to support the culture's high aesthetic aims. In creating a sense of a shared culture, critics also fostered a sense of a shared responsibility. *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 6ff.

¹⁵ Anderson, Vol. 1, No. 132 (July 5, 1806). Beethoven had dispatched the *Eroica*, the sonatas op. 53 and op. 54, and the song "Gedenke mein" (WoO 130), according to his letter of January 16, 1805 (No. 108). In an earlier letter of August 26, 1804 (No. 96), Beethoven had offered the firm "a new grand symphony" (op. 55), the concerto for violin, cello, and piano (op. 56), three piano sonatas (opp. 53, 54, 57), and the oratorio *Christus am Oelberge* (op. 85) for publication. Of these works, only op. 85 was published by Breitkopf und Härtel, but not until 1811. The other works were published by the Viennese firm Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie (Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir).

[I]ch höre, daß <sie> Man in der Musikal. Zeitung so über die sinfonie, die ich ihnen voriges Jahr geschickt, und die sie mir wieder zurückgeschickt, so loßgezogen hat, gelesen habe ich's nicht, Wenn sie glauben, daß sie mir damit schaden, so irren sie sich, vielmehr bringen sie ihre Zeitung durch so etwas in Mißkredit — um so mehr, da ich auch gar kein Geheimniß draus gemacht habe, daß sie mir diese Sinfonie mit andern Kompositionen zurück geschickt hätten.¹⁶

Not only does Beethoven blame the firm both for refusing to publish his symphony and for printing the negative review, he claims that they have done themselves a disservice. Despite its supercilious tone, the letter betrays sensitivity on Beethoven's part to what the critics had to say. Indeed, the impassioned register makes it difficult to believe his emphatic claim that "*I have not read the article.*" The long-held notion that Beethoven ignored or simply wrote off his listeners' responses is implausible. His diatribe marks his awareness that distinguished journals like the *AmZ* could strongly influence both the artistic and financial success of his music.¹⁷

The letter about the negative review of the "Eroica" was the last Beethoven sent from Vienna before arriving in Silesia for the summer of 1806. Perhaps the article—read or unread—was still on his mind when he set out to

¹⁶ Ludwig van Beethoven, *Briefwechsel: Gesamtausgabe*, Vol. 1, No. 254, pp. 286-288.

¹⁷ Indeed, immediately following the vitriol, Beethoven emphasizes this point with flattery: "Be so kind as to give my compliments to *Herr* [Friedrich] *von Rochlitz* [editor of the *AmZ*]. I trust that his bad blood toward me will have subsided a little. Tell him *that I am not quite so ignorant about foreign* [i.e. German] *literature as not to know that Herr von Rochlitz has written some very fine articles* and that, should I ever go to Leipzig, I am convinced that we should certainly become quite good friends, *'without prejudice to or disparagement of his criticism'*." (Empfehlen sie mich gütigst hr. v. Rochlitz, ich hoffe, sein Böses Blut gegen mich wird sich etwas Verdünt haben, sagen sie ihm, daß ich gar nicht so unwissend in der <litterarischen> ausländischen Litteratur wäre, daß ich nicht wüßte, Hr. v. Rochlitz habe recht sehr schöne Sachen geschrieben, und sollte ich einmal nach leipzig kommen, so bin ich überzeugt, daß wir gewiß recht gute Freunde "seiner Kritik unbeschadet und ohne Eintrag zu thun" werden <würden>). Anderson, Vol. 1, No. 132, p. 151; *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 1, No. 254, p. 287.

write his next symphony almost immediately after his arrival there. He completed it quickly: by September, he was offering his Fourth Symphony to none other than Breitkopf & Härtel. Despite having declined to publish the “Eroica,” the firm remained the most prestigious of its kind in the German-speaking world, a fact of which Beethoven was well aware. From this perspective, the Fourth Symphony—a more transparent and concise work than its predecessor, as early critics noted—may itself be viewed as a form of negotiation. It seems to mark not only Beethoven’s consolidation of new creative impulses but also his clear departure from the techniques and topics that so sharply characterize the “Eroica.”¹⁸ To publishers, critics, and audiences alike, the Fourth offered a new and contrasting approach to the complex problem of balancing listener expectations, market appeal, and individual style.

We cannot know whether or to what extent the Fourth’s particular character was shaped by early criticisms of the “Eroica.” Nonetheless, by calling attention to some of the external factors that underlay the composition of this symphony, I hope to provide a fuller picture of the creative stimuli to which Beethoven was responding. Indeed, a goal of this study is to consider the Fourth as both an aesthetic object and a cultural product—these categories are not mutually exclusive, but rather inform each other in myriad ways. To

¹⁸ James Webster has noted that Beethoven’s output seems to be organized into “phases of expansion and consolidation,” with the “heroic phase” of 1803-5 and the large-scale works of 1807-8 representing the former, and the large-scale works of 1805-6 representing the latter. “Traditional Elements in Beethoven’s Middle-Period String Quartets,” in *Beethoven, Performers, and Critics: The International Beethoven Congress, Detroit, 1977* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1980), pp. 94-133.

attempt to capture some of this frictive overlap, I draw from—and occasionally combine—several different methodologies, including analytical, sociological, philosophical, and historical inquiry. This confluence of approaches, I believe, offers to illuminate a work whose significance has long been underarticulated.

Each chapter examines the Fourth Symphony from a different vantage point. Chapter I explores the Fourth's reception history from its premiere to the present day. I argue that the symphony's present status as a more or less marginalized work began to take shape as early as the 1830s, but assumed a stable form in later nineteenth-century readings—and misreadings—, many of which seem to have lodged in the collective consciousness. Chapter II repositions the Fourth within the symphonic tradition in which Beethoven worked. Of special importance is the influence of Haydn's "London" Symphonies, works whose strong affinities with the Fourth have often been noted but remain insufficiently explored. Chapter III focuses on the symphony's changing relationship to Viennese concert life during Beethoven's lifetime. Three performances serve as case studies, each revealing a different aspect of the Fourth's early performance history. A special focus is the Viennese Amateur Concerts of 1807–1808, an ambitious public series at which Beethoven's first four symphonies were performed. The series not only helped to cement Beethoven's reputation in Vienna, it also placed his symphonies at the center of a political project of cultural renewal following the French occupation of 1805. The two appendices represent a first step toward a more comprehensive study of the symphony's sources. Appendix I provides a

working inventory and description of the sketches, long overlooked by scholars. The autograph manuscript is the focus of Appendix II, which explores aspects of Beethoven's revision process. By complicating the notion of Beethoven's "symphonic ideal" and by placing the Fourth in the context of the "ideal symphony" in 1800s Vienna, I aim to suggest new ways of thinking about both this symphony and the forces that shaped its creation and reception.

CHAPTER I
OF PEAKS AND VALLEYS:
BEETHOVEN'S FOURTH SYMPHONY IN THE CRITICAL LANDSCAPE

The Fourth Symphony in the Concert Tradition. As early as 1831, a British commentator noted that Beethoven's Fourth Symphony was the "least frequently brought forward" of the first six, though, he hastened to add, it was "not inferior to any."¹ Seven years later, a French critic wrote that in Paris the "sublime symphony in B-flat" had not only been neglected, but was also routinely dismissed as "a work of folly, without true beauty and without meaning."² While the Fourth Symphony eventually came to occupy a significant place on European concert programs in the later nineteenth century (particularly in London), it remained a seldom-performed work in many American concert halls through much of the twentieth. On the centennial of Beethoven's death in 1927, British conductor Sir Henry Wood was astonished to find that the Fourth Symphony had never before been heard in Los Angeles: "Think of so attractive a work having been almost entirely neglected. I put in that 'almost,' because it appeared that some conductors had gone as far as rehearsing it. But when the pinch came their courage failed, and down went No. 5 instead!"³

¹ "Music: Philharmonic Society," *London literary gazette and journal of belles lettres, arts, sciences, etc. for the year 1831* (London: James Moyes, 1831), 381.

² "On a regardé long-temps la sublime symphonie en si bémol de Beethoven comme une œuvre de folie, sans beauté véritable et sans signification." Louis Désiré Véron, "Salon de 1838: Dernier Article," *Revue de Paris* (Paris, 1838), 52.

³ "Concerning Beethoven's Symphonies: A Talk with Sir Henry Wood," *The Musical Times*, Vol. 68, No. 1009 (Mar. 1, 1927), pp. 216-219, 218.

One wonders why these conductors should have lost their nerve. Whatever the reason, these last-minute retractions highlight the discomfort this symphony has often posed for interpreters, critics, and even audiences. Indeed, the story of the symphony's critical reception is a tale of apologies and rescue attempts—as one critic opined, the Fourth Symphony has been subject to “more misrepresentation than any other work by Beethoven.”⁴ And yet the Fourth is by no means a neglected work today. According to the League of American Orchestras, the symphony has received over two hundred performances by major American orchestras over the past decade; in the 2007–2008 season (two centuries after its Viennese premiere in 1807), it was among the twenty most frequently programmed orchestral works in the country.⁵ Nonetheless, for a variety of reasons, the Fourth has not achieved the reputation enjoyed by the Third, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Ninth Symphonies. As Figure 1.1 shows, over the past decade, Beethoven's nine symphonies have been programmed in a hierarchical pattern in the United States, with the larger odd-numbered symphonies and the programmatic “Pastoral” receiving more attention than the First, Second, Fourth, and Eighth (and the Fourth receiving the most attention within this lower tier). Data from the New York

⁴ Burnett James, *Beethoven and Human Destiny* (London, 1960), 38.

⁵ American League of Orchestras, “2007-2008 Season Orchestra Repertoire Report” (PDF version, http://www.americanorchestras.org/interest_areas/librarians.html), 4. Five of Beethoven's symphonies made the top twenty in 2007-2008: the Fourth Symphony ranked 16th, the “Pastoral” Symphony 12th, the Ninth Symphony 4th, the Seventh Symphony 2nd, and the Fifth Symphony 1st. Astonishingly, the “Eroica” did not make the list that season; however, it has frequently made the top ten in the past decade (3rd in 2001-2002, 8th in 2004-2005, 7th in 2006-2007), whereas the Fourth's 2007-2008 ranking is an anomaly, seemingly explained by the bicentennial year.

Philharmonic Archive (which dates back to 1842) reveal a similar pattern, but indicate that the Third, Fifth, and Seventh Symphonies have been even more dominant (see Figure 1.2). The Fifth Symphony alone has been performed nearly four hundred times by the New York Philharmonic, four times as often as the Fourth. (The relatively low number of performances of the Ninth Symphony in Figure 1.2 may perhaps be explained by the larger number of resources needed to perform the work—now seemingly a less pressing concern than in an earlier age).⁶

⁶ New York Philharmonic Performance History database: <http://history.nyphil.org/> (accessed June 15, 2011).

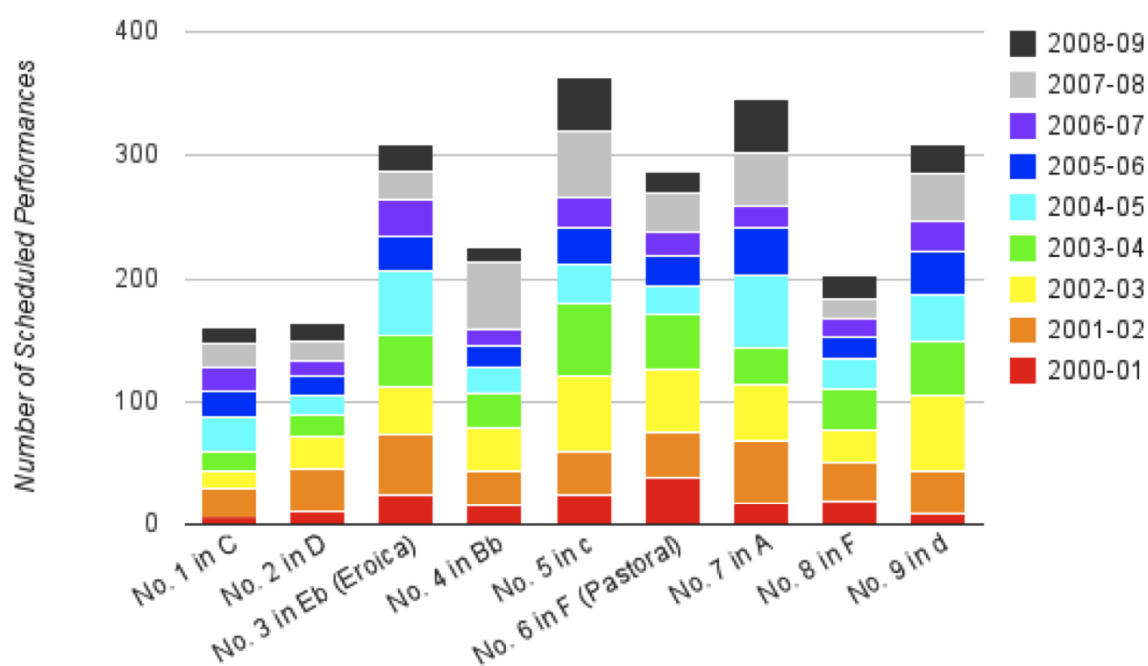


Figure 1.1: Programmed performances of Beethoven's nine symphonies in the United States, 2000–2009 (Source: League of American Orchestras)

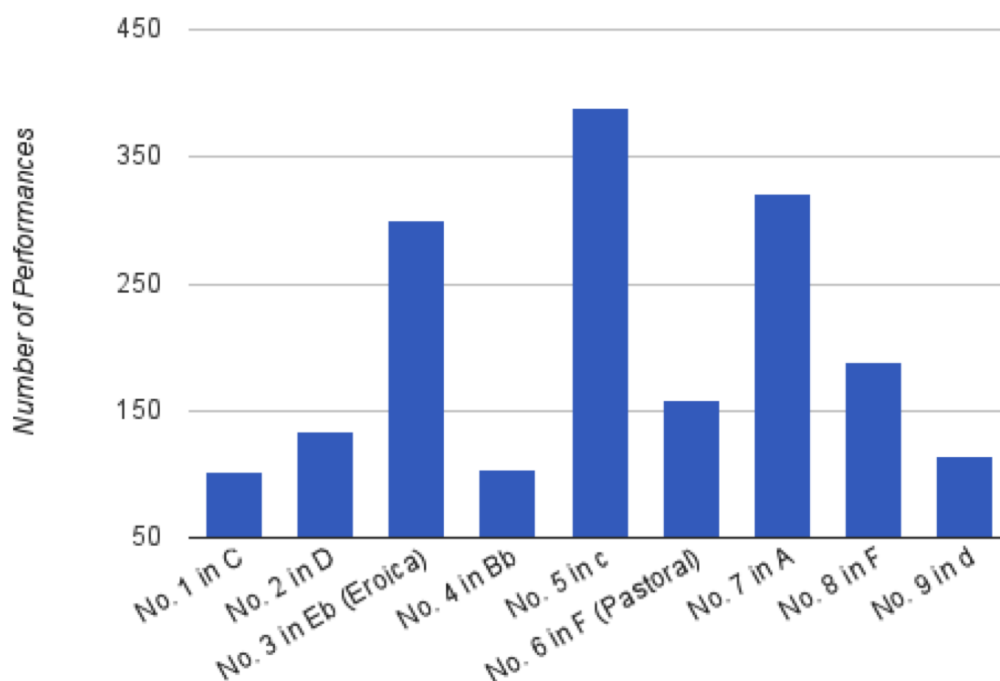


Figure 1.2: Performances of Beethoven's nine symphonies by the New York Philharmonic, 1842–2010 (Source: NY Philharmonic Database)

While the Fourth has long been a part of the orchestral repertory, it remains conspicuously underrepresented in the scholarly literature on Beethoven's music. Sir George Grove's assertion that the Fourth had, by 1898, "met with scant notice in some of the most prominent works on Beethoven" remains accurate to this day, despite the boom in Beethoven scholarship during the latter half of the twentieth century.⁷ Because so few sketches survive, the work received little attention when scholars turned toward the examination of Beethoven's creative process in the 1970s and 1980s.⁸ And for reasons that are more complex, it has continued to play a marginal role in studies of both musical style and biography. It has, of course, been described and analyzed in studies devoted to all nine symphonies, but it has not inspired an analytical tradition similar to that of the Third, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, or Ninth.⁹ Further, the symphony remains absent from some of the most influential recent studies of Beethoven's style.¹⁰ Given that Beethoven's

⁷ George Grove, *Beethoven and His Nine Symphonies* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1962), 97.

⁸ A cluster of articles on editorial and performance issues, however, emerged as a result of a graduate seminar at Bar-Ilan University in 1976/77, which involved the preparation of a new critical edition. See Bathia Churgin, "A New Edition of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony: Editorial Report," pp. 11-53, and Joachim Braun, "Beethoven's Fourth Symphony: Comparative Analysis of Recorded Performances," pp. 54-76, both in *Israel Studies in Musicology*, Vol. 1 (1978); also Braun, "The Sound of Beethoven's Orchestra," in *Orbis musicae: Studies in Musicology*, 6 (1978), pp. 59-90. A detailed listing of all known sketches for op. 60, including watermarks and rastros, may be found in Appendix I.

⁹ The only extended treatment to date is Carl Dahlhaus's German-language monograph "Ludwig van Beethoven. IV. Symphonie B-Dur," *Meisterwerke der Musik*, Vol. 20 (Munich: Fink, 1979). A handful of articles and chapters (mostly in German) deal with specific analytical issues: see Ludwig Misch, *Die Faktoren der Einheit in der Mehrsätzigkeit der Werke Beethovens* (Munich and Duisberg, 1958), pp. 54-72, and "Ein unbemerkter thematischer Zusammenhang in Beethovens IV. Symphonie," in *Neue Beethoven-Studien* (Bonn, 1967), pp. 56-58; Arnold Feil, "Zur Satztechnik in Beethovens Vierter Sinfonie," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XVI (1959), pp. 391-399; Hilary Tann Presslaff, "The Investigation," in *Perspectives of New Music*, 20 (1981-82), pp. 526-59 (on the first movement's slow introduction); Christopher Hatch, "Internal and

symphonic style has come to be closely associated with his musical persona, such absences call for explanation.

The causes and effects of the Fourth's marginalization are diverse, involving considerations of musical biography, historiography, reception history, documentary analysis, and musical style. My aim in this chapter is to examine responses to the Fourth from Beethoven's day onward, with the goal of better understanding its place in the current critical landscape. I will begin by detailing the circumstances of the conception, publication, and premiere. After establishing this background, I will consider early reactions to the work by Beethoven's contemporaries. Then I will trace several strands of criticism from their origins in the later nineteenth century to the present day, showing how a small number of metaphors, misquotations, and misreadings have fundamentally shaped the work's reception. I will conclude with some observations on how we might reconsider this symphony as our conception of Beethoven adapts to the concerns of a new age.

External References in Beethoven's Fourth Symphony," *College Music Symposium*, 24/1 (Spring 1984), pp. 107-117; and Rudolf Bockholdt, "Proportion der Tempi und Metamorphose des Tempos im ersten Satz von Beethovens Vierter Symphonie," in Thomas Dreschner, ed., *Capella Antiqua München* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988), pp. 127-143.

¹⁰ The classic English-language discussions of the symphony are in Grove, *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies* and Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, "Symphonies and other Orchestral Works" (Oxford, 1981 [first ed. 1935-9]). The most comprehensive recent account in a study devoted to Beethoven's style is in Michael Broyles, *The Emergence and Evolution of Beethoven's Heroic Style* (New York: Excelsior, 1987), pp. 173-186. A useful, but more generalist, treatment is in A. Peter Brown, *The Symphonic Repertoire Volume 2: The First Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), pp. 476-484.

The Early Nineteenth Century

Conception, Composition, and Publication. In 1806, Beethoven spent the late summer and fall in Upper Silesia at the residence of his patron Prince Lichnowsky. During his stay in the country, he accompanied Lichnowsky from his seat at Grätz (near Troppau) to the nearby town of Oberglogau (present-day Głogówek in Poland). There they visited the castle of Count Franz von Oppersdorff (1778–1818), an avid friend of music. While many noblemen had disbanded their private orchestras in favor of less costly ensembles, Oppersdorff maintained a chamber orchestra comprising amateur and professional musicians.¹¹ Enthusiastic about Beethoven's music, he had his orchestra perform the Second Symphony in the presence of the composer. More significantly, he offered to patronize a new symphony by Beethoven. A receipt dated February 3, 1807 shows that Oppersdorff paid 500 gulden for this privilege.¹² As was customary, his patronage entitled him to be the sole owner of the manuscript for a fixed period of time and to receive the dedication on the printed score.

By 1804, Beethoven had already projected ideas for what would become the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Symphonies.¹³ Of these, it was the ideas for a symphony in B-flat Major that he developed first. Precisely when he began

¹¹ See Chapter III.

¹² Anderson, *Letters of Beethoven*, Vol. 3, p. 1426.

¹³ Preliminary sketches for both the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies may be seen as early as the *Eroica* sketchbook of 1803-4 (well before their 1808 completion). A single sketch for the finale of the Fourth Symphony can also be dated to 1804. See Appendix I.

working on it in earnest, however, is difficult to determine. In a July 5, 1806 letter to Breitkopf & Härtel, he discussed several works in progress with the firm, but made no mention of a symphony.¹⁴ But by September 3, he was offering to dispatch a number of works “immediately” for publication—among them “a new symphony”—if the firm were to agree to his terms.¹⁵ That Beethoven claimed to be ready to dispatch these works upon consent of the firm implies that they were well under way, though precisely how far along they were remains a matter for speculation.¹⁶ After his return to Vienna in late fall of 1806, he sent a third letter to Breitkopf & Härtel, dated November 18. Of the symphony he now remarked, “I cannot yet give you the symphony I promised you, because a distinguished gentleman [Oppersdorff] has taken it from me. But I still retain the freedom to publish it in six months.”¹⁷ He added, as a postscript, “Perhaps it will be possible for me to have the symphony engraved *sooner* than I have been able to hope for up to the present. If so, you may have it at an early date—But do reply soon—so that I may not be held up—.”¹⁸ Since, according to Beethoven, Oppersdorff’s six-month lease of the manuscript began in November, the work must have been complete (if not yet in its final form) by that time. Given that Beethoven had made no mention of the

¹⁴ Anderson, *Letters of Beethoven*, Vol. 1, No. 132.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 134.

¹⁶ Beethoven’s friend and physician Dr. Andreas Bertolini told Otto Jahn that “Beethoven as a rule never finished commissioned works until the last minute.” Cited in Elliot Forbes, ed., *Thayer’s Life of Beethoven*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 410.

¹⁷ Anderson, *Letters of Beethoven*, Vol. 1, No. 137.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

symphony in his July 5 sales pitch, it seems likely that he completed most of the work during the late summer and fall.

Custom dictated that the patron of a work effectively owned that work for a period of six months or a year; hence, by accepting Oppersdorff's patronage, Beethoven deferred the right to market his symphony through Breitkopf & Härtel.¹⁹ At the same time, he increased his potential long-term profits and eased his current debt. In any case, the Leipzig firm ultimately declined to publish the symphony. Evidently, Gottfried Härtel had suggested to Beethoven the possibility of a three-year contract in 1806, to which Beethoven notionally agreed, but which agreement he refused to put into writing, brazenly asking the firm to "rely entirely on *my word of honour*."²⁰ He promised in his letter to prefer the firm for all his new publications in Germany, on the condition that he would maintain the right to publish separately in foreign markets. Whether the firm was put off by these terms, or by Beethoven's unwillingness to sign a contract, or whether it was deterred by the turmoil in Saxony caused by the battles of Jena and Auerstadt, the negotiations did not bear fruit. In fact, Breitkopf & Härtel published none of his compositions between 1804 and 1809.

¹⁹ Beethoven's brother Carl, who acted as his agent for several years, gave the following explanation to Breitkopf and Härtel in 1802: "he who wants a piece pays a specified sum for its exclusive possession for a half or a whole year, or even longer, and binds himself not to give the manuscript to *anybody*; after this period the author is free to do as he wishes with the piece." *Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence*, ed. Theodore Albrecht (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), Vol. 1, 86.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

By August 1807, the Fourth Symphony (along with the overture to Collin's *Coriolan*, the Violin Concerto and the three string quartets, op. 59) was nonetheless "*im Stich*," according to an advertisement in a Viennese paper.²¹ In the interim, Beethoven had struck a deal with the Viennese publisher Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie (Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir). The firm, based in Vienna with a satellite operation in Pest, purchased the rights to six new works (Op. 58–62, including 61a) for 1500 gulden.²² The "Razumovsky" quartets (op. 59) and the *Coriolan* overture (op. 62) appeared in January 1808, the Violin Concerto (op. 61) and the Piano Concerto (op. 58) in August. The plate number of the symphony edition seems to indicate that it too was published in 1808, not 1809 as Gustav Nottebohm once suggested.²³

These six opuses constituted a group for Beethoven; he simultaneously offered all six works for publication to several foreign firms, under the governing principle that copyright—insofar as it existed—was a national, not an international restriction. Following Haydn's business model, Beethoven planned to publish simultaneously in France, Great Britain and Germany—the three most important national markets of the day. This was new territory for him, and although he genuinely desired to become an international artist, his plan did not succeed. The Parisian firm Pleyel apparently did not agree to Beethoven's terms, and the London firm Clementi only partially fulfilled its end

²¹ Georg Kinsky and Hans Halm, *Das Werk Beethovens: Thematisch-bibliographisches Verzeichnis seiner sämtlichen vollendeten Kompositionen* (Munich, 1955), 144.

²² Anderson, *Letters of Beethoven*, Vol. 1, No. 148.

²³ Kinsky and Halm, *Verzeichnis*, 144.

of the deal. Muzio Clementi had obtained the British rights to these six works directly from Beethoven—the two drew up a contract during Clementi’s stay in Vienna in 1807. In a letter to his partner Collard, Clementi described their meeting as “mutual ecstasy,” and indeed, the contract offered great benefit to both parties. Beethoven, who had not yet been able to reach an agreement with a British publisher, would be permitted to disseminate his works throughout the British Empire under the aegis of a highly respected firm, while retaining the rights to publish the same works in German-speaking lands and in France. Clementi, aware that Beethoven was a rising star, would gain the exclusive rights to his music throughout the British domains for a relatively modest price given England’s more robust economy. Beethoven’s friend Baron von Gleichenstein drew up the official document, signed by both parties.²⁴ But Clementi’s firm never published the Fourth Symphony, the Fourth Piano Concerto or the Overture to *Coriolan*. Perhaps the manuscripts never reached the island. The remaining three opuses lay unpublished until 1809–1810 (at which point pirate editions of the quartets had already been produced).²⁵ In September 1808, Clementi visited Beethoven in Vienna once again. His firm had failed to pay the composer. In a letter to his partners, Clementi wrote, furiously:

²⁴ Anderson, *Letters*, Vol. 3, 1419-1420.

²⁵ Alan Tyson, *The Authentic English Editions of Beethoven* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), 51. On the Beethoven-Clementi contract, see Barry Cooper, “The Clementi-Beethoven contract of 1807, a reinvestigation,” *Muzio Clementi: Studies and Prospects* (Bologna, 2002), pp. 337-353; David Wyn Jones, “Some Aspects of Clementi’s Career as a Publisher,” in B. M. Antolini and C. Mastroprimiano (eds.), *Muzio Clementi. Compositore, (Forte)pianista, editore* (Lucca: Lim Editrice, 2006), pp. 3-19; Rudolf Rasch, “Muzio Clementi, the Last Composer-Publisher,” *Muzio Clementi: Studies and Prospects*, pp. 355-366.

A most shabby figure you have made me in this affair! –and with one of the *first* composers of the day! –You certainly might have found means in the course of *two years and a half* to have satisfied his demands! Consider the *consequence* of such conduct!²⁶

Although this attempt at simultaneous publication failed, Clementi and Beethoven nonetheless went on to have a productive business relationship.²⁷

As with Beethoven's other symphonies, the Fourth circulated widely in contemporary arrangements for chamber ensembles. These included versions for string quartet (Vienna, 1809), two pianos (Vienna, 1809), septet (London, 1810[?]), four-hand piano (Bonn, 1817), and piano quartet (Mainz, 1830), among others.²⁸ Such arrangements were not only relatively inexpensive, they also allowed for unlimited performances in the home. Full orchestral scores were considered impractical by comparison; hence it is unsurprising that the first edition of the score (published by Nikolaus Simrock in Bonn) was not issued until 1823.

First Impressions. The symphony's Viennese premiere took place during a series of all-Beethoven subscription concerts at the residence of Prince Lobkowitz in March 1807. Among the works performed in the series were all four completed symphonies, the newly composed overture to Collin's *Coriolan*, arias from *Fidelio*, and a piano concerto (perhaps the recently completed G-Major concerto, op. 58). The concerts provided subscribers with a conspectus

²⁶ *Clementi Studies and Prospects*, 333.

²⁷ See Tyson, *Authentic English Editions of Beethoven*, 52.

²⁸ Kinsky and Halm, *Verzeichnis*, 145.

of Beethoven's musical achievements, past and present, and gave critics a chance to reflect on his development as a composer. The reviewer for the fashionable *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* offered one such critique:

Richness of ideas, bold originality and fullness of power, which are the particular merits of Beethoven's muse were very much in evidence to everyone at these concerts; yet many found fault with lack of a noble simplicity and the all too fruitful accumulation of ideas which on account of their number were not always adequately worked out and blended, thereby creating the effect more often of rough diamonds.²⁹

That Beethoven's compositions suffered from a "too fruitful accumulation of ideas" was a prevalent concern among critics at this time. Both *Fidelio* and the "Eroica" Symphony had been criticized for their unusual length and irregular proportions, leading Beethoven to condense the opera's three acts into two and to defend his symphony against the Leipzig reviewers.³⁰ He also addressed concerns about the extraordinary length of the "Eroica" in a more practical way, appending a note to the first violin part which stated that the work should be performed only at the beginning of a program so as not to tire out the audience.³¹ In some ways, the Fourth Symphony seems designed to avoid such criticisms: lasting approximately thirty-four minutes (roughly the length of the Second Symphony), it is both shorter and more straightforward in structure

²⁹ Cited in Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, Vol. 1, 416.

³⁰ Josef August Röckel, the tenor who created the role of Florestan in the 1807 production of *Fidelio*, provides a valuable (if romanticized) first-hand account of the December 1805 meeting at which Beethoven and his friends (including Prince and Princess Lichnowsky and Heinrich von Collin) worked through possible revisions to the opera. See O.G. Sonneck, ed., *Beethoven: Impressions by his Contemporaries* (New York: Dover Publications, 1967), 60-68.

³¹ Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, Vol. 1, 376. As Thomas Sipe notes, already by 1807 the "Eroica" had received favorable acknowledgment by both connoisseurs and amateurs. *Beethoven: Eroica Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 54-63.

than the “Eroica.” Yet, it also projects aspects of Beethoven’s newly rugged and expansive manner, a fact that contemporaries noted. While some early listeners considered the symphony a clear and accessible work, others saw it as a prime example of his bold, at times tasteless, pursuit of originality.

The symphony’s public premiere took place at a benefit concert for charity institutions on November 15, 1807 in the Burgtheater. It was reported that “in the theater it did not succeed greatly,” but a second, more successful, performance followed on December 27 in the University Hall. In this concert (part of the newly established Amateur Concerts), Beethoven directed before a mixed audience of noblemen, bourgeois, and distinguished foreigners, receiving “well-deserved applause.”³² The reviewer for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* praised the “fiery” mood and “rich harmony” of the opening Allegro vivace as well as the “distinct, original character” of the minuet; he complained only that in the slow movement Beethoven had divided up the melody too much among the instruments, “a mistake that also frequently mars the otherwise rich and fiery symphony in D minor by [Anton] Eberl.”³³

Anton Schindler, later Beethoven’s factotum and biographer, provides perhaps the most detailed picture of the symphony’s initial public reception:

The composer had the pleasure of seeing the immediate success of his new symphony. Its impact was stronger than any of the others, stronger even than that of the first symphony in C major, which had made its

³² Wayne Senner and William Meredith, eds., Robin Wallace, trans. and ed., *The Critical Reception of Beethoven’s Compositions by His German Contemporaries* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), Vol. 2, 55.

³³ Ibid. As Ludwig Misch observes, a similar parsing of melodies occurs in all four movements of the Fourth Symphony, acting as an element of cyclic coherence: *Faktoren der Einheit*, 71-72.

début eight years earlier. The Viennese critics hailed the new work without reserve or qualification, an honor that had been granted to almost no other instrumental composition by Beethoven.³⁴

A less than reliable source in any event, Schindler was also writing several decades after the fact, raising questions about the validity of his recollections. Even so, his remarks about the symphony's popular appeal are consistent with contemporary assessments of the Fourth Symphony as a "cheerful, understandable, and engaging" work, one that eschewed eccentricity in favor of a more accessible idiom.³⁵ As one critic opined in an 1811 review, "the curious individual turns of phrase, by which Beethoven has recently frightened many performers and angered many listeners, and which hinder rather than further the effect, are not used excessively."³⁶ Of course, for every critic who considered the work accessible, another balked at its inaccessibility. The Kassel correspondent for the *AmZ*, for instance, might rather have been looking at hieroglyphics: "That this composer follows an individual path in his works can be seen again from [the Fourth Symphony]; just how far this path is a correct one, and not a deviation, may be decided by others. *To me* the great master seems here, as in several of his recent works, now and then excessively bizarre, and thus, even for knowledgeable friends of art, easily incomprehensible and forbidding."³⁷

³⁴ Anton Schindler, *Beethoven as I Knew Him*, trans. Donald MacArdle (Mineola: Dover, 1996), 137.

³⁵ Senner, *Critical Reception*, Vol. 2, 56.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 59-60.

The Early Romantics: Weber, Rellstab, Marx. Early Romantic critics expressed divergent opinions about the Fourth, in many ways setting the tone for its later reception. In Stuttgart, the work provoked a strong reaction from the 23-year old Carl Maria von Weber. In December 1809, Weber published a satire in the *Morgenblatt für die gebildeten Stände* in which he derided the boundless striving for originality that characterized the latest orchestral music.³⁸ The satire is in the form of a daydream (or nightmare) in which the anthropomorphic instruments of the orchestra rebel against the new music they are forced to play. A “sour-faced” double bass leads the attack on the newest symphonies, but the argument quickly dissolves as the instruments of the orchestra begin to quarrel about their individual superiority. At last the *Kalkant* enters the hall, threatening them with Beethoven’s “Eroica” Symphony if they do not behave: “Oh please, not that!”, beg the instruments, “Can’t we have an Italian opera, where one gets a nap now and then?” The *Kalkant* refuses to indulge: “Do you really think that in our enlightened days, when all barriers are down, a composer will forgo the giant sweep of his inspiration out of consideration for you?” Lamenting the lack of clarity and emotional restraint in modern music, the *Kalkant* goes on to describe the “newest symphony” to come in from Vienna:

First, we have a slow tempo, full of brief, disjointed ideas, none of them having any connection with each other, three or four notes every quarter

³⁸ Originally published 27 December 1809, the satire was reprinted in Weber’s novel “Tonkünstlers Leben.” See Carl Maria von Weber, *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Georg Kaiser (Schuster and Loeffler: Berlin und Leipzig, 1908), 462-466.

of an hour – that’s exciting! Then a hollow drumroll and mysterious viola passages, all decked out with the right amount of silences and general pauses; eventually, when the listener has given up all hope of surviving the tension as far as the Allegro, there comes a furious tempo in which the chief aim is to prevent any principal idea from appearing, and the listener has to try to find one on his own; there’s no lack of modulations; that doesn’t matter, all that matters, as in Paer’s *Leonore*, is to make a chromatic run and stop on any note you like, and there’s your modulation. Above all, one must shun rules, for they only cramp genius.³⁹

Erstens, ein langsames Tempo, voll kurzer abgerissener Ideen, wo ja keine mit der andern Zusammenhang haben darf, alle Viertel-stunden drei oder vier Noten! — das spannt! dann ein dumpfer Paukenwirbel und mysteriöse Bratschensätze, alles mit der gehörigen Portion Generalpausen und Halte geschmückt; endlich, nachdem der Zuhörer vor lauter Spannung schon auf das Allegro Verzicht getan, ein wütendes Tempo, in welchem aber hauptsächlich dafür gesorgt sein muß, daß kein Hauptgedanke hervortritt und dem Zuhörer desto mehr selbst zu suchen übrig bleibt; Übergänge von einem Tone in der andern dürfen nicht fehlen; man braucht z. B. wie Paer in der *Leonore* nur einen Lauf durch die halben Töne zu machen und auf dem Tone, in den man gern will, stehenzubleiben, so ist die Modulation fertig. Überhaupt vermeide man alles Geregelt, denn die Regel fesselt nur das Genie.⁴⁰

An 1810 letter from Weber to Hans Georg Nägeli apparently confirms that the passage refers to the Fourth; it has justly been observed, however, that Beethoven’s slow introduction actually features neither “hollow drumrolls” nor “mysterious viola passages.”⁴¹ In this fantastic reverie, Weber appears to

³⁹ Quoted in John Warrack, ed. and Martin Cooper, trans., *Carl Maria von Weber: Writings on Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 99.

⁴⁰ Weber, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 465.

⁴¹ Schindler first proposed that the “neusten Sinfonie” of which Weber wrote was Beethoven’s Fourth; Thayer-Deiters-Riemann (1911, Vol. 3, 115) and Grove (1962, 101-103) accept it, Nef (1928, 132) tentatively accepts it; Warrack (1981, 16) rejects it. The mysterious viola line and the muted drums do not appear in the introduction, speaking against Schindler’s hypothesis. But a letter from Weber to Hans Georg Nägeli on 21 May, 1810 (published in 1853 in the *Niederrheinischen Zeitung* and in 1860 by Schindler) indicates that he was writing about a symphony of Beethoven’s written after the “Eroica”; this leaves only the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth, of which the last two do not feature slow introductions. Dahlhaus suggests that Weber’s satire responds less to the particularities of the Fourth’s introduction than to the abstract type

conflate the opening Adagio with the end of the first-movement development section, which features a wandering unison viola passage and hushed drumrolls. This moment precedes the return of the Allegro's main theme on the tonic, analogously to the end of the slow introduction. Whether Weber blended the two moments together in a lapse of memory or out of poetic license, the satire stands as a particularly shrewd send-up of the symphony's salient features.

In 1810, E.T.A. Hoffmann's review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony appeared in the Leipzig *AmZ*, inspiring a new genre of musical criticism. Hoffmann's claims that instrumental music was the "most romantic of the arts" and that Beethoven was its foremost practitioner helped to transform the reception of his music. For Hoffmann, instrumental music opened up a spiritual realm in which awe, fear, horror, pain, and endless longing resided—these feelings were not expressed by the composer, so much as made accessible to the listener.⁴² Contemporary critics began to hear Beethoven's music with new ears. References to Hoffmann's essay became commonplace and even fashionable: after quoting extensively from Hoffmann's review, one Bonn critic noted: "What Hoffmann says here about Beethoven's instrumental music in general is entirely appropriate to the B-flat-Major Symphony."⁴³

of the slow introduction in general ("IV. Symphonie B-Dur," 29-31). On Weber and Beethoven's music, see *Carl Maria von Weber: Writings on Music*, 14-17.

⁴² Robin Wallace, *Beethoven's Critics: Aesthetic Dilemmas and Resolutions during the Composer's Lifetime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 22.

⁴³ Senner, *Critical Reception*, Vol. 2, 64.

Others, such as poet and essayist Ludwig Rellstab, engaged more deeply with Hoffmann's literary style of music criticism. Rellstab's review of the Fourth Symphony, published in a travel report for the *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1825, is one of the most provocative and creative responses to the work written during Beethoven's lifetime—no doubt in part because of his personal connection to Beethoven. The 26-year old Rellstab set out on a musical pilgrimage from Berlin to Vienna on March 21, 1825, arriving in the Habsburg capital at the end of March or beginning of April. As recorded in his autobiography, shortly after his arrival he visited Beethoven in his apartment on the Krugerstrasse, where the composer was recovering from a serious illness. Rellstab was interested in writing a libretto to be set by Beethoven, and the two discussed the merit of various operatic subjects (it is from his account that we learn of Beethoven's disdain for "frivolous" libretti such as *Don Giovanni* and *The Marriage of Figaro*).⁴⁴ Beethoven was enthusiastic about receiving a libretto from Rellstab, but although the two continued to discuss the matter (as recorded in a Conversation Book from later in April), the collaboration never panned out.

Rellstab's arrival in Vienna coincided with the end of the season for the Vereinkonzerte, a series of public concerts run by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. On April 4, he attended the final concert in the series, held in the Redoutensaal and featuring works by Rossini, Spohr, Bertrams, and Beethoven. The musicians consisted primarily of students from the Viennese

⁴⁴ See Sonneck, *Beethoven: Impressions by his Contemporaries*, 182.

conservatory, which had grown steadily since its establishment in 1817.⁴⁵ The high enrollment allowed for large-scale performances of orchestral music, a practice Rellstab found admirable and wished to implement in Berlin. The Fourth Symphony was performed with massed winds and an expanded string section, perhaps according to the instructions in Beethoven's marked-up autograph score.⁴⁶

Rellstab devotes special attention to the Fourth Symphony in his report. While his discussion of other works on the program focuses on matters of vocal and instrumental execution, he dwells only for a moment on the execution of the Fourth, telling us that the work was taken up with "all due fire" and "seriousness of purpose."⁴⁷ Rather, his review takes the form of an imaginative literary response, seeking to elucidate the music through poetic elaboration. The influence of E.T.A. Hoffmann is clear both in the overall tone and structure, and in certain characteristic turns of phrase. For instance, Rellstab expresses his regret that Beethoven's illness has "excluded him from the paradise that he opens up for us," an echo of Hoffmann's famous statement that Beethoven's instrumental music "opens up for us the kingdom of the gigantic and immeasurable."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ According to Rellstab, 419 students had been enrolled by 1825, including 171 male and 123 female singers, 86 violinists, 7 violoncellists, 5 flutists, 9 oboists, 7 clarinetists, 6 hornists, and 5 bassoonists. "Reiseberichte von Rellstab. No. 4, Wien," in *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (18 and 25 May 1825), pp. 161-163 and 169, 162.

⁴⁶ Beethoven indicated "solo" and "tutti" passages for winds, brass, and timpani throughout the score. See Chapter III.

⁴⁷ Senner, *Critical Reception*, Vol. 2, 61.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Like Hoffmann, Rellstab is principally concerned with articulating the feelings that the music instills in its listeners. He devotes a significant amount of space to the symphony's slow introduction. Its opening, with its sustained B-flat tone in the winds and its ominous sequence of descending thirds in the strings, he writes, threatens like an oppressive storm or a wild animal ready to attack its prey:

These anticipations fill us with more terrible forebodings than does the reality of danger. After this effect brought about by the first ten measures, we feel as though everything that follows comes from within ourselves, created out of our own innermost soul, for the oppression that grips our breast is expressed so truly in the notes cast off by the orchestra, as though they were themselves gasps for breath, that the inevitability with which the music unfolds, strange only in appearance, is made clear through the most unmediated of feelings.⁴⁹

In dieser Erwartung aber ist uns schauerlicher zu Muthe, als bei der Wirklichkeit der Gefahr.— Nach dieser Wirkung der ersten zehn Takte glaubt man alles folgende aus sich selbst, aus der eignen innersten Seele geschöpft, denn die Beklommenheit der Brust, die uns ergreift, drückt sich in den abgestossenen Noten, gleichsam beklemmter Athemzüge, so wahr aus, dass uns die Nothwendigkeit dieses Fortgangs, der nur scheinbar etwas Fremdes ist, durch das unmittelbarste Gefühl einleuchtend wird.⁵⁰

Here, work and subject collapse into a single entity: rather than expressing the thoughts and feelings of the composer, the symphony powerfully, even cathartically, draws out the emotions of the listener. The listener becomes subjected to the work, experiencing it as a reflection of his own psychological or emotional state.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ "Reiseberichte von Rellstab. No. 4," in *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (18 and 25 May, 1825), pp. 162-63 and 169, 163.

Rellstab's fantastic interweaving of poetic images with subjective descriptions was aimed at exciting the imagination of his readers while offering insight into the symphony's overall construction. In this respect, his approach resonates with that of his more widely known contemporary Adolph Bernhard Marx, founder and editor of the *BamZ*. Yet, as we learn from an 1830 review, Marx's initial attitude toward the Fourth Symphony was more ambivalent. Although he lauds the depth and range of emotional content in the symphony, he also contends that it belongs "in the same sphere with Mozart's, Spohr's, and other symphonies in which the composer has not yet risen to a heightened awareness, to a specific idea."⁵¹ Indeed, he maintains, "One must unconditionally recognize a higher meaning in [Beethoven's] symphonies in C Minor, A Major, E-flat Major, F Major, and D Minor."⁵² Marx's notion that the most successful instrumental works were based on a "specific idea" (*eine bestimmte Idee*) developed out of his interaction with Beethoven's symphonies; it underlay his critical project to elevate music with extramusical or dramatic content over purely abstract music.⁵³ As Scott Burnham has shown, Marx's concept of the *Idee* was complex but amorphous. Nonetheless, his conviction that instrumental music was more, not less, meaningful if it expressed specific ideas, images, or feelings continued to gain traction throughout the nineteenth century. Indeed, Marx stands at the head of a tradition of "content

⁵¹ Senner, *Critical Reception*, Vol. 2, 66-67.

⁵² Ibid, 67. Presumably the F-major symphony to which Marx refers is the programmatic "Pastoral" and not No. 8.

⁵³ Scott Burnham, "Criticism, Faith, and the 'Idee': A.B. Marx's Early Reception of Beethoven," in *19th-Century Music* 13/3 (1990), pp. 183-192.

aestheticians,” critics who sought to understand Beethoven’s instrumental works by discovering the “hidden programs” that supposedly governed their musical structures.⁵⁴

Although Marx praised the Fourth for its preclusion of “foreign admixture” and “mere caprice,” lauding its “flattering words,” “powerful storms,” and “sense of terror,” he nonetheless denied it the “higher meaning” he heard in Symphonies 3, 5, 6, 7, and 9. In so doing, he made two pivotal claims: first, that Beethoven’s symphonies could be grouped into two opposing aesthetic categories (those with “higher meaning” and those without, standing in for some version of programmatic and absolute music); second, that the Fourth Symphony suffered not from the ambiguity of its inner content (an ambiguity that could potentially be resolved), but rather from its *lack* of inner content. Marx thus articulated what I shall refer to as the “crisis of content,” a crisis that has marked the reception of the Fourth Symphony ever since.

To whatever extent the crisis of content reflected the character of the Fourth as manifested in its score, it also—and more clearly—reflected the symphony’s relationship with the extramusical. For as the presence of “inner content” became more significant for critics, the external signifiers of such content—titles, programs, and anecdotes—also gained new importance.

Romantic critics’ elevation of these external signifiers not only had the effect of

⁵⁴ I borrow the term “content aestheticians” from Dahlhaus, who contrasts their approach with that of the “formalists,” critics who sought to understand Beethoven’s music primarily by means of structural analysis. Dahlhaus rightly observes that both approaches proceed from an identical premise, that Beethoven’s music harbors an underlying idea, whether concrete or abstract. *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 11.

valorizing works with authentic titles like the “Eroica” and “Pastoral” Symphonies, it also helped to valorize works with fabricated titles and anecdotal origins such as the “Tempest” and “Appassionata” Sonatas, and the Fifth Symphony (the opening motive of which, Schindler famously claimed, was “Fate knocking at the door”). The Fourth Symphony, a work for which no such external signifiers survive, presented a special challenge, both because of its own perceived semantic lack and because of the semantic richness of its predecessor, the “Eroica”—a work whose tantalizing title, characteristic funeral march movement, and provocative dedication story did much to encourage the notion of hidden programs in Beethoven’s music. In the absence of titles, programs, and anecdotes, Romantic critics struggled to discern the “inner content” of the Fourth. Indeed, while Marx initially posited a lack of inner content in the piece, his view toward the Fourth Symphony shifted as he revised his conception of the *bestimmte Idee*. In his biography of Beethoven, he was more circumspect, positioning himself against critics who would describe music using “exquisite words and arbitrary images,” as well as against those “stone-cold sober art philosophers” who would believe music consists only of form and mood.⁵⁵ In the former category he placed the Russian critic Alexandre Oulibicheff, whose interpretation of the Fourth, as we shall see, purported to resolve the crisis of content in an unexpected way.

⁵⁵ A.B. Marx, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen* (Leipzig: Adolph Schumann, 1902), Vol. 2, 7.

The Mid-Nineteenth Century

Inner Content “Revealed”. Oulibicheff’s account of the Fourth, part of his well-known 1857 study, begins with a defense:

We have to believe that [the Fourth Symphony] earned Beethoven the sincere compliments of Haydn, his former master, who was still living when it was composed and who probably did not miss hearing it. It certainly had the potential to please the illustrious old man. For this very reason, the Fourth Symphony is the *bête noire* of high critics, initiates, and interpreters, all champions of Beethoven’s third manner [i.e. his “middle” or “heroic” period]. They try to find an *excuse* for the work; they attribute it to a lack of inspiration, compare it to Homer’s nod⁵⁶ and view it as a step back in Beethoven’s upward march toward the zenith of music, vocal as much as instrumental; a zenith which, it is clear enough, is none other than the choral symphony.

Nous devons croire que cette symphonie valut à Beethoven les compliments sincères de Haydn son ancien maître, qui vivait encore lorsqu’elle fut composée et qui probablement ne se sera pas fait faute de l’entendre. Dans tous les cas, elle avait chance de plaire à l’illustre viellard. Par cette raison même, la quatrième symphonie est comme la bête noire des hauts critiques, adeptes et glossateurs, tous champions de la troisième manière de Beethoven. Ils cherchent une excuse à l’ouvrage; ils l’attribuent à un défaut d’inspiration, le comparent au sommeil d’Homère et le regardent comme un pas rétrograde dans la marche ascendante de Beethoven vers le zénith de la musique, tant vocale qu’instrumentale, lequel zénith, on le devine bien, n’est autre que la symphonie avec chœurs.⁵⁷

It is striking that a mere three decades after Beethoven’s death, the Fourth had earned a reputation as the *bête noire* of Beethoven criticism. Oulibicheff seems

⁵⁶ In his *Ars Poetica*, Horace noticed the reappearance of a character whom Homer had killed off previously in the *Iliad*, observing in Latin, "*Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*" (Even good old Homer nods).

⁵⁷ Alexandre Oulibicheff, *Beethoven: ses critiques et ses glossateurs* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1857), 187. Translation mine. Oulibicheff’s notion of Beethoven’s *trois manières* was developed in reference to Wilhelm von Lenz’s *Beethoven et ses trois styles* (1852-53) and *Beethoven: Eine Kunst-Studie* (1855-1860). See Maynard Solomon, “The Creative Periods of Beethoven,” in *Beethoven Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 116-125, 117.

to indicate that the problem lay, at least in part, in the symphony's adherence to a Haydnesque model. In any case, seeking to rescue the symphony, he attempts to reveal its inner content by providing the "specific idea" that critics like Marx believed to be missing. Given the overwhelming tendency to read heroic exploits or narratives of transcendence into Beethoven's symphonies, his hypothesis is startling: he is the first of several prominent critics to read the Fourth Symphony in conjunction with Beethoven's letters to the "Immortal Beloved," a love interest whose identity continues to be debated. This critical knot merits untangling here, since it had considerable consequences on the symphony's later reception.

Beethoven's three letters (under one cover) to his Immortal Beloved are dated simply July 6 and July 7. In 1840, Schindler, on flimsy evidence, identified their recipient as Countess Giulietta Guicciardi and thrice inserted the year 1806 at the top of the letters. The forgery placed Beethoven's romance with the Countess during the summer of 1806, around the time he was writing the Fourth Symphony. Oulibicheff, unaware of the forgery, could not resist making the connection between man and music, writing that "Beethoven was, at that time, at the height of his passion for Giulietta Guicciardi and in correspondence with her. It would thus be possible that a favorable response to the fervent letters he sent her suggested to the great artist the idea of a symphony in the pleasing tonality of B-flat Major, and supplied him with all the themes."⁵⁸

⁵⁸ "Beethoven était, dans ce temps-là, au plus fort de sa passion pour Juliette Guicciardi et en

Oulibicheff's notion that Beethoven's Fourth is a kind of Fantastic Symphony *avant la lettre* has been surprisingly tenacious. Indeed, the groundbreaking research of Alexander Wheelock Thayer on the Immortal Beloved compelled Sir George Grove to suggest his own "Immortal Beloved" reading of the Fourth Symphony. In the third volume of his life of Beethoven (1879), Thayer exposed Schindler's falsifications and proposed a new candidate for the Immortal Beloved: Beethoven's "fiancée" Therese von Brunswick. In fact, these two were never engaged; rather, Beethoven proposed to another Therese, Therese Malfatti, unsuccessfully in 1810. The evidence for Thayer's claim was not particularly good, but since the other candidates for the Immortal Beloved—as far as he could tell—were the married Giulietta and the fourteen-year old Malfatti, he may have stretched the evidence to hold Beethoven to the standards of Victorian morality.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, in 1890, a detailed account of von Brunswick's 1806 love affair with Beethoven appeared to confirm Thayer's argument. Published under the pseudonym Mariam Tenger, *Beethovens unsterbliche Geliebte, Nach persönlichen Erinnerungen* was well received, endorsed by Thayer himself, translated, put into a second edition, then exposed as a fake in 1891.

Grove's account of the symphony reflects this second fictitious love affair. Even going so far as to reproduce the love letters at the end of his chapter on

correspondance avec elle. Il serait donc possible qu'une réponse favorable aux épitres brûlantes qu'il lui adressait, eût suggéré au grand artiste l'idée d'une symphonie dans la douce tonalité de *si bémol* majeur, et lui en eût fourni tous les motifs." *Beethoven: ses critiques et ses glossateurs*, 190.

⁵⁹ Solomon, *Beethoven*, 212.

the Fourth, Grove maintains that “when writing the Symphony [Beethoven’s] heart must have been swelling with his new happiness” over his engagement to Therese. The second movement, he writes, is “the paean which he sings over his conquest.” The Fifth Symphony (composed shortly afterward), likewise, contains in its main themes “actual portraits of the two chief actors in the drama” (!).⁶⁰ Grove thus recapitulates and embellishes the notion put forth by Oulibicheff that Beethoven’s love life found expression in his instrumental music: “[M]usic was Beethoven’s native language; and, however he may stammer in words, in his most passionate notes there is no incoherence.”⁶¹

Whatever the actual identity of the Immortal Beloved, the nineteenth-century association of this enigmatic love affair with the Fourth Symphony had a curious and lasting impact on the symphony’s reception. To give a recent example, in a pre-concert interview, Sir Simon Rattle prefaced the performance of the Fourth Symphony with the following remarks:

When [Beethoven] came to the Fourth Symphony...this was in a very different state of mind, and it’s one of the most purely joyful pieces that he ever wrote. He was in love with the Countess Therese von Brunswick, and although like all of his love affairs, it never really got anywhere, somehow the feeling of joy and exploration is alive in every bar of this symphony. . . .The second movement is quite simply one of the great love songs in the literature. And there’s times when Beethoven who seems so very Deutsch and craggy could almost appear like an Italian opera composer—this sings like one of the greatest sopranos in the world. And my great, late lamented conductor colleague Carlos Kleiber used to tell the orchestra always to play the rhythm [sings dotted motive from the Adagio], he said always think of “The-rese, The-rese, The-rese” repeating, repeating, repeating.⁶²

⁶⁰ Grove, *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies*, 140.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁶² Simon Rattle, “Sir Simon Rattle introduces Beethoven’s Fourth Symphony,” podcast,

Thus, modern performances continue to be shaped by Grove's interpretation, based on dubious research that is more than a century out of date.

To be sure, the "Immortal Beloved" scenario was neither the only nor the last of such programmatic interpretations of the Fourth Symphony. The crisis of content led critics to look to even more unlikely source material for the Fourth Symphony's "hidden program." Ernst von Elterlein, whom Oulibicheff referred to as a "miserable echo of Richard Wagner," fancifully compared the symphony to Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a comparison followed up by at least one other critic (David Eric Berg, 1927).⁶³ And Arnold Schering, who appended his own programs to many of Beethoven's major works, dubbed the Fourth a "Schiller-symphony," claiming to reveal the symphony's meaning in four Schiller poems, one for each of the symphony's four movements: I. "Die Erwartung," II. "Sehnsucht," III. "Die Gunst des

<http://www.berliner-philharmoniker.de/en/magazine/podcast/details/cast/sir-simon-rattle-introduces-beethovens-fourth-symphony/> (accessed June, 2011). See also the lengthy critique by Burnett James, in which he maintains that the Fourth "enshrines Beethoven's ideal of romantic love" (*Beethoven and Human Destiny*, 39-53).

⁶³ In the passage directly following the paragraph quotation above, Oulibicheff writes: "This Midas's judgment was conferred, lastly, in a pamphlet which endeavored to explain the ideal content of Beethoven's symphonies in 33 pages. It appeared just recently in Dresden, but the editor forgot to indicate the year of its publication, and the author, miserable echo of Richard Wagner, did not have the courage to put his name on it." *Beethoven: ses critiques et ses glossateurs*, 187. The pamphlet in question was Elterlein's popular *Beethoven's Symphonien nach ihrem idealen Gehalt, mit Rücksicht auf Haydns und Mozarts Symphonien, von einem Kunstfreunde* (Dresden: Adolph Brauer, 1/[1854], 2/1858, 3/1870). Elterlein (a possible pseudonym for Ernst Gottschald, a legal official and musical amateur in Saxony) wrote two well-received books on Beethoven's music, both of which attempt to describe the music's ideal content, though in a less rigorous fashion than Marx. See Ian Bent, *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century: Vol. 2, Hermeneutic Approaches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 74-77. See also David Eric Berg, *Beethoven and the Romantic Symphony* (New York: The Caxton Institute, 1927), 65-66. Berg opts for a more literal interpretation than Elterlein: "For here are Puck and Bottom, Oberon, and Titania, dancing and flitting about, and in the lumbering bassoon we detect the luckless, donkey-headed Bottom" (65).

Augenblicks,” IV. “Spaziergang.”⁶⁴ Schering’s “Schiller-symphony” program, like Rellstab’s travel report from a century earlier, makes use of pastoral imagery in its characterization of all four movements; his interpretation, however, strives for a degree of specificity that neither Marx nor Rellstab would have attempted or likely thought productive.

Crisis and Opportunity: Mendelssohn, Schumann, Berlioz. While “content aestheticians” struggled to make sense of the Fourth Symphony, composers such as Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Berlioz—the latter two distinguished critics in their own right—celebrated it. Indeed, the collective reception of the work by these three composers did much to establish its place in the nineteenth-century concert repertory. Largely through their efforts, the Fourth Symphony gained a renown it had not yet known, not only as a concert piece but also as an aesthetic model for the Romantic symphony.

On October 4, 1835, Mendelssohn made his debut as music director of the esteemed Gewandhaus orchestra in Leipzig. He selected Beethoven’s Fourth Symphony for the grand finale of a program that included his own *Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage*, an air by Weber, a violin concerto by Spohr, and the overture and introduction to Cherubini’s *Ali Baba*. Schumann recognized Mendelssohn’s programming choices as possibly reactionary, noting the conspicuous absence of “Italian butterflies” flitting around the “German

⁶⁴ See Arnold Schering, “Zur Sinndeutung der 4. und 5. Symphonie von Beethoven,” in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* XVI (1934), pp. 65-83, and “Zur Deutung des Finales der 4. Symphonie und der Pastoral-symphonie,” in *Beethoven und die Dichtung* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 599-604.

oaks.”⁶⁵ In any case, his choice of the Fourth Symphony—a brilliant, technically demanding work—was also designed to showcase the Gewandhaus orchestra’s finesse and control under his leadership. Indeed, it must have proven an excellent test case for his most striking reform to the fifty-six-year old institution: the introduction of the baton.⁶⁶ Schumann was “disturbed” by this novelty—“the orchestra should stand like a republic which recognizes no sovereign”—yet he proclaimed his delight at watching “Meritis” (Mendelssohn) “as his eye anticipated, in every nuance, the undulations of the composition, from the most delicate to the most powerful, and swam, like a blessed spirit, ahead of the whole, whereas from time to time one encounters conductors who seem to threaten to beat the score, as well as the orchestra and the public, with a scepter!”⁶⁷ The concert was hailed as a triumph, and marked the beginning of Mendelssohn’s successful twelve-year tenure in Leipzig. In a letter to his family describing the performance, the twenty-six-year-old *Gewandhauskapellmeister* reported that the Fourth Symphony “was splendidly given, so that the Leipzigers shouted with delight at the close of each movement. I never saw in any orchestra such zeal and excitement; they listened like—popinjays, Zelter would say.”⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Robert Schumann, *Schumann on Music: A Selection from the Writings*, trans. and ed. Henry Pleasants (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 1988), 66. Likely, the program more nearly reflected Mendelssohn’s experience: in Düsseldorf, Beethoven’s symphonies had been the foundation of his repertoire; he had conducted at least five of them during his tenure there (3,4,5, 7, and 8), as well as a number of other “German oaks” (and relatively few Italian butterflies). See R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 295-296.

⁶⁶ During the tenure of Heinrich Matthäi, Mendelssohn’s predecessor, orchestral pieces were performed with the concertmaster leading.

⁶⁷ Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1946), 219-220.

⁶⁸ Felix Mendelssohn, *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy from 1833 to 1847*, ed. Paul

While Mendelssohn championed the Fourth Symphony in the concert hall, Schumann took up his pen on its behalf. His best-known comments about the symphony appear in a short essay written around 1833 (and published two decades later) in which three of his critical personae—Voigt, Eusebius, and Florestan—react to a performance of the Ninth Symphony. Voigt professes that he stands in awe before the Ninth as a blind man before the bells of the Strasbourg cathedral. Eusebius seconds the emotion, but Florestan, the voice of reason, takes a broader view:

Yes, love him, love him well—but do not forget that he reached poetic freedom only through long years of study; and reverence his never-ceasing moral force. Do not search for the abnormal in him, return to the source of his creativity; do not prove his genius with the last symphony [No. 9], as bold and tremendous [as] it speaks out, what no tongue before [spoke]. You can do this just as well with the first [symphony] or with the slender Grecian one in B-flat major!⁶⁹

Ja liebt ihn nur, liebt ihn so recht—aber vergetzt nicht, dass er auf dem Wege eines jahrelangen Studiums zur poetischen Freiheit gelangte und verehrt seine nie rastende moralische Kraft. Sucht nicht das Abnorme an ihm heraus, geht auf den Grund des Schaffens zurück, beweist sein Genie nicht mit der letzten Symphonie, so Kühnes und Ungeheures sie ausspricht, was keine Zunge zuvor,— eben so gut könnt ihr das mit der ersten oder mit der griechisch-schlanken in B dur!⁷⁰

Schumann-Florestan's use of the verb *aussprechen* (and his evocation of the *Zunge*) has a double meaning: it refers not only to the colossal musical utterance of the Ninth Symphony but also to the unprecedented use of the

Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy and trans. Lady Wallace (London, 1863), 92.

⁶⁹ Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, 99 (translation emended).

⁷⁰ Robert Schumann, "Aus Meisters Raro's, Florestan's und Eusebius' Denk- und Dicht-Büchlein. Nach der D-moll Symphonie," in *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: Georg Wigand, 1854), 28.

voice as a manner of making the symphonic form “speak out.” By calling attention to the Ninth’s “abnormal” character, Schumann-Florestan thus emphasizes that its unusual design—extraordinary as it may be—reveals only the most ostentatious aspect of Beethoven’s symphonic achievement. The Fourth Symphony, by contrast a supremely elegant model of symphonic form (as suggested by the *griechisch-schlank* metaphor), as well as the First Symphony, serve as illustrations of a more fundamental mastery that Schumann recognized as underlying Beethoven’s most pathbreaking works, and which he felt was lacking in the music of modern composers. Indeed, he goes on to caution such composers: “do not grow arrogant over rules that you have never thoroughly worked out. Nothing is more dangerous; even a man with less talent could, after a moment’s hesitation, draw the mask from your reddening face.”⁷¹

Schumann thus used the Fourth Symphony to illustrate an aspect of symphonic art that had in his view become obscured by a preference for the unusual and unorthodox. In part, this view stems from his own mixed feelings toward the programmatic. As is well known, he based some of his best-known works—*Kreisleriana*, *Carnival*, *Dauidsbündlertänze*—on extramusical topics, but famously thought the detailed program for Berlioz’s *Symphonie Fantastique* too “charlatan-like.”⁷² His view on “inner content” in Beethoven’s symphonies was

⁷¹ Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, 99.

⁷² “Thus the program. All Germany is happy to let him keep it: such signposts always have something unworthy and charlatan-like about them!” “A Symphony by Berlioz” (1835), trans. Edward T. Cone, in Edward T. Cone, ed., *Berlioz: Fantastic Symphony* (New York: Norton, 1971), pp. 220-248, 246.

similarly nuanced. In another critical vignette, for instance, Eusebius opines: “Your declaration, Florestan, that you admire the *Pastoral* and *Heroic* symphonies less, because Beethoven has so designated them and thus put limits to our imagination, seems to me to be founded on a just feeling. But if you should ask me why, I would scarcely know the answer.”⁷³ The titles, Eusebius suggests, impose an unnecessary or undesirable restriction on the mind; one should be free to interpret (or resist interpreting) as one desires. In this sense, Schumann’s appreciation of the *griechisch-schlanken* had much to do with its lack of extramusical signifiers. The crisis of content which so vexed critics, he recognized could in fact be a source of liberation.

It is no surprise, then, that Schumann turned to the Fourth Symphony as inspiration for his own First Symphony, which had its premiere at the Gewandhaus under Mendelssohn’s baton in 1841. In B-flat major, the “Spring” Symphony follows the traditional four-movement pattern of the Fourth, including an opening movement with a slow introduction, a lyrical slow movement in E-flat major, a five-part scherzo (here in G minor, and with two trios), and a light finale. The relationship is perhaps most apparent in the *Larghetto*, whose spacious, lyrical character and complex textures recall Beethoven’s E-flat major *Adagio* (compare, for instance, Schumann’s mm. 23ff. with Beethoven’s mm. 17ff). Schumann’s private manuscripts reveal that he

⁷³ Ibid, 46.

knew the Adagio well: around 1833, he made a piano reduction of the movement as a study in composition and orchestration.⁷⁴

For Berlioz, the most influential of Beethoven's symphonies were those with programmatic titles or associated texts: the *Héroïque*, the *Pastorale*, and the *Sinfonie à chœurs*. These symphonies, in the words of D. Kern Holoman, "showed Berlioz a compositional path to the *Fantastique*, largely by suggesting ways—unknown so far in the French repertoire—that the materials of symphonic discourse could be harnessed to narrative or descriptive effect."⁷⁵ If the Fourth Symphony's influence is not easily traced in such musical conceptions, it nonetheless had a strong impact on Berlioz's approach to orchestral composition, as suggested by his critical study of 1838.⁷⁶ Among the moments he signals out for praise is the crescendo leading up to the recapitulation in the first movement, with its prolonged timpani rolls, which he calls "one of the best conceived effects which we know of in all music" and compares to the transitional passage at the end of the Fifth Symphony scherzo, though the latter "is conceived upon a scale less vast."⁷⁷ But it was again the E-flat major Adagio that made the greatest impression. Berlioz chooses extreme

⁷⁴ See Bodo Bischoff, *Monument für Beethoven: Die Entwicklung der Beethoven-Rezeption Robert Schumanns* (Köln-Rheinkassel: Dohr, 1994), 143-148 and the color facsimile on 494. For more on the Fourth Symphony's influence on Romantic composers, see Wolf-Dieter Seiffert, "Die 'griechisch-schlanke' Symphonie? Die Wirkung der Symphonik Beethovens auf die Romantik," in Renate Ulm, ed., *Die 9 Symphonien Beethovens: Entstehung, Deutung, Wirkung* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1994).

⁷⁵ D. Kern Holoman, introduction to Hector Berlioz, *A Critical Study of Beethoven's Nine Symphonies* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), viii.

⁷⁶ "Symphonies de Beethoven: premier Concert du Conservatoire," *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, No. 4 (28 January 1838).

⁷⁷ Berlioz, *A Critical Study*, 54-55.

imagery to characterize the movement, comparing it first to Dante's encounter with Francesca di Rimini in the *Inferno*—an encounter so deeply troubling to the poet that he loses consciousness—, and then to a sad murmur of the Archangel Michael “on some day when, overcome by a feeling of melancholy, he contemplated the universe from the threshold of the Empyrean.”⁷⁸ This willful juxtaposition of vying visions of eternity—hellish and heavenly—suggests not only the movement's profound effect on him, but also its resistance to being categorized: it “seems to elude analysis.”⁷⁹ Berlioz, too, gleaned pedagogical insights from the movement, quoting two passages at length in his treatise on orchestration.⁸⁰

The Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Of Peaks and Valleys. As the century turned, the Fourth Symphony—a consistently, though still infrequently, performed work—receded into the background of the critical literature. Around the same time, many critics began to write about the nine symphonies as a kind of meta-work, an aesthetic whole of which each part was made to serve a distinct purpose. Often resorting to the metaphor of the landscape, these critics sought to illustrate the ways in which Beethoven's symphonies seem to complement each other expressively. Their

⁷⁸ Ibid, 55-56. Francesca di Rimini appears in Canto V of *Inferno*.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 55.

⁸⁰ The first excerpt (mm. 26-34) demonstrates the use of pizzicato in the lower strings; Berlioz commends the way Beethoven juxtaposes this technique against the lyrical clarinet melody and arco first violins. The second excerpt (mm. 96-104) highlights the soft timpani strokes in the coda, for which Berlioz recommends using a sponge-headed mallet, although (as he points out) the score makes no such specification. Hector Berlioz, *Grand Traité d'Instrumentation et*

critiques not only reveal changing perceptions about the Fourth and its place in Beethoven's oeuvre, they also serve as windows into the way this body of work was understood to have a coherence of its own, a coherence which was thought to transcend the boundaries of individual artworks and to recall that of nature itself.

With its connotations of sublimity, grandeur, greatness, and danger, the mountain peak is the primary feature in the era's 'topographical' accounts of Beethoven's symphonies. Wilhelm von Lenz famously described the Ninth Symphony as "the holy mountain, the palladium of instrumental music in its fusion with vocal music."⁸¹ For Paul Bekker, writing in 1925, the "great nine-pointed peak" of Beethoven's symphonies dominated the musical landscape of the long nineteenth century: "they do not perhaps pierce the clouds at the altitude of some of his other works, but they are visible from the greatest distances."⁸² And in his essay on the Romantic symphony, Felix Weingartner likened Beethoven's symphonic achievement to the "impassable mountain" which daunted Romantic symphonists, deterring them like so many naive Alpine travelers.⁸³ At the same time, the image of the mountain peak was specifically associated with one aspect of Beethoven's musical persona: his

d'Orchestration Modernes (Paris: Schonenberger, 1843), 26-28 and 262-263.

⁸¹ "Nous ne prétendons point cependant que dans un sens *absolu*, la symphonie avec chœurs surpasse la symphonie en *si bémol*, en *ut mineur*, la symphonie pastorale ou la symphonie en *la*; nous voyons seulement dans la symphonie avec chœurs la montagne sainte, le *palladium* de la musique instrumentale dans sa fusion avec la musique vocale." Wilhelm von Lenz, *Beethoven et ses trois styles* (Brussels: G. Stapleauz, 1854), Vol. 2, 10.

⁸² Paul Bekker, *Beethoven* (NY: AMS Press, 1971; rpt. 1925 ed., trans. M.M. Bozman), 146.

⁸³ Felix Weingartner, *The Symphony Since Beethoven*, second edition of 1900, trans. Maude Barrows Dutton (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1904), 11-12.

romantic, mythological striving toward a lofty, spiritual goal. Writing in 1883, for instance, the American critic John Comfort Fillmore used precisely this image to contrast Beethoven's musical persona with that of Schubert:

Beethoven climbed rugged mountain steeps, toiling painfully from rock to rock, with bleeding hands and lacerated knees, facing storm and hail, thunder and lightning, struggling indomitably against opposing powers of earth and air, his face turned ever upward to the heavenly beauty toward which he strove, whose beatific vision was at once his inspiration and his soul's peace. Schubert's imagination dwelt below in the luxuriant valley, full of flowers, of birds, and of sunshine, in the repose of heaven's own light and air, singing and making melody with the spontaneity and ecstatic delight of a bird in a June meadow.⁸⁴

Fillmore's comparison reflects in vivid fashion the gendered thinking that has often marked the reception of these two composers.⁸⁵

But it was the valley, not the peak, that became a persistent trope in the reception of the Fourth Symphony, a piece that many turn-of-the-century critics had difficulty reconciling with Beethoven's "mountain man" image. In his 1910 survey of the nine symphonies, for instance, Max Chop writes that the Fourth "strikes [one] oddly in its position between the "Eroica" and C-Minor Symphony, something like the nadir between two stormy, foam-crested waves, like the peaceful ground lying in the green of the meadow between two lofty ice-

⁸⁴ John Comfort Fillmore, *Pianoforte Music: Its History, with Biographical Sketches and Critical Estimates of Its Greatest Masters* (Chicago: Townsend Mac, 1883), 115, and W.F. Gates, ed., *Musical Mosaics: A Collection of Six Hundred Selections from Musical Literature, Ancient and Modern, including Extracts from Many Later Critical and Aesthetical Writings* (Philadelphia: Presser, 1889), 179.

⁸⁵ On the "feminine figuring" of Schubert during the Victorian era, see David Gramit, "Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography, and Cultural Values," in *19th-Century Music*, 17/1, Schubert: Music, Sexuality, Culture (Summer, 1993), pp. 65-78.

and snow-covered mountain peaks.”⁸⁶ He claims that he does not intend his metaphors to suggest ranking in terms of value (*Wertabstufung*), but only to describe the character of the works relative to each other (*der Charakter der allgemeinen Faktur*):

The D-Major Symphony rests in the sunny plain, the “Eroica” is enthroned on proud heights; the B-flat-Major Symphony seeks the shady glen, the C-Minor Symphony finds its life’s breath in glacial air, and the “Pastoral” hastens out into the tiny forgotten village with its babbling brook and the bucolic cheerfulness of its inhabitants.⁸⁷

In this topographical critique, Chop uses the metaphor of peaks and valleys to reinstate Marx’s concept of symphonies with and without “higher meaning,” but does so in a way that seeks to relativize the symphonies’ individual aesthetic merits. The Fourth Symphony may reside in the “shady glen,” overshadowed by its neighbors, but it takes part in a coherent landscape in which each feature serves a distinct purpose.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ “Das Werk berührt in seiner Stellung zwischen “Eroica” und C-Moll-Symphonie eigenartig, etwa wie das Wellental zwischen zwei stürmischen, schaumgekrönten Wogen, wie der friedlich im Grün der Matten liegende Grund zwischen zwei hochragenden eis- und schneebedeckten Gebirgskämmen. Max Chop, *Erläuterungen zu Ludwig van Beethovens Symphonien: geschichtlich und musikalisch analysiert mit zahlreichen Notenbeispielen* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1910), Vol. 2 (Symphonies 4–6), 3.

⁸⁷ “Und in dem vorhin gebrauchten Bilde von Tal und Höhen soll auch nicht die geringste Wertabstufung liegen, sondern lediglich der Charakter der allgemeinen Faktur angedeutet sein. In dem reizvollen Wechsel zwischen Weitsicht von der Höhe und behaglicher Rast wie stiller Träumerei im Grunde mit seiner lieblichen Umgebung und dem Blick zum hochragenden Bergfirst ruht der stets neue Reiz, den der Gebirgswanderer empfindet. Die D-Dur-Symphonie ruht in sonnigem Grunde, die “Eroica” thront auf stolzen Höhen; die B-Dur-Symphonie sucht das schattige Waldtal auf, die C-Moll-Symphonie findet ihren Lebensodem in Gletscherluft, und die “Pastorale” eilt hinaus ins weltverlorene Dörflein mit seinem murmelnden Bach und dem ländlichen Frohsinn seiner Bewohner. Das der allgemeine Abriß!” Ibid, 3-4.

⁸⁸ Compare Grove: “His Symphonies form a series of peaks, each with its characteristic features—its clefts, its glaciers, its descending torrents and majestic waterfalls, its sunny uplands and its shining lakes; and each of these great peaks has its own individual character as much as the great mountains of Switzerland have theirs, and is a world in itself—a world

The idea that Beethoven's music constitutes a series of peaks and valleys, initially a kind of critical *jeu d'esprit*, came to occupy a more fundamental place in later critical conceptions of his oeuvre. In his well-known book *Beethoven: the Man who Freed Music*, Robert Haven Schauffler conjured this imagery to advocate for a binary division of Beethoven's entire output:

In running down the list of his works given in the Appendix one feels how Beethoven needed and took the relaxation of gaiety after serious effort on a large scale. The string quartets in C minor, E minor, F minor, and C sharp minor are all sandwiched between more light-hearted companions. Likewise the piano sonatas in C sharp minor, D minor, F minor, and the one for violin in C minor, show all the darker in their bright frames. But most strikingly the Fourth, *Pastoral*, and Eighth symphonies blithely separate, like sun-drenched valleys during vintage, the august cloud-capped peaks of the *Eroica*, the Fifth, the Seventh, and the *Choral*.⁸⁹

Schauffler's assertion that Beethoven "needed and took the relaxation of gaiety after serious effort on a large scale" lends a teleological thrust to his argument about the oppositional nature of Beethoven's aesthetics. Not only did Beethoven compose in an alternating pattern of "serious" and "light-hearted" works, he was compelled to do so precisely because of the strain those serious works placed on him. The serious works are hence valorized at the expense of the lighter ones, which function merely as the "bright frames" for their serious companions.

Such oppositional thinking could easily slip from the realm of character judgment into that of value judgment. Indeed, Schauffler's contemporary

not made with hands, and eternal. *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies* (1896 ed.), 173.

⁸⁹ Robert Haven Schauffler, *Beethoven: The Man Who Freed Music* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1929), 195.

J.W.N. Sullivan applied the concept of a binary division in a much more polemical way. Of the Fourth, Sixth, and Eighth Symphonies, he wrote: “They are not in the main line of Beethoven’s spiritual development.”⁹⁰ Preferring an abstract spatial metaphor to that of peaks and valleys, he maintains that “The transition from the fourth to the fifth symphony is not the transition from one ‘mood’ to another, both equally valid and representative; it is the transition from one level of experience and realization to another; one might say that the transition is vertical, not horizontal.”⁹¹ Sullivan’s distinction between symphonies on higher and lower “levels of experience and realization” recalls Marx’s notion of symphonies with and without “higher meaning” from a century earlier. By relegating the Fourth Symphony to a lower experiential plane, however, Sullivan seems eager to disavow the work altogether, characterizing it as a misstep on Beethoven’s path to spiritual maturity.

To be sure, the comparison of symphonies to peaks and valleys (or high and low levels of experience) may be counted among the great clichés of music-historical writing. But clichés have a tendency to gain acceptance as truths, or at least to gain the force of truth through repetition. In the literature on the Fourth Symphony, the metaphor of peaks and valleys continues to influence critics, especially in the lighter genres of the program note and the listening guide. “Poised between the two staggering *yang* peaks of the Third and the Fifth,” writes David Tame in a 1994 book, “the Fourth Symphony is a rich,

⁹⁰ J.W.N. Sullivan, *Beethoven: His Spiritual Development* (London: Unwin Books, 1964, orig. 1927), 87.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

verdant valley of *yin* expressiveness.”⁹² Such examples are not hard to locate. The difficulty lies in the fact that this metaphor trades a complicated set of aesthetic and historical evaluations for a binary opposition. Convenient though it may be, it threatens to reduce the Fourth Symphony to a platitude.

The same might be said for the oft-quoted aphorism that the Fourth Symphony stands between the Third and Fifth like a “slender Greek maiden between two Norse giants.” Although this well-known remark has long been attributed to Schumann, the evidence suggests that it is in fact a bowdlerization. Like the peak-valley opposition, it has its roots in the Victorian era; it most likely stems from a Crystal Palace program note written by Sir George Grove in the 1870s. In the following section, I consider the possible sources for this aphorism, outlining what amounts to a history of misrepresentation.

Of Giants and Maidens. Schumann’s writings contain three distinct references to the Fourth Symphony in which Greece is also mentioned. First, as noted earlier, Schumann-Florestan refers to the Fourth as the “slender, Grecian one”:

Do not search for the abnormal in him, return to the source of his creativeness; do not prove his genius with the last symphony, as bold and tremendous [as] it speaks out, what no tongue before [spoke]. You can do this just as well with the first [symphony] or with the slender Grecian one in B-flat major!⁹³

Sucht nicht das Abnorme an ihm heraus, geht auf den Grund des Schaffens zurück, beweist sein Genie nicht mit der letzten Symphonie, so

⁹² David Tame, *Beethoven and the Spritual Path* (Theosophical Publishing House, 1994), 125.

⁹³ Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, 99 (translation emended).

Kühnes und Ungeheures sie ausspricht, was keine Zunge zuvor,— eben so gut könnt ihr das mit der ersten oder mit der griechisch-schlanken in B dur!⁹⁴

Second, reviewing a concert at the Gewandhaus in Leipzig (1835), Schumann apparently references the above, then unpublished, essay:

[...] In the hall he [Florestan] found himself between two brunettes, and his heart, squarely hit, beat more feverishly than F. Meritis's [Mendelssohn's] baton—which may be why he found almost all the tempi of the “Eroica” too slow and stiff. Florestan, by the way, calls the “Eroica” the “Roman,” and the Fourth in B-flat, the “Grecian” [...]⁹⁵

[...] Er kam im Saal neben zwei schwarzen und sein Herz von ihnen getroffen, pochte feuriger als F. Meritis Tactirstab—woher es denn auch kommen mochte, daß er fast alle Tempis der heroischen Symphonie (Fl. nennt sie die “romische”, wie die vierte in B die “griechische”) zu langsam und steif fand [...]⁹⁶

Third, Schumann-Eusebius presents an idea for a monument to Beethoven in which the nine symphonies would be represented by statues of the nine muses:

And shall not a whole nation, taught patriotism and greatness of heart by the creations of Beethoven, make public evidence of gratitude that should be greater a thousand-fold? Were I a prince, I would build a temple in the style of Palladio, to his memory: ten statues should stand within it, and if Thorwaldsen and Dannecker would not execute them all, they should at least see that all were executed under their superintendence; nine they should be, these statues, like the number of the muses, and of his symphonies—Clio the Eroica, Thalia the Fourth, Euterpe the Pastoral, and so on—himself the divine Apollo. There the German people should assemble from time to time, to celebrate festivals, and there his own works should be performed in the highest stage of

⁹⁴ Schumann, “Aus Meisters Raro's, Florestan's und Eusebius' Denk- und Dicht-Büchlein. Nach der D-moll Symphonie,” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. 1, 28.

⁹⁵ Schumann, *The Musical World of Robert Schumann: A Selection from his Own Writings*, ed. Henry Pleasants (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), 73.

⁹⁶ Schumann, “Schwärmbriefe. An Chiara.,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 3/46 (December 8, 1835), pp. 182-183, 183.

perfection.⁹⁷

Und eine ganze Nation einem Beethoven gegenüber, der sie Großsinn und Vaterlandsstolz auf jedem Blatte lehrt, sollte ihm nicht ein tausendfach größeres errichten können? Wär' ich ein Fürst, einen Tempel im Palladiostil würde ich ihm bauen: dahin stehen zehn Statuen; Thorwaldsen und Dannecker könnten sie nicht alle schaffen, aber sie unter ihren Augen arbeiten lassen; unter neun der Statuen meine ich, wie die Zahl der Musen, so die seiner Sinfonien: Klio sei die heroische, Thalia die vierte, Euterpe die Pastorale und so fort, er selbst der göttliche Musaget. Dort müßte von Zeit zu Zeit das deutsche Gesangesvolk zusammenkommen, dor müßten Wettkämpfe, Feste gehalten, dort seine Werke in letzter Vollendung dargestellt werden.⁹⁸

Of the three passages, the first has the most in common with the aphorism as widely known. However, Schumann-Florestan's characterization of the Fourth as the "slender, Grecian one" also differs in important respects from the typical formulation: 1) it does not explicitly depict the symphony as feminine (i.e., there is no "maiden," nor does the phrase "*griechisch-schlanken*" necessarily imply anything more gendered than its referent, "*die symphonie*"); 2) it mentions neither the Third nor the Fifth Symphony, nor "Norse giants"; 3) there is no reference to the Fourth's "betweenness."

Regarding the other two passages, neither seems directly related to the aphorism. To be sure, the second passage represents the Fourth Symphony as a Greek maiden of sorts (Thalia, the muse of comedy and idyllic poetry), but it does the same for the Third (Clio, the muse of history), the Sixth (Euterpe, the muse of lyric poetry) and implicitly for all the others. In the third passage,

⁹⁷ Schumann, *Music and Musicians: Essays and Criticisms*, ed. and trans. Fanny Raymond Ritter (London, 1891), 22-23.

⁹⁸ Schumann, "Monument für Beethoven. Vier Stimmen darüber," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. 1, 215.

Schumann-Florestan instead contrasts the “Roman” Third with the “Grecian” Fourth, associating their (opposed) characters with different images of classical antiquity. In making this comparison—one in which Norway is decidedly absent—Schumann may have been alluding to the contemporary notion that the German artist should seek to unify the aesthetic worlds of ancient Greece and Rome, a notion epitomized by Friedrich Schiller’s poem “German Genius” (*Deutscher Genius*, 1797): “Strive, O German, for Roman-like strength and for Grecian-like beauty! Thou art successful in both; ne'er has the Gaul had success.”⁹⁹

In fact, the most widely quoted source for the “Greek maiden” aphorism is not Schumann’s writings, but rather George Grove’s account of the Fourth Symphony, found in the widely available third edition of his critical essays (1898):

Schumann has spoken of the No. 4 as standing between its companions “like a slender (*schlanke*) Greek maiden between two Norse giants.” But humour is hardly the characteristic of a Greek maiden, and when we recollect the humour which accompanies the grace and beauty of the Fourth Symphony, and is so obvious in every one of the movements, it must be admitted, though with great respect, that the comparison loses something of its force.¹⁰⁰

Grove does not cite Schumann’s alleged remark. His specific use of the German adjective *schlanke*, however, suggests that he was perhaps referencing the first

⁹⁹ “Ringe, Deutscher, nach römischer Kraft, nach griechischer Schönheit! Beides gelang dir; doch nie glückt der gallische Sprung.” Karl Goedecke, ed., *Schillers sämtliche Schriften* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1871), Vol. 11, 182.

¹⁰⁰ George Grove, *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies*, third edition of 1898 (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 1962), 98-99.

passage quoted above—but the quotation is inexact. The question remains: whence the maiden and Norse giants?

One possibility is that they came from Grove himself. In support of this hypothesis is a program note for a 1904 London performance of the Fourth Symphony, written by Joseph Bennet:

An eminent critic—was he not Schumann?—once described this Symphony as “Greek-like and slender.” The comparison has been taken up and improved upon by others. “The work stands,” wrote Sir George Grove, “between the ‘Eroica’ (No. 3) and the ‘C minor’ (No. 5) like a graceful Greek maiden between two enormous Norse or Scandinavian heroes—like Minerva between Thor and Odin; the Parthenon between the cathedrals of Chartres and Rheims; an Idyl of Theocritus between ‘Hamlet’ and ‘Lear’.”¹⁰¹

Bennet correctly paraphrases Schumann’s *griechisch-schlank* remark, and attributes the rest of the aphorism to Grove himself. Indeed, he appears to be quoting from one of Grove’s Crystal Palace concert reviews, published well before the critical study of the symphonies, around 1877:

Beethoven’s fourth Symphony—the fourth of the nine—furnishes a remarkable instance of the individuality of his numerous creations. It stands between the Eroica (No. 3) and the C minor (No. 5) like a graceful Greek maiden between two enormous Norse or Scandinavian heroes; the Parthenon between the Cathedrals of Chartres and Rheims; or an idyl of Theocritus between Hamlet and Lear.¹⁰²

Without explicitly referencing him, Grove here embellishes Schumann’s

¹⁰¹ Joseph Bennett, “Analytical and Historical Programme for Philharmonic Society,” 1904.

¹⁰² George Grove, “Analytical Review of L. van Beethoven, Op. 60, Symphony in B Flat, No. 4,” in *Analytical Reviews of Classical and Modern Compositions, for the Use of Amateurs at Musical Entertainments* (New York : C. F. Tretbar, c. 1877-1878), 1. Curiously, the specific mention of “Minerva between Thor and Odin” in Bennet’s excerpt does not appear in the original.

griechisch-schlank characterization. Turning the “slender Grecian” into a “graceful Greek maiden,” he situates the Fourth Symphony between the Third and Fifth, “two enormous Norse or Scandinavian heroes.” For further emphasis, he contributes two additional metaphoric oppositions not present in his later essay: one architectural (the Parthenon between two French cathedrals), the other poetic (an Ancient Greek pastoral poem between two Shakespearean tragedies). Possibly, Grove’s “Idyl of Theocritus” is an oblique reference to Schumann’s “Thalia”—the muse of idyllic poetry—in the third passage quoted above. Nonetheless, it seems clear that his program note principally derives from the *griechisch-schlank* idea, transforming the original characterization into a more detailed commentary.

Hence, whether out of convenience or lapse of memory, Grove attributed the “Greek maiden” aphorism to Schumann. The attribution might not have gone any further, had Thayer–Deiters–Riemann not followed suit in 1911. In this installment of Thayer’s *Life*, the authors refer to Schumann’s remark not by quoting him directly, but rather (apparently) by paraphrasing Grove: “Schumann hat die B-Dur-Symphonie einer griechisch schlanken Maid zwischen zwei Nordlandriesen (der Es-Dur und C-Moll) verglichen...” (Schumann compared the B-flat major symphony to a slender Greek maiden between two Norse giants [the E-flat major and C minor]).¹⁰³ As in Grove’s critical essay, no source is provided. Thus, two prominent turn-of-the-century studies—one in English, the other in German—corroborated the spurious

¹⁰³ Thayer-Deiters-Riemann, *Ludwig van Beethovens Leben* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel,

attribution of the “Greek maiden” aphorism to Schumann. With its connotations of femininity, Otherness, and betweenness, the spurious quotation has since played a major role in shaping the symphony’s modern reception. Like the peak-valley metaphor, it has encouraged the tendency to define the Fourth in terms of what it is not.

Atomistic Listening and the Fatal Circle. As a coda to this mini-survey of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century criticism, it is instructive to turn to Theodor W. Adorno, whose 1938 essay “On the Fetish Character of Music and Regression in Listening,” helps to illuminate a transitional period in the Fourth’s reception history. Adorno maintains that the ‘classics’ in music had become corrupted through the continuous reproduction of their most memorable moments in the service of commercialism. Although openly biased—against jazz, popular music, and modern arrangements of folk and classical tunes—he compellingly describes the “atomistic” manner of listening that, he argues, the recording industry promotes, and advertising co-opts. In his view, the integrity of the musical work was paramount: the individual moment, ripped from its context, could only serve as a false embodiment of the total musical experience. The classics manifest subjectivity and social critique, the force and origin of which lie in their dialectical content. To grasp this dialectical content, however, one must conceive of each individual part of an artwork in relation to the whole. It is precisely through dialectic that

1911), Vol. 2, 15.

Beethoven's musical creations enact their "revolutionary" critique of bourgeois society, a critique that can only be grasped through a conscious encounter with the musical structure.

In the course of his essay, Adorno turns to the Fourth Symphony to illustrate one effect of "atomistic" listening practices:

Famous people are not the only stars. Works begin to take on the same role. A pantheon of *best-sellers* builds up. The programs shrink, and the shrinking process not only removes the moderately good, but the accepted classics themselves undergo a selection that has nothing to do with quality. In America, Beethoven's Fourth Symphony is among the rarities.¹⁰⁴

Adorno suggests that certain masterpieces, by virtue of their melodic charm and programmatic fascination, are more conducive to the modern listening experience than others. These masterpieces become involved in a "fatal circle" by which more performances (and recordings) lead to greater renown, and vice versa. The prime example is Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, which, then as now, was the touchstone of the American orchestral repertoire. Precisely because of its dominance on concert programs, the Fifth has been especially subject to commodification.¹⁰⁵ Ironically, as Adorno suggests, while a work's

¹⁰⁴ Theodor W. Adorno, "On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening" (1938), in *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert, 294.

¹⁰⁵ As one of many recent examples, consider the sixteen-second arrangement of the symphony's opening bars, used as the musical symbol of justice on the television court show *Judge Judy*. Reorchestrated for electric guitar and synthesized strings, the theme song reproduces the first twenty-one bars of the symphony, more or less intact, leading up to the first half cadence. After the arrival on G Major, rather than continuing, the theme is rounded off with two more instances of the opening motive in C Minor. While the excerpt is coherent in musical terms—despite the awkward resolution of a 16-bar antecedent by a 4-bar consequent—, it exemplifies the atomistic, jingle-like appropriation of music that Adorno lamented.

commodification leads to its de(con)struction, it also leads to its constant regeneration in the concert repertoire; the phoenix dies only to be reborn again.

The Fourth Symphony, of course, has not suffered such a fate. In part because of the crisis of content that this symphony came to embody, it did not enter the canon of great and endlessly reified works—the “fatal circle”—in quite the same way. Were he alive today, Adorno might well have been relieved to know that the Fourth has not been commodified as ravenously as the Third, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Ninth. At the same time, he would perhaps maintain that modern listeners would be unable to make sense of the work anyway. In his essay, Adorno complains that audiences in the 1930s, already numbed by the recording industry’s endless “atomizations,” had regressed to an “infantile” state in which they were incapable of maintaining the concentration to perceive the essential relationship between parts and whole.¹⁰⁶ Whether or not one agrees with this sentiment, there can be no doubt that the ability to record and reproduce Beethoven’s music exaggerated the distance between the “peaks” and the “valleys” in his oeuvre. As Michael Broyles has suggested, the American psyche, in particular, has come to know an “iconic Beethoven”—one who has “shrunk as he has grown.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ “Deconcentrated listening makes the perception of the whole impossible. All that is realized is what the spotlight falls on—striking melodic intervals, unsettling modulations, intentional or unintentional mistakes, or whatever condenses itself into a formula by an especially intimate merging of melody and text.” Adorno, “Fetish-Character,” 305.

¹⁰⁷ Michael Broyles, *Beethoven in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 324.

The Later Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Centuries:

Toward the “Heroic” (and Beyond). To a large extent, the “iconic Beethoven” also occupied the center of Anglo-American Beethoven studies in the later twentieth century. From Maynard Solomon’s Freudian readings of Beethoven’s psychological crises, to Alan Tyson’s notion of a “heroic phase,” to Joseph Kerman’s concept of the “symphonic ideal” (with its ethical overtones), to Scott Burnham’s study of the “heroic style,” the scholarship from this period reached a new consensus about what made Beethoven “Beethoven,” and why we should care.

Given its history, it is unsurprising that the Fourth Symphony played a modest role in this critical project. Despite several insightful essays and analyses—Tovey (1935–39), Misch (1958), Dahlhaus (1979), Broyles (1987); more recently Brown (2002), Lockwood (2003), and others—the Fourth Symphony has remained largely exempt from recent critical trends. And yet, the past two decades have seen a remarkable surge of interest in works and genres that were historically underappreciated or misunderstood. Elaine Sisman’s study of the so-called “Romantic experiments” of 1809, Richard Will’s study of Beethoven’s characteristic symphonies, and Nicholas Mathew’s recent work on the political compositions of 1813–1814 are three fine examples of this type of scholarship.¹⁰⁸ With each new contribution of this kind, the stylistic

¹⁰⁸ Elaine Sisman, “After the Heroic Style: Fantasia and the ‘Characteristic’ Sonatas of 1809,” *Beethoven Forum* 6 (1998): 67-96; Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Nicholas Mathew,

paradigms that have come to define our perception of Beethoven seem less and less accurate. Indeed, in the field of Beethoven studies—if not yet in the wider world—a twenty-first-century Beethoven has begun to emerge against the backdrop of his monumental late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century counterpart.

All of this bodes well for the Fourth. Indeed, if Lewis Lockwood’s recent critical biography is any indication, the Fourth is beginning to tell new stories. It seems fitting that Lockwood should return to the metaphor of the landscape to introduce his brief account of the work:

Once the Eroica had enlarged the landscape of the symphony, Beethoven’s next four-movement symphony was inevitably compared with it [...] His decision to return to a smaller scale, to reduce length and density but also to invest a smaller framework with subtlety, action, and lyricism, showed that, paradoxically, he was aiming to broaden his new symphonic framework still further by showing that the epic, heroic model was only one of a number of possible aesthetic alternatives. The Fourth showed that less could be as much, perhaps more.¹⁰⁹

The notion that Beethoven was aiming to move beyond the “Eroica” by further “broadening” his new symphonic framework offers a compelling contrast to the history of vertical metaphors for his development as a symphonist. It implies a wider field of aesthetic possibilities, within which musical value arises independently of a priori conceptions about his oeuvre. This idea also

“History Under Erasure: Wellingtons Sieg, the Congress of Vienna, and the Ruination of Beethoven's Heroic Style,” *The Musical Quarterly*, 89/1 (spring 2006), 17-61; “Beethoven and His Others: Criticism, Difference, and the Composer's Many Voices,” *Beethoven Forum* 13/2 (2006); and PhD diss., “Beethoven's Political Music and the Idea of the Heroic Style” (Cornell University, 2006).

¹⁰⁹ Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life*, 214.

resonates with what seems to have been Beethoven's *modus operandi* in the period beginning around 1802; namely, his intense preoccupation with creating a multifarious body of works, of which each responds to a different set of compositional challenges.¹¹⁰ Viewed from this perspective, the Fourth stands as a provocative exploration of a previously uncharted realm of technical and expressive possibilities.

In the following two chapters—and with the metaphor of exploration as a guiding concept—I examine this realm of possibilities (and solutions) through two lenses: first, Beethoven's conscious and critical engagement with the symphonic tradition (in particular the symphonies of Haydn); second, the social and political implications of this symphony as it was performed in Beethoven's Vienna. Central to both discussions is the notion that musical meanings arise not merely from a work's abstract content, but also from the interaction of this content with the energy and materiality of performance. Understanding this interplay of forces can help illuminate how music's sense emerges not merely through intensive listening, but also through contextualization and in conjunction with medium.

¹¹⁰ See Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven*, 262.

CHAPTER II

BEETHOVEN AFTER HAYDN: RETHINKING TRADITION

“Rumors of my demise...”: Beethoven and Haydn’s Legacy, 1805–1806. In January 1805, a rumor circulated around Europe that the continent’s preeminent composer, Joseph Haydn, had suffered a fatal stroke. Luigi Cherubini dashed off a Funeral Cantata to be performed at the memorial service in Paris. At the last minute, news reached the capital that Haydn was still alive—the concert proceeded as planned, but with most of the program changed. When he got word of his own memorial concert, the infirm Haydn reportedly said he felt greatly honored, joking “If I had known of the ceremony I would have gone there myself to conduct the [Requiem] in person.”¹ Premature reports of Haydn’s death crossed the Channel as well: the January issue of London’s *Gentleman’s Magazine* included “the celebrated musical composer Haydn” in its obituaries.² The editors ran the following correction a month later: “The celebrated musician Haydn (says a letter from Vienna dated Jan. 26) for whom a funeral service has been performed in France is still living, and as hearty and well as a man of 75 [*recte* 72] can be expected to be.”³

Europe may have breathed a sigh of relief for Haydn, but the rumors made clear that the composer had little time. Indeed, the alleged death of Haydn set a variety of plans in motion to *fête* Europe’s greatest living composer before it

¹ H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 5: *The Late Years, 1801–1809* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 329. This paragraph and the one following are based on Landon, 329-341.

² *Ibid.*

was too late. Cherubini personally delivered a membership diploma and a medal from the Paris Conservatoire, the latest in a series of French honors bestowed on Haydn. The notification was signed by the director of the Conservatoire and by three of the most distinguished French composers: Méhul, Gossec, and Cherubini himself. Meanwhile, the Viennese had put together a special celebration to mark the composer's seventy-third birthday (having missed his seventieth). Mozart's thirteen-year-old son Wolfgang composed a cantata for the occasion and performed works by his father on the fortepiano. Although Haydn was too weak to attend, hearing the plan for the event reportedly moved him to tears. In what was intended to be a moment of typically Viennese pageantry, Haydn was to take the boy's hand and offer him to the public after a solemn speech by Mozart's brother-in-law. Two generations of musical genius would thus be drawn together by Haydn: to borrow from Count Waldstein's famous formulation, the young Wolfgang was to receive "Mozart's spirit from Haydn's hands," bringing the Viennese musical canon full circle (though without Beethoven's involvement).

Haydn had accomplished the remarkable feat of achieving an international reputation as a composer within his own lifetime.⁴ Unlike Mozart, his legacy

³ Ibid.

⁴ See Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar: Music, the Visual Arts, and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn, c. 1750 to c.1810* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); Nicholas Mathew, "Heroic Haydn, the Occasional Work, and 'Modern' Political Music," *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 4: 1 (March 2007); Emily Dolan, "The Idea of Timbre in the Age of Haydn," PhD diss. (Cornell University, 2006) and Karen Hiles, "Haydn's Heroic Decades: Music, Politics, and War, 1790-1809," PhD diss. (Columbia University, 2009), among others. Aspects of Haydn's living legacy have also been recently explored by Eystein Sandvik in "Haydn's *Creation* and the Construction of German National Identity" (presented at Budapest, *Haydn 2009: A Bicentenary Conference*).

was firmly in place before his death. He was seen to have revolutionized several major musical genres: if his operas and concertos did not have the impact of Mozart's, then his string quartets, symphonies, and oratorios were considered of comparable or greater significance. In *The Creation* and *The Seasons*, in particular, Haydn was seen to have artfully—and profitably—synthesized elements of learned and popular tastes, sacred and secular themes, and ancient and modern styles. Indeed, when the Paris Opera awarded Haydn a gold medal engraved with his own image in 1801, its director praised *The Creation* above all else: “but the imposing realization of [*The Creation*], if it is possible, even surpasses all that this knowledgeable composer has hitherto offered to an astonished Europe.”⁵

As the most celebrated composer of the 1790s and early 1800s, Haydn was an obvious model for younger composers to emulate. As Emily Green has noted, more musical works were dedicated to him than to any other composer in the history of Western music; of these, many works were designed as *homages* or musical tributes.⁶ Mozart famously dedicated to Haydn a set of six string quartets, published in 1785. These quartets push the boundaries of the genre in a number of ways, and have been understood both as a reflection on and a meaningful departure from the innovative six quartets of Haydn's op. 33

⁵ “[...] mais l'imposante conception de l'Oratorio surpasse encore, s'il est possible, tout ce que ce savant compositeur avoit offert jusqu'ici à l'Europe étonnée.” Cited in Daniel Hertz, *Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven* (New York: Norton, 2009), 605. Hertz reproduces images of several of the medals Haydn received.

⁶ Emily H. Green, “A Patron among Peers: Dedications to Haydn and the Economy of Celebrity,” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 8 (2011), pp 215-237, and “Dedications and the Reception of the Published Score, from Mozart to Schumann,” PhD diss. (Cornell University, 2009).

(composed 1781).⁷ Beethoven, who studied with Haydn from November 1792 through December 1793 (or January 1794—Haydn left for London that month), dedicated to him his first set of three piano sonatas, op. 2 (published 1796). Such a gesture, of course, was expected of a pupil, and it was doubtless out of both gratitude and decorum that Beethoven complied.

For a variety of reasons, the benefit of Haydn's tutelage on Beethoven has historically been a source of debate.⁸ Haydn's hasty corrections of some of Beethoven's counterpoint exercises have suggested to some modern commentators that he did not take their lessons seriously. For his part, Beethoven was apparently not forthright about what he composed under Haydn's guidance, presenting as new a number of works he had already completed in Bonn; he also appears to have deceived Haydn about the amount of income he was receiving from the Bonn court.⁹ Nevertheless, the fact that Beethoven did not produce any new major works while he was studying with Haydn should not be taken to suggest that the lessons were unproductive; on

⁷ See Mark Evan Bonds, *The Sincerest Form of Flattery? Mozart's "Haydn" Quartets and the Question of Influence*, in *Studi musicali* 22 (1993), pp. 365-409, and James Webster, "One More Time: Mozart's Dedication to Haydn," in Armin Raab and Bernhard Appel, eds., *Widmungen bei Haydn und Beethoven: Personen – Strategien – Praktiken*, Bonner Beethoven-Studien, 10 (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, [2012]).

⁸ See Alfred Mann, "Beethoven's Contrapuntal Studies with Haydn," *The Musical Quarterly*, 54/4 (October 1970), 711-726.

⁹ When the Bonn elector Maximilian discovered that Beethoven had composed nothing of consequence during his first year in Vienna, Haydn received the blame: "I am wondering, therefore, whether [Beethoven] had better not come back here [to Bonn] in order to resume his work. For I very much doubt that he has made any important progress in composition and in the development of his musical taste during his present stay, and I fear that, as in the case of his first journey to Vienna, he will bring back nothing but debts." Cited in Solomon, *Beethoven*, 96-97. However, the received notion about a falling-out between Haydn and Beethoven as a result of their lessons is largely based on apocryphal remarks. See James Webster, "The Falling-out between Haydn and Beethoven: The Evidence of the Sources," in *Beethoven Essays: Studies in Honor of Elliot Forbes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

the contrary, Beethoven's giant strides throughout the 1790s and early 1800s appear to owe much to Haydn's influence. Douglas Johnson has illustrated the ways in which Beethoven's op. 2 piano sonatas—particularly Nos. 2 and 3—display a sense of compositional control that far outstrips his earlier works in the genre.¹⁰ In the words of biographer Maynard Solomon, “Beethoven's difficulty with Haydn was that he learned too much from him—more than he could acknowledge.”¹¹

While scholars have examined the influences of both Haydn and Mozart on Beethoven's earlier compositions, their influences on his later music have often been overlooked.¹² Yet, as he developed greater independence as an artist, Beethoven continued to perform, copy, and seek out works by these (and other) composers.¹³ During the summer of 1806—the summer of the Fourth

¹⁰ Douglas Johnson, “1794-1795: Decisive Years in Beethoven's Early Development,” in Alan Tyson, ed., *Beethoven Studies* 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 1-28.

¹¹ Solomon, *Beethoven*, 94.

¹² Exceptions include Mark Brunswick, “Beethoven's Tribute to Mozart in *Fidelio*,” *Musical Quarterly* 31 (1945), pp. 29-32; Jan LaRue, “Multistage Variance: Haydn's Legacy to Beethoven,” *The Journal of Musicology*, 18(2), pp. 344-360; Nicholas Marston, “Haydn's Geist aus Beethoven's Händen? Fantasy and Farewell in the Quartet in E-flat, op. 74,” *The String Quartets of Beethoven* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), pp. 109-131; 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*, 12/2 (Winter, 1997), pp. 65-72; Elaine Sisman, “Tradition and Transformation in the Alternating Variations of Haydn and Beethoven,” *Acta Musicologica* 62 (1990), pp. 152-82; and James Webster, “Traditional Elements in Beethoven's Middle-Period String Quartets,” *Beethoven, Performers, and Critics*, International Beethoven Congress Detroit 1977 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1980), pp. 94-133.

¹³ Bathia Churgin notes thirteen examples from Mozart's music that Beethoven copied into his own manuscripts throughout his life. “Beethoven and Mozart's Requiem: A New Connection,” *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987), pp. 457-477; the thirteen items are tabulated in an appendix. Beethoven seems to have copied fewer works of Haydn's, but there are exceptions: in 1793 or 1794, during his lessons with Haydn, he copied out the entire Quartet in E-flat, Op. 20, No. 1. See Elaine Sisman, “The spirit of Mozart from Haydn's hands': Beethoven's musical inheritance,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven*, ed. Glenn Stanley (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 45-63, 52-53.

Symphony and the “Razumovsky” String Quartets—he requested printed scores of Haydn’s and Mozart’s music from Breitkopf & Härtel.¹⁴ That Beethoven was actively cultivating an interest in their music suggests a valuable framework for thinking about the works of this period. Indeed, as James Webster has shown, the Third “Razumovsky” Quartet offers a salient example of Beethoven’s creative engagement with the Haydn–Mozart tradition. Regarded by contemporaries as the most “universally comprehensible” of the three “Razumovsky” Quartets, the C-major quartet has a number of musical features that recall the expressive world of Mozart’s chamber music: its dissonant slow introduction seems to allude to that of Mozart’s “Dissonant” Quartet (K. 465); it contains a third-movement minuet instead of a scherzo; and it concludes with a fugal finale, the hallmark of a number of famous C-Major works, not least Mozart’s “Jupiter” Symphony.¹⁵

Critics have also noted a number of traditional elements in the Fourth Symphony: it begins with a Haydnesque slow introduction; its codas are short and to the point, not expansive and dramatic; it has no run-on movements; it concludes with a light, even comic, finale rather than a transcendent, weighty one; and its length, proportions, and instrumentation are consistent with the later symphonies of Mozart and Haydn. Donald Francis Tovey has suggested that the symphony also recalls Mozart and Haydn on a more local level. In the first movement, for instance, Beethoven handles rhythm in such a way that

¹⁴ Anderson, *Letters of Beethoven*, Vol. 1, No. 132.

¹⁵ Webster, “Traditional Elements.”

“Mozart’s own freedom of movement reappears as one of the most striking qualities of the whole.”¹⁶ This freedom of movement—which Tovey calls “keeping up the spin”—is for him the most “characteristic,” “universally necessary,” and “immediately successful” of all the musical arts “that have been lost since ‘classical’ times.”¹⁷ The finale, likewise, recalls Haydn and Mozart in pervasive fashion, even to the point of creating a stylistic paradox: it “represents Beethoven’s full maturity in that subtlest of all disguises, his discovery of the true inwardness of Mozart and Haydn; a discovery inaccessible to him whenever, as in a few early works (notably the Septet), he seemed or tried to imitate them, but possible as soon as he obtained full freedom in handling his own resources.”¹⁸ In Tovey’s view, Beethoven’s “full maturity” is evident precisely in his thorough mastery of Haydn’s and Mozart’s style; the finale achieves something of their “true inwardness” without falling victim to slavish imitation.

In Tovey’s reading, one glimpses a fundamental tension in the Fourth Symphony’s reception history: the tension between its position in Beethoven’s oeuvre as the first symphonic statement after the breakthrough of the “Eroica,” on the one hand, and its apparent indebtedness to the symphonic style of Haydn and Mozart, on the other. To be sure, Tovey sets himself apart from critics who dismiss the Fourth Symphony as somehow derivative; on the contrary, his reading suggests that one of its defining aspects is its manner of

¹⁶ Tovey, *Symphonies and other Orchestral Works*, 50.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 50-51.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 52.

confronting, questioning, and creatively reinterpreting the Haydn–Mozart tradition. At the same time, one wishes that he had gone further in this direction: indeed, upon reaching the finale, Tovey explicitly leaves a great deal unsaid: “To do justice to the boldness and power that underly all the grace and humour of this finale, it would be necessary to go into details. It is a study for a lifetime; but, once begun, it is in many ways more directly useful to the artist than the study of things the power of which is allowed to appear on the surface.”¹⁹ Beethoven’s creative discourse with Haydn and Mozart offers a hermeneutic window into the Fourth Symphony; yet, scholars have seldom explored this issue in depth.

One exception comes from A. Peter Brown, who has argued that the symphony’s Adagio introduction is a parody of the “Representation of Chaos” from Haydn’s *Creation*.²⁰ *The Creation* was a staple of the Tonkünstler Societät, receiving eighteen performances between its premiere and 1830; Beethoven was clearly familiar with it.²¹ As is well known, the setting of “*Und es ward Licht*” in the opening movement preoccupied Haydn and his collaborator Baron van Swieten: the latter stated that the text must be set only once, and Haydn was so enthusiastic about his setting of the divine command that—it is said—he kept the pages hidden until the premiere. The moment shocked as expected;

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ See A. Peter Brown, “The Creation and The Seasons: Some Allusions, Quotations, and Models from Handel to Mendelssohn,” *Current Musicology*, Vol. 51 (1991), 26, and *The Symphonic Repertoire Volume 2: The First Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 476.

²¹ Carl Czerny, for instance, reported an instance when Beethoven “played [on the keyboard] the most interesting numbers from Handel’s *Messiah* and called our attention to several

moreover, the shift from the nothingness of Chaos to the blinding radiance of Light—symbolized by the progression from C Minor to C Major—took on an iconic status.²² Brown argues that Beethoven alludes to this sublime moment in a number of works. His most convincing example is Beethoven’s C-Major setting of “*es wurde hell*” in a chorus from *King Stephan*, op. 117. The opening of the Fourth Symphony, as Brown notes, also shares several features with the “Chaos,” including the sounding of the minor sixth against the tonic, the widely-spaced arpeggiations, the move to the Neapolitan, and above all, the contrast of minor-mode “chaos” with major-mode “light.”

But the “Chaos” more directly evokes a species of harmonically adventurous C-minor introductions, such as those found in Mozart’s “Dissonant” Quartet, Haydn’s Symphony No. 97, and Beethoven’s Third “Razumovsky” Quartet. The pacing, harmonic language, and affect of Beethoven’s B-flat minor introduction seem to separate it from this lineage. Additionally, while the “Chaos” perhaps provides a pertinent topical prototype, it does not help to elucidate matters of design or structure in the symphony.

An examination of the Fourth Symphony in the context of its symphonic models has the potential to further illuminate the work. By exploring parallels between this symphony and some of Haydn’s late symphonies, I hope to develop a better understanding of the symphony’s relationship with tradition. Part of the unique appeal of the Fourth, I will argue, is the way it seems to

resemblances to Haydn’s *Creation*, etc.” Cited in Forbes, *Thayer’s Life of Beethoven*, Vol. 1, 367.

²² In October 1805, for instance, the *AmZ* printed on its first page a poem titled “Der erste Ton: Eine Phantasie” which celebrated the musical representation of chaos and light.

refract traditional gestures, ideas, and topics through the prism of Beethoven's personal style.

Rethinking Tradition in the Fourth Symphony

“Strength, dignity, and gravity.” Unlike the Third, Fifth, Sixth and Ninth Symphonies, the Fourth can be performed with the standard Viennese orchestra of the 1790s and early 1800s (violins, violas, cellos, contrabasses, timpani, and two each of flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, and trumpets). In fact, of Beethoven's nine symphonies, it is the only one to call for a single flute instead of the typical pair, a scoring also indicated in two of Haydn's “London” symphonies, Nos. 95 in C Minor (1791) and 98 in B-flat Major (1792). The use of one flute would not have seemed unusual to Beethoven or his contemporaries; rather, it was one of many possible aesthetic alternatives: the other major orchestral works of 1806 (the Fourth Piano Concerto and the Violin Concerto) share this orchestration.

More unusual is Beethoven's choice of B-flat major. The concept of a symphony in B-flat with trumpets and timpani—usually reserved for C and D—was a novel phenomenon in Vienna in the 1790s. Haydn's Symphonies No. 98 (1792) and No. 102 (1794) were among the first symphonies in B-flat to feature trumpets and drums.²³ Though they were composed for London orchestras, they quickly became part of the Viennese repertoire. Moreover, the success of these works encouraged Haydn to further explore this new orchestral sonority:

²³ Michael Haydn had used trumpets and drums in this key in a 1788 symphony, and earlier in

four of his late masses, as well as some of the most important movements in *The Creation* and *The Seasons*, exploit this new sound (Table 2.1). As Haydn developed this new idiom, other composers followed suit. The popular Viennese symphonist Anton Wranitzky, for example, updated an earlier symphony in B-flat (B-flat 1) to reflect this trend, adding trumpet and timpani parts to the first movement, minuet, and finale.²⁴

Date	Title	Movements
1792	Concertante (Hob. I: 105)	I, III
1792	Symphony No. 98	I, III, IV
1794	Symphony No. 102	I, III, IV
1796	<i>Missa Sancti Bernardi von Officia</i> ('Heiligmesse')	I—VI
1796–8	<i>Die Schöpfung</i>	11b: Vivace 14b: Andante
1799	'Theresienmesse'	I—VI
1799–1801	<i>Die Jahreszeiten</i>	5b: Maestoso (incl. fugue)
1801	'Schöpfungsmesse'	I—VI
1802	'Harmoniemesse'	I—VI

Table 2.1: Haydn's use of trumpets and timpani in B-flat, 1792-1802

In B-flat, as Landon explains, kettledrums sound less prominent than in C or D; low F is one of the lowest sounding notes for the instrument.²⁵ Trumpets, likewise, sound more subdued: their timbre not only matches the less brilliant quality of the strings in B-flat (few open strings), but also helps to emphasize the winds in one of their most comfortable keys. By expanding his orchestra in

his sacred vocal music. Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 5, 139.

²⁴ David Wyn Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven's Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 62.

this way, Haydn was able to merge the tempered quality of B-flat with the festive, at times militant, quality that trumpets and drums connoted. This special effect drew praise from Friedrich Rochlitz in an 1802 review of Haydn's *Missa Sancti Bernardi von Officia*:

[T]he composer, through a great deal of reflection and long experience, has understood how to give even the most shining effects their nobility and pious attributes, by means of many devices that are far from apparent at first glance—of which we would draw attention only to one feature, namely that in those movements of the Mass in B-flat, the trumpets and drums (not used exactly sparingly) are, *because of their low pitch*, of the greatest strength, dignity and gravity.²⁶

Denn mit vieler Besonnenheit und reifer Erfahrung hat der Komponist auch dem Schimmerndsten durch manche, sich keineswegs auf den ersten Anblick zu Tage legende Hülfsmittel ihre Würde und ihren frommen Anstand wiederzugeben gewusst—wovon wir nur das Eine anführen wollen, dass er jene Sätze der Messe in B dur schrieb, wo besonders die nicht sparsam gebrauchten Trompeten und Pauken, in ihrer tiefen Stimmung, von ungemeiner Kraft, Würde und Gravität sind.²⁷

Rochlitz might have been referring to any number of passages: the mass includes some of the period's boldest timpani writing. In the *Credo*, for instance, Haydn withholds the timpani for eighty-three measures before unleashing them for the representation of Judgment Day. Having established the dominant of G Minor (V/vi), he has the timpani enter *fortissimo*—without the rest of the orchestra—on a B-flat drumroll. The timpani act as a 'melodic' instrument, changing the root from D to B-flat and evoking the sublime

²⁵ Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, Vol. 4, *The Years of 'The Creation' 1796-1800*, 139.

²⁶ The entire review is translated in Landon, *ibid*, 158-161 (translation emended here; emphasis in original). The 'Heiligmesse' was published in Vienna in May 1802.

²⁷ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 28 July 1802, cols. 705-718.

proclamation: “Judicare vivos et mortuos” ([He will come again in glory] To judge the living and the dead).²⁸

It was precisely the effect of “strength, dignity, and gravity” that Beethoven sought in composing a B-flat symphony with trumpets and drums. For a symphonic model, he could have looked to Haydn’s Symphony No. 102, a work that resonates with the Fourth Symphony in a number of ways. No. 102 begins *piano* with the entire orchestra on a unison B-flat. In a gigantic gesture of expansion and contraction, strings, winds, brass, and rolling timpani crescendo to an apex and then decrescendo back to *piano*. The opening of the Fourth Symphony seems to recall this memorable gesture in its long-held unison B-flat (bars 1-5) and dramatic hairpin crescendo (bar 5); see Example 2.1. In both introductions, the opening unison B-flat returns after several bars of contrasting material (Haydn: bar 6, Beethoven: bar 13). Of course, Beethoven withholds trumpets and drums until later in the introduction, coordinating their appearance with the dominant arrival that precedes the *Allegro vivace*. Nonetheless, the sense of foreboding or gravitas that characterizes both slow introductions stands as an aesthetic linkage between the Fourth Symphony and Haydn’s last symphony in B-flat.

²⁸ There is an analogous and equally striking solo timpani entry at the join between the Agnus Dei and Dona nobis pacem in the “Harmoniemesse.” See James Webster, “Haydn’s Sacred Vocal Music,” in W. Dean Sutcliffe, ed., *Haydn Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 66-67.

Flutes
Oboes
Bassoons
Horns in Bb
Trumpets in Bb
Timpani
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Violoncello

Largo

a) Symphony No. 102 (I), m. 1

Flute
Oboe
Clarinet in Bb
Bassoons
Horn in Bb
Trumpet in Bb
Timpani
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Violoncello
Contrabass

Adagio

b) Symphony No. 4 (I), mm. 1-6

Example 2.1: Haydn, Symphony No. 102 and Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, openings

In common with Haydn, Beethoven uses the timpani as a means of articulating major structural junctures. In the first movements, both composers employ climactic drumrolls to usher in the return of the main theme in the tonic after the development section; Beethoven, however, expands this gesture to mammoth proportions. Haydn's drumroll on the dominant lasts four bars; Beethoven's, on the tonic, lasts twenty-five. Nevertheless, the two moments, functionally analogous, reflect an increasing interest on the part of contemporary symphonists regarding the use of timpani at moments of structural significance (openings, transitions, endings). Beethoven's retransition is in this sense an extreme instance of a particular convention.²⁹

Haydn's "Drumroll" Symphony, No. 103, also resonates with the Fourth Symphony in its deployment of orchestral resources. In No. 103's opening gesture (as well as in the coda), the kettledrums are detached from the orchestra, performing their own part independently of the trumpets. In the development section of the Fourth Symphony's first movement, similarly, Beethoven detaches the kettledrums from the ensemble and places the drumroll in dialogue with the strings. In this striking passage, the dominant chords from the introduction (where trumpets and timpani first entered,

²⁹ Such a technique might be understood as an example of the monumentalization of classical syntax associated with the "heroic" style. Burnham suggests that Beethoven is able to "overrun the superficial boundaries of the [sonata] style, in order to mark the underlying boundaries more emphatically. When he marks these boundaries with his own incomparable drama (as in the case of the *Eroica* horn call, or the famous parallel harmonies at the outset of the coda to that movement) he is in effect narrating them, for such moments rise above the musical texture and assert the presence of Beethoven's unique and unmistakable voice, now heard to speak across the present moment, telling of things like imminent return, or glorious consummation." *Beethoven Hero*, 143.

together) are transformed: on F-sharp (=G-flat) instead of F, in the strings alone instead of tutti, marked *ppp* instead of *ff* (Example 2.2). The double function of the kettledrums' B-flat—as the third of V⁷ on G-flat and as the root of the tonic triad—allows the drumroll to provide a sense of continuity to this unusual development section, in which harmonic events unfold at an uncharacteristically slow pace.

[Adagio] Allegro vivace

ff

tr 5

tr 5

ff V

a) Introduction, mm. 36-39

ppp

V/bII

tr pp

b) Development, mm. 281-288

[pp]

V₄

tr pp

c) Development, mm. 305-312

Example 2.2: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, I, dominant chords at end of slow introduction and their transformation in the development section

In their treatment of the timpani as a thematic element, Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 102 and 103 anticipate a significant aspect of Beethoven's orchestral style of the early 1800s. In the *Creatures of Prometheus*, a bombastic timpani solo introduces the "Danza eroica" of Bacchus and the Bacchantes. In the introduction to *Christus am Oelberge*, a tapping motive in the kettledrums, pianissimo, foretells Christ's doom. And in the Introduction to Act II of *Leonore*, Beethoven asks the timpanist to tune the drums to the interval of a tritone—a novelty in the history of the instrument—to depict the sense of foreboding in Florestan's dungeon cell. The orchestral works of 1806, however, represent his first major attempts at incorporating this dramatic sound into a purely instrumental (that is, not theatrical or sacred) context. The Violin Concerto, famously, opens with four strokes of the timpani—a motive that governs much of the ensuing thematic material. Less well-known, but more striking, is Beethoven's arrangement of the Violin Concerto for piano, op. 61a, prepared for Clementi in 1807, in which the violin cadenza is replaced by a cadenza duet for piano and timpani.³⁰ The Fourth Symphony not only contains unusual timpani writing in the first movement, but also in the second movement Adagio: the opening motive in the strings derives from a figure that reveals its origin as a kettledrum topos in the coda. The timpani, their sonic product somewhere between distinct tone and indistinct noise, added a new dimension to

³⁰ See Wilhelm Mohr, "Beethovens Klavierfassung seines Violinkonzerts op. 61," *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress* (Bonn 1970), pp. 509-511, and "Die Klavierfassung von Beethovens Violinkonzert," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, 27/2 (February 1972), pp. 71-75; see also Alan Tyson, review of "Beethoven, Ludwig van; Klavierkonzert nach dem Violinkonzert, op. 61," *Musical Times*, 111/1530 (August 1970).

orchestral writing.³¹ They offered not just another orchestral color but also a way of evoking extramusical ideas by drawing on familiar topics, both martial and pastoral. Indeed, it is interesting to note in this context that at least two of Beethoven's contemporaries—A.B. Marx and Ludwig Rellstab—described the timpani rolls in the Fourth Symphony as representations of rolling thunder.³² Beethoven's use of timpani in his B-flat symphony represents one of many intersections between traditional and innovative elements. It reflects his ongoing negotiation between existing practices and his own increasingly dramatic approach to symphonic form.

Beethoven's choice of B-flat major for his Fourth Symphony has further implications when considered in light of his larger instrumental output. His compositions in B-flat major, taken together, reflect a consistency of approach that seems to set this key apart from others. Almost exclusively, he turned for his slow movements in these works to triple-meter *Adagios* in the key of E-flat: examples include the *Adagio con espressione* (3/4) of the Piano Trio op. 11 (1797[–8?]); the *Adagio* (3/4) of the Second Piano Concerto (c. 1788–1801); the *Adagio con molta espressione* (9/8) of the Piano Sonata op. 22 (1800); and, of course, the *Adagio* (3/4) of the Fourth Symphony.³³ The *Adagio ma non troppo* of the String Quartet op. 18, no. 6 (c. 1800) is also in E-flat, but in 2/4 meter. The association persisted for Beethoven's whole career: the Cavatina of the late

³¹ For more on this topic, see Paul Mies, "Die Bedeutung der Pauke in den Werken Ludwig van Beethovens," *Beethoven-Jahrbuch*, 8 (1975), pp. 49-71.

³² Rellstab, "Reisebericht," 163, and Marx, *Leben und Schaffen*, Vol. 2, 10.

³³ The "Archduke" Piano Trio, op. 97 (1811), has an *Andante cantabile ma però con moto* in D Major, and the "Hammerklavier" Sonata in B-flat, op. 106 (1818), has an *Adagio sostenuto* in F-

String Quartet op. 130 (1825–6) is a 3/4 *Adagio molto espressivo* in E-flat. In this sense, B-flat seems to have generated a particular progression of moods for Beethoven, one that further suggests the influence of Mozart and Haydn. Indeed, Mozart relied on this tonal and affective pairing frequently in his B-flat works, though he sometimes preferred for his slow movements the lighter character of the *Andante* or *Larghetto*.³⁴ Haydn, too, often turned to E-flat Major within a B-flat major context, but tended toward the more expressive type of E-flat slow movement that Beethoven favored.³⁵

In any case, key associations were then, as now, a matter of subjective perception; nonetheless, *Affekt*, topics, temperament, the design and limitation of instruments, and vocal tessitura all affected a composer's choice of key.³⁶ By choosing B-flat Major for his newest symphony, Beethoven was engaging with a tradition of works whose character was strongly influenced by this key and its associations.

sharp Minor.

³⁴ Mozart's B-flat works with E-flat, triple-meter slow movements include Violin Concerto No. 1 in B-flat major, K. 207 (1775), Adagio, 3/4; Piano Concerto No. 15 in B-flat major, K. 450 (1784), Andante, 3/8; and Piano Concerto No. 6 in B-flat major, K. 238 (1776), Andante un poco Adagio, 3/4. His B-flat works with E-flat, duple-meter slow movements include Symphonies No. 33, KV 319 (1779), No. 24, KV 182/166c (1773), and the unnumbered KV Anh. 214/45b (1768); String Quartets KV 159 (1773); KV 172 (1773); K 458 (1784); KV 589 (1790); and the String Quintet KV 174 (1773), and Piano Concerto No. 27 in B-flat major, K. 595 (1791).

³⁵ Examples include the *Adagios* of String Quartets op. 50, no. 1; op. 55, no. 3; op. 64, no. 3, op. 76, no. 4; and the *Largo* of op. 33, no. 4, among others. Although the two "London" Symphonies in B-flat (Nos. 98 and 102) include slow movements in F Major, Symphony No. 85 in B-flat, "La Reine," features an E-flat Major *Romance* as its second movement.

³⁶ The classic text is Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1983, rev. ed. 2002). See also Paul Ellison, *The Key to Beethoven: Connecting Tonality and Meaning in His Music* (Pendragon Press, 2012) and Jessica Waldoff, "Does Haydn have a C-minor mood?," in *Engaging Haydn: Culture, Context, and Criticism* (Cambridge University Press, [2012]).

Elements of Design: Haydn's Symphony No. 99 in E-flat. In terms of the Fourth Symphony's internal design, it is instructive to turn to yet another of the "London" Symphonies, No. 99 in E-flat. Completed in 1793, Symphony No. 99 represents a particularly innovative approach to cyclic design. Unlike some of Haydn's more overtly cyclic works, No. 99 does not contain run-on movement pairs or overt reminiscences. Rather, as Webster observes, it "employs remote keys and sonorities so pervasively that they become the primary source of cyclic integration."³⁷ As he notes, the prevalence of these keys and sonorities seems to set this symphony apart from the other "London" Symphonies. The symphony's *modus operandi* is established in the slow introduction, which passes from the tonic E-flat, through E Minor (the enharmonic Neapolitan), to the dominant of C Minor. The latter harmony connects via an unprepared B-flat dominant seventh to the tonic E-flat and the start of the exposition. (The introduction of Symphony No. 103 also moves to the dominant of C Minor, but without the intervening harmony). This tonal progression and the means by which it is implemented strongly influence the design of the first movement, as well as the larger conception.

Haydn worked on Symphony No. 99 while he was tutoring Beethoven; whether he used it to demonstrate aspects of free composition in their lessons remains a matter for speculation.³⁸ Webster has noted affinities between this

³⁷ Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony*, 320.

³⁸As Douglas Johnson indicates, during the period of Beethoven's lessons, Haydn was probably at work on the first three symphonies of the second "London" group (Nos. 99, 100, 101). The autographs of these three symphonies are partly or wholly on the Italian papers used in Vienna at this time ("1794-1795: Decisive Years," 17). Of the earlier group (Nos. 93-98), several also

symphony and two of Beethoven's early compositions in E-flat, the piano sonata op. 7 and the piano trio op. 1, no. 1.³⁹ In any case, there are a number of striking parallels between this symphony and the Fourth Symphony (despite the difference in key), parallels that deserve closer examination. Indeed, as I will argue, Beethoven's persistent use of scale degree flat-six as a destabilizing element throughout the symphony strongly recalls Haydn's practice in No. 99. In addition, the relation between the slow introduction and development section in No. 99's first movement—including Haydn's use of enharmonic notation and remote tonal juxtapositions—anticipates and sheds light on Beethoven's strategy of tonal planning in the Fourth.

We have examined above several possible topical models for the Adagio introduction of the Fourth Symphony. To be sure, the opening Adagio of No. 99 does not fall into this category: it is in the major mode; its opening is characterized by bold gestures and call-and-response textures; and it contains pervasive dotted rhythms, a characteristic of the French overture style. But expressive character and tonal plan need not coincide—in harmonic terms, the two introductions run a strikingly parallel course. One might identify their principal harmonic signposts as follows: (a) a stable section in the tonic key, (b) an unexpected emphasis of scale degree flat-six, (c) a reinterpretation of flat-six as the fifth scale degree of the Neapolitan (flat-II), (d) a modulatory passage, (e)

appear to have had their Viennese premieres during this period; however, Nos. 95 and 96 more likely premiered in 1791. See *Joseph Haydn Werke*, I/15, p. viii, n. 14.

³⁹ See Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony*, 323. He also suggests that the symphony may have stimulated the association of E Minor and E-flat in the "Eroica."

a culminatory arrival on the dominant of a minor key, (f) an unprepared dominant seventh of the tonic key. Table 2.2 shows where these six harmonic signposts are located in the two introductions. Example 2.3 compares relevant passages from both introductions side-by-side. The comparison helps illustrate how Beethoven has reimagined this unusual tonal framework to suit the aesthetic of his slow introduction.

Signpost	Haydn No. 99, I	Beethoven No. 4, I
(a) stable section in I	mm. 1-8	mm. 1-16
(b) emphasis of scale degree flat-six ($\flat 6$)	mm. 9-10	mm. 17-18
(c) reinterpretation of $\flat 6$ as $\flat 5/bII$	m. 11	m. 18 [mm. 18-24 = mm. 6-12 transposed to bII]
(d) modulation	mm. 11-14	mm. 25-32
(e) arrival on V/minor key	mm. 14-17	mm. 32-35
(f) arrival on V^7	mm. 18	36-42

Table 2.2: Shared signposts in the Adagio introductions of Haydn, Symphony No. 99 and Beethoven, Symphony No. 4

Example 2.3: Shared signposts in the Adagio introductions

1a. Emphasis and respelling of flat six:

Symphony No. 99, mm. 10-11

Symphony No. 4, mm. 17-18

1b. Culmination on off-tonic V and appearance of unprepared home V⁷:

Symphony No. 99, mm. 16-18

Symphony No. 4, mm. 34-37

The main difference between the two introductions is scale. What Haydn does in eighteen bars Beethoven expands to thirty-eight. First, Beethoven's initial tonic expansion (1-16) takes twice as long as Haydn's move from tonic to dominant (1-8). Second, since he repeats much of the music from his tonic expansion a semitone higher after emphasizing flat-six, his evocation of the Neapolitan lasts considerably longer (18-24). (Significantly, he never actually confirms the Neapolitan as a tonic, lingering instead on its dominant.) Beethoven's modulatory section (25-31) is also longer by four bars. Most notably, what for Haydn was a poignant one-measure-long dominant seventh chord (18) is for Beethoven the most overtly theatrical gesture of his introduction: the massive tutti dominant seventh chords that elide with the *Allegro vivace* (36ff.).

The rhetorical stance of the two introductions also differs considerably. Beethoven's emphatic flat-six (G-flat, 17-18) occurs within a *pianissimo* context, and makes sense only in reference to the first six bars, in which G-flat resolves to F. In bar 17, this downward resolution is withheld as the strings refuse to relinquish G-flat, gently propelling the music into the Neapolitan. By contrast, Haydn's C-flat (9-10) emerges *fortissimo* as an upper neighbor, intruding with considerable force on E-flat Major. Likewise, Haydn's standing on the dominant of C Minor (14-17) is marked *forte* and carries through the fierce dotted rhythms from earlier in the introduction; the unprepared B-flat dominant seventh that follows provides a marked contrast, played by winds alone in high register and marked *piano*. In Beethoven's introduction, the

sense of contrast is equally striking, yet the dynamic levels are reversed: the standing on the dominant of D Minor (32-35) reaches a hushed pianissimo, and the surprise F dominant seventh bursts out at full volume and with the full orchestra (this is where we hear trumpets and drums for the first time). Hence, while Beethoven adapts the harmonic plan of Haydn's introduction, he employs a different expressive palette: rather than underscoring harmonic instability with sudden dynamic outbursts, he reserves the outbursts for the arrival of the dominant.

Moving beyond the introduction, Beethoven articulates his cyclic design in ways that recall Haydn's procedure in Symphony No. 99. In both symphonies, scale degree flat-six—and alter-ego, scale degree five of flat II—strongly inflect the mostly diatonic discourse, often appearing at major structural junctures. For example, in both first movements, flat-six inflects transitional passages that follow the double presentation of the main theme in the tonic. Both passages create the impression of a push and pull between the forward momentum of the sonata form and the destabilizing elements of the slow introduction. In the Haydn transition, the strings begin with a cascade downward from a high B-flat, *sforzando*; the winds respond promptly with a cascade from C-flat (flat-six), *sforzando* (the strings offering a militaristic accompaniment). As if to cancel out the errant C-flat, the strings start their next cascade on C-natural. However, the effect is short-lived, as the next two cascades invert the problem, ending on B-natural (C-flat's alter-ego). After several upward flourishes reaching to high B-flat, C, and D, both winds and

strings ruminates in unison on the interval of a semitone, with pointed *sforzandi* on G-flat, flat-six of the now-tonicized dominant. In the Beethoven transition, the sense of push and pull derives from the increasingly tense semitone banter between the first and second violins. What at first sounds like an operatic idiom—reminiscent of Mozart’s overture to *The Marriage of Figaro*—quickly becomes a reminder of the symphony’s introduction, as the second violins and violas color the first violins’ scalar ascent with diminished sonorities. At the moment of climax, the insistent semitone figure reaches a high G-flat (flat-six). Here, the reminder of the slow introduction becomes explicit, with the semitone figure G-flat—F expressively augmented over four bars.

There are also similar relationships between the slow introduction and development section in the first movements of these two symphonies. Haydn’s development section opens on a surprising G-Major chord (90-93), which functions as dominant of C Minor (V/vi). This relates to V/vi as the goal of the slow introduction, heard immediately before the unprepared B-flat dominant chord. Moreover, since the resolution of V/vi was preempted in the introduction, its return in the development seems inevitable. Haydn thus implies that the development section will answer some of the questions posed by the introduction—not least the whereabouts of the missing C-Minor resolution. Of course, the fifth bar of the introduction would be too soon. Rather, he surprises in another way by turning to C Major (VI natural) and to the “closing” theme.

Beethoven elides his exposition and development section as he had slow introduction and exposition. The enjambment leads him to treat the development section's first eighteen bars as a broad expansion of V, acting like a codetta to the exposition. Hence, the first real harmonic activity does not occur until bar 203. At this point, the final cadence of the expansion is subverted by a startling, hushed A Major (V/iii, in first inversion). This sonority, of course, recalls the unresolved V/iii from the slow introduction. Beethoven, like Haydn, frames the reappearance as an important event: where Haydn surrounds his G Major with fermatas, Beethoven prolongs his A Major for a remarkable fourteen bars. At the end of the prolongation, again like Haydn, Beethoven avoids moving to the expected minor tonic, turning instead to D Major (III#) in bar 217. In both works, the turn to the parallel major is crucial: it prevents the seemingly inevitable "working-out" from taking place, delaying it until later in the form and creating the impression that the entire development section is goal-oriented. This tonal and structural strategy informs both works in strikingly similar ways.

Reminiscence and Reversal. One of the more pronounced traits in Beethoven's music after 1800 is the tendency to invest a simple motive with large-scale significance. The four-note semitone motive that pervades the "*Appassionata*" Piano Sonata,



as Charles Rosen explains, “articulates every important climax and, with extraordinary brevity and concentration, the final resolution. It is a monad of the universe in which it exists, serving as a tiny mirror: its tension and resolution are those of the entire structure.”⁴⁰ Beethoven also exploits the expressive properties of the semitone in the Fourth Symphony. In this work, as in the “*Appassionata*,” the principal semitone motive is based on the descent from scale degree flat-six to five. In this sense, both works hearken back to Haydn’s Symphony No. 99, in which flat-six pervades the musical discourse. In the Fourth Symphony, however, Beethoven expands this motive (here G-flat—F) into a larger tonal strategy. Indeed, the two-note motive underlies tonal excursions in the first movement’s slow introduction and development section. It also resurfaces during some of the symphony’s crucial turning points, moments of fantasy, foreboding, pathos, and power. In the following section, I examine a number of these moments with a view toward understanding how Haydn’s notion of cyclic design informs the unique aesthetic stance of the Fourth Symphony.

The symphony’s opening unison octaves create an ominous premonition of what is to follow: A.B. Marx memorably called the sonority a “ghost-sound” (*ein Gespensterklang*).⁴¹ As this ghost sound lingers, Beethoven gently ushers in the symphony’s opening theme, which we soon deduce is in B-flat minor:

⁴⁰ Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms* (New York: Norton, 1988), 261.

⁴¹ “It is a ghost-sound, which stands immovably before you, as a ghost seems to look at you from dead eyes.” (Es ist ein Gespensterklang, der unbeweglich vor dir steht, wie ein Gespenst aus todtten Augen dich anzublickten scheint.) Marx, *Leben und Schaffen*, Vol. 2, 2.

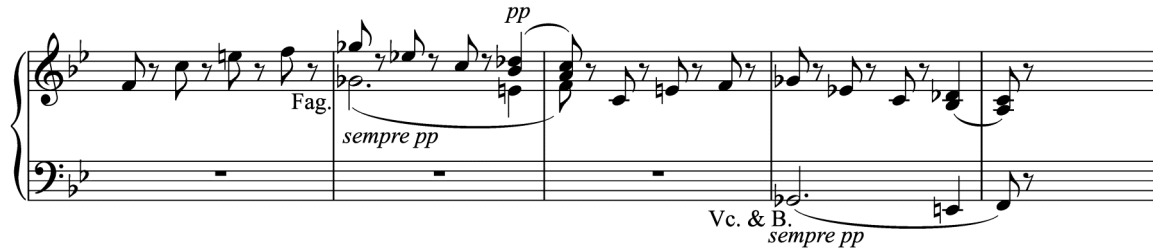


Example 2.4: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, I, mm. 1-6

Many commentators have noticed the similarity between this opening phrase and that of the Fifth Symphony, which Beethoven began sketching before he dedicated himself fully to the Fourth. They are indeed based on the same chain of interlocking thirds, accidentals notwithstanding.⁴² Rather than conceiving of this opening in terms of thirds, however, one might also view it as a scalar descent from G-flat to D-flat, embellished by lower thirds. The descent from G-flat to F in bars 5-6 thus echoes the descent in bars 2-3, a point Beethoven seems to emphasize with the hairpin crescendo on the G-flat in bar 5. Embellished by lower neighbor E-natural, the motive G-flat—F echoes through the next few bars as if through a dark vault:⁴³

⁴² It has been suggested that this pattern of thirds is a germinal motive underlying several of Beethoven's compositions from this period. See Akio Mayeda, "Zur Kernmotivik in den mittleren Synchronien Ludwig van Beethovens," in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Eine Festschrift für Ludwig Finscher*, ed. Annegrit Laubenthal (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), 432-445.

⁴³ Indeed, a striking parallel is found in the Prisoner's Chorus from *Leonore*, composed less than a year earlier. Surrounded by darkness, the prisoners liken their cell to a tomb: "Der Kerker eine Gruft." Beethoven sets the text to a chromatic descent through the pitches G-flat—F—E-natural, sung *piano* and in unison. This text is counterposed with the diatonic music for "O welche Lust, in freier Luft den Athem leicht zu heben!" in B-flat major.



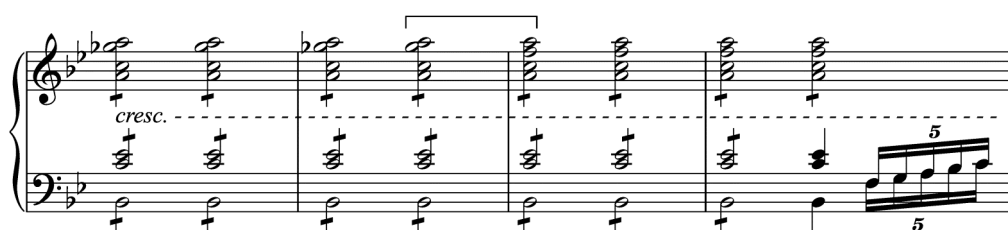
Example 2.5: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, I, mm. 6-10

After these echoes, the motive continues to sound during a brief elaboration of the dominant (11-12) that leads back into the symphony's first five bars. The introduction begins again, starting a new cycle. This time, however, the expressive resolution of G-flat to F is withheld. Instead, G-flat is respelled as F-sharp (more precisely, the flattened sixth degree of the tonic B-flat becomes the fifth degree of the Neapolitan). This move creates the tonal drama on which the first movement turns. The seven bars of echoes occur exactly as before, but on the dominant of C-flat Minor (spelled as B Minor) rather than of B-flat. At the end of this short passage, Beethoven avoids establishing C-flat Minor definitively with a deceptive cadence to G Major (bar 25).

The cadence to VI of C-flat Minor elides with the next phrase, in which an ascending chromatic passage seems to point briefly back toward the realm of B-flat (here as VI⁶ of D minor, 29-30). The tonic is averted, however, through Neapolitan motion (bars 30-31) to A Major (the figure B-flat—G-sharp—A being another transposition of the motive, G-flat—E-natural—F), functioning as the dominant of the mediant D Minor. A crescendo and a series of unaccompanied

A's then lead to the crashing F-Major dominant *Akkordschläge* (Dahlhaus's term).⁴⁴

As mentioned earlier, the motive G-flat—F first appears in the *Allegro vivace* at the apex of the crescendo starting in bar 65. The crescendo from pianissimo to fortissimo occurs over a tonic pedal, taking place over the course of sixteen bars.



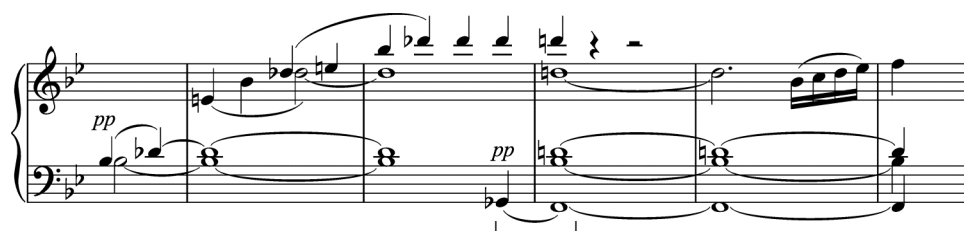
Example 2.6: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, I, mm. 77-80

Locally, the G-flat—F motive acts like an augmentation of the *Figaro*-like trills (66ff.); on another level, it provides the first hint that the tension of the slow introduction still remains to be worked out, a working-out that is delayed until the development section.

In the introduction, the dominant of B resolved into a deceptive cadence (G major). In the development, the same harmony (prolonged over 24 bars) resolves differently, unexpectedly changing function and making a distant relationship appear much closer. Here, it acts as a predominant—essentially an augmented 6th, although the E-natural disappears from the foreground after beat 4 of m. 303—resolving into the tonic 6/4. The motive G-flat—F underlies

⁴⁴ Dahlhaus, "IV. Symphonie B-Dur," 9.

this, the principal harmonic shift of the development section, and the moment at which the development's 'core' shades into the retransition:



Example 2.7: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, I, mm. 302-307

The resolution of the G-flat major triad into the tonic 6/4 is of additional interest from a voice-leading standpoint. The D-flat in the soprano, prolonged from bar 257 through 305, here resolves upward to D-natural, scale degree 3 of the tonic key. Because of the unique design of the retransition—it evades 2/V altogether—this 3 ends up attaching itself to the tonic, being harmonically supported *ex post facto* at the moment of recapitulation (when I 6/4 arpeggiates into a root-position I). As Tovey puts it, “Beethoven strikes his home tonic in a manner which is already dominant. He allows that impression to die away so soon, and spaces out his crescendo so widely, that there is a very effective surprise in finding oneself at home without having rung the doorbell.”⁴⁵

Although Beethoven avoids the root-position dominant in the retransition, he includes the same sequence of chords with the ‘correct’ resolution in the recapitulation. The development occurs in microcosm in the massive cadence preceding the closing group: an augmented 6th leads to a tonic 6/4, which resolves normally. Hence, what was a subtle foreshadowing in the exposition

(at the pitch level of the dominant) becomes an explicit reminiscence in the recapitulation. Unusually, the timpani here continue to sound the tonic note during the tonic 6/4 (not shown)—in this sense, it ‘clashes’ with the F in the bass: Beethoven here seems to remind us of the timpani’s similar role in the development section.



Example 2.8: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, I, mm. 447-451

The second-movement Adagio, in E-flat, presents further elaborations of the semitone motive G-flat—F. The motive first appears almost ephemerally, in a passage that carries through the fantastic prelude style of the first movement’s development section (compare bars 297ff.). Beethoven introduces a tension as the clarinet pushes through F to G-flat, over a sustained G-flat in the accompaniment, settling again on F as the harmony resolves. The presence of the B-flat pedal tone, and the inward resolution of the diminished sonority to the dominant also recall aspects of the introduction.

⁴⁵ Donald Francis Tovey, *Beethoven* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), 19.

Example 2.9: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, II, mm. 26-28

This intimation of the minor mode foreshadows a passage following soon afterward, in which the harmonic world of the slow introduction crashes down on the lyrical oasis:

Example 2.10: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, II, mm. 50-54

The passage might be considered in two different lights. First, the stepwise descent from E-flat to B-flat in the soprano is a minor-mode variation of the Adagio's opening *cantabile* theme. Second, the passage recalls the symphony's opening, being a variation of the descent from G-flat to D-flat (the melody is in the bass line with the lower thirds 'stacked' on top—note again the presence of a B-flat pedal, here in the soprano).

The descent through the E-flat natural-minor scale drives the music onto the dominant of G-flat. The strings turn idly on a figure marked *espressivo*. The suspension of harmonic rhythm, the meandering figuration, and the articulation of a dominant sonority with the added major ninth (V⁹/flat-III)

recall the long passage on the dominant of flat-II in the first-movement development section (also scored for strings alone, with the timpani interjecting). The poetry, however, lies again in a remarkable resolution, and indeed, in a reversal:

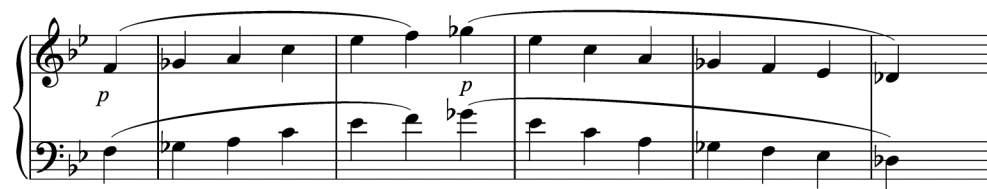


Example 2.11: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, II, mm. 58-60

Here, in the central episode of the Adagio, the motion D-natural—D-flat over F—G-flat in the bass reverses the crucial moment in the development section of the first movement (D-flat-D-natural over G-flat-F in the bass): F ascends to G-flat, ushering in the timpani motive that points back to the main theme. The enharmonic notation, again, is significant, D-natural functioning here as E-double-flat.⁴⁶

The motive from the symphony’s slow introduction also plays an important role in the third movement. As I will detail in Chapter 3, this movement has a dialogic structure, insofar as the tutti statements of the main theme in the tonic are contrasted with minor-inflected ideas in the winds. I shall not dwell on this movement here, except to list three passages of significance: The consequent phrase of the principal theme:

⁴⁶ Beethoven also enharmonically reinterprets a diminished seventh chord at a major structural juncture in the first movement development section of the “Appassionata” (mm. 123ff.). See Eric Wen, “E-quadruple Flat: Tovey’s Whimsy,” *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie*, 8/1 (2011).



Example 2.12: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, III, mm. 5-9

The transition preceding the closing theme, where G-flat receives special emphasis:⁴⁷



Example 2.13: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, III, mm. 67-74

And the brief hesitations in the trio, which include lower neighbor E-natural:



Example 2.14: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, III, mm. 134-139

The G-flat—F motive figures even more prominently in the finale, where it is played out vertically in the development section, in a passage strongly reminiscent of bars 11-12 of the slow introduction. Again harmonic activity seems to come to a standstill during a development section, here remaining static for 21 bars (161-181). The affective world of the symphony's slow

introduction emerges with greater force than ever, reaching perhaps the most intense climax of the symphony. The orchestration increasing gradually, an ostinato sounds with an almost mechanical insistence. The addition of syncopations in the bass increases the tension, as does the vertical sounding of F and G-flat:



Example 2.15: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, IV, mm. 165-172

This tension is echoed in the coda (290ff.):



Example 2.16: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, IV, 290-293

And as the symphony's end approaches, G-flat descends to F one last time in dramatic fashion (316-318):



Example 2.17: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, III, mm. 312-318

⁴⁷ Beethoven added this passage after completing the autograph—see Appendix II.

The G-flat—F motive is one of several linking devices—harmonic, rhythmic, motivic, and orchestral—that Beethoven uses to create a sense of coherence throughout the work. In his 1958 study of the Fourth Symphony, Ludwig Misch called attention to a number of these, including the use of diminished seventh, minor ninth, and major ninth sonorities; arpeggiated melodies and pedal points; syncopations and other rhythmic figures; and the division of melodies among several instruments.⁴⁸ To this list may be added Beethoven’s concerto-like deployment of solo instruments—including timpani, bassoon, oboe, and clarinet—which lends a special character to all four movements. Like Haydn, Beethoven explored cyclic integration across a variety of musical parameters. The unique aesthetic stance of the Fourth reflects a consistency of approach throughout multiple levels of the musical experience.

Cyclicality, Temporality, and Subjectivity. In the last part of this chapter, I will explore in detail one further unifying element, in my view the symphony’s most distinctive: harmonic rhythm. Indeed, Beethoven’s treatment of this parameter not only stands out as particularly unusual, it also reveals a different point of intersection between Haydn’s notion of cyclic design and Beethoven’s increasingly dramatic conception of musical form.

Jan LaRue has noted that the Third and Fourth Symphonies seem to treat harmonic rhythm in reverse fashion: “where the *Eroica* punctuated its basic irregularity with contrasting regular sections, the Fourth, which is

⁴⁸ See Ludwig Misch, *Faktoren der Einheit*, pp. 54-72.

extremely regular in its harmonic rhythm, employs *irregularity* as the source of its punctuation.”⁴⁹ LaRue illustrates the Fourth’s irregular harmonic rhythm by pointing toward several passages in the exposition of the first movement that make use of persistent syncopations. These syncopations disrupt the prevailing harmonic rhythm by accelerating the rate of harmonic change and shifting these changes into the space between downbeats, creating patches of harmonic-rhythmic instability (see, for example, bars 95-102).

Although LaRue limits his inquiry to aspects of the exposition, his observation holds true for the entire movement; in fact, perhaps its most interesting implications have to do with the development section. In the development, Beethoven employs irregularity to punctuate in the opposite direction, creating instability through a marked deceleration of harmonic rhythm. Figure 2.1 below (adapted from LaRue) represents harmonic rhythm in the development section: a slur indicates no change in root or harmony; a dotted slur indicates a root arpeggiation with the harmony unchanged; and a bracket indicates different harmonies with a common root.

⁴⁹ Jan LaRue, “Harmonic Rhythm in the Beethoven Symphonies,” in *The Journal of Musicology*, 18/2 (Spring 2001), pp. 221-248, 243.

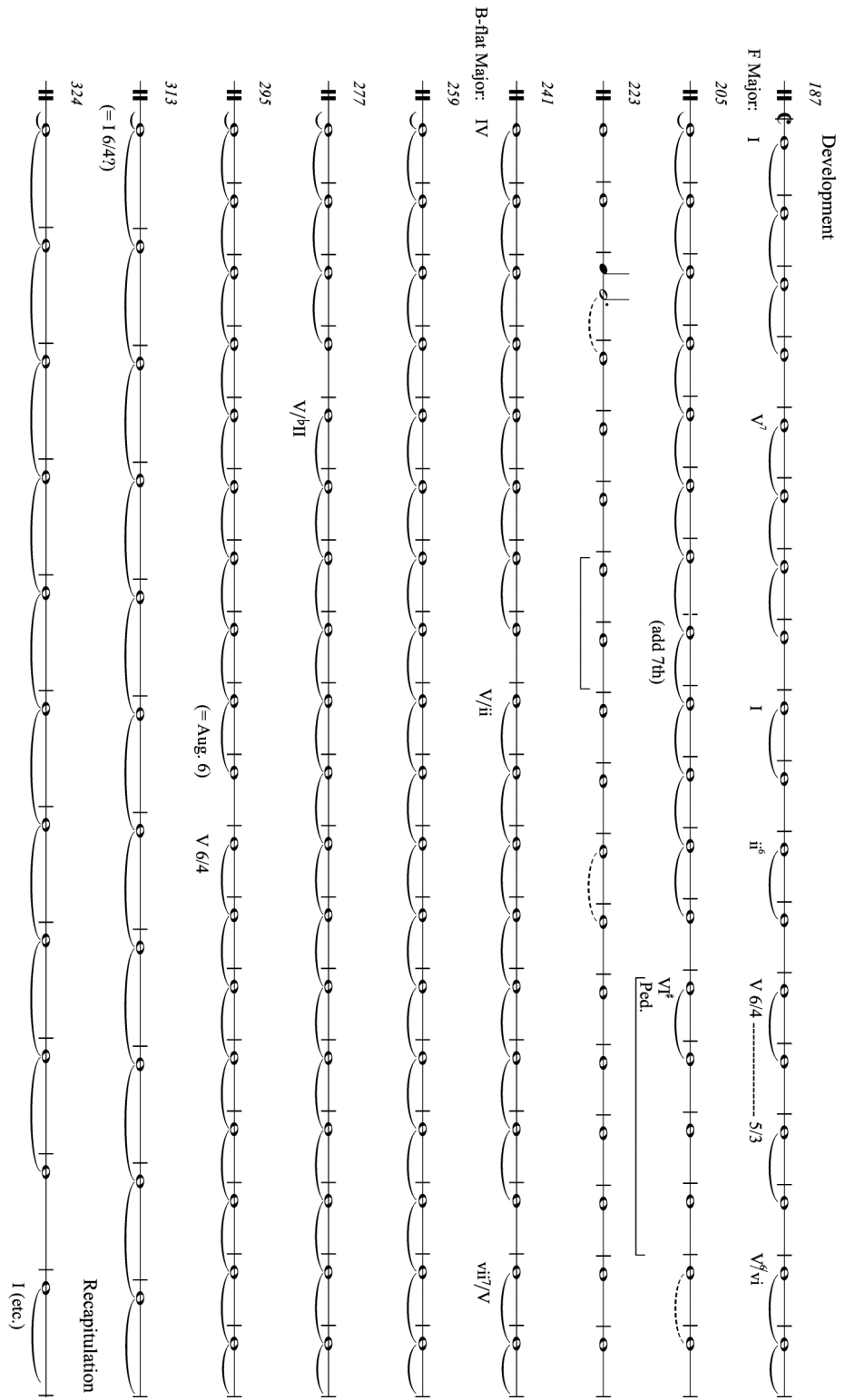


Figure 2.1: Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, I, mm. 187-334: harmonic rhythm

As the diagram shows, the development alternates between ‘dynamic’ and ‘static’ stretches of harmonic activity, with bars 241-256 acting as a kind of transition. The opening sixteen bars, essentially dynamic, consist of a codetta-like progression in which harmonic rhythm speeds up slightly toward the cadence in bar 203. At the moment of cadential arrival, however, the unexpected substitution of A Major for F Major triggers a lapse in harmonic activity—for a remarkable fourteen bars, the symphony stands frozen on A Major. When D major finally arrives in bar 271, harmonic motion resumes, accelerating to the rate of one harmony per bar.⁵⁰ With this acceleration comes a more traditional sequence, driven forward by slight harmonic anticipations. After E-flat is confirmed as temporary tonic, another sequence follows (241ff.), this time made up of eight-bar segments. Here, harmonic rhythm decelerates to the rate of one harmony per eight bars, yet the rate of change remains regular. The sequence progresses through G Major to an unstable diminished seventh, upon which harmonic activity again ceases, here for 24 bars. Indeed, starting in bar 257, the remainder of the development—76 bars in total—is occupied by just three harmonies, each prolonged for a monolithic stretch: 24 bars of diminished seventh (257-280), 24 bars of G-flat major seventh (spelled as F-sharp major seventh) (281-304), and 28 bars of B-flat in second inversion (305-332); see Figure 2.2.

⁵⁰ There are occasional root arpeggiations and a single, almost imperceptible change occurring within a bar (225).

B-flat (I): vii[°]₅/V V⁷/bII Ger⁶ V⁶⁻₄ I⁶₄ arp. I

Figure 2.2: Prolonged harmonies in development, showing functional reinterpretations

The harmonic profile of the development is strange largely in that it contradicts our notion of what typically happens in development sections. The development section usually implies faster harmonic rhythm than that of the more stable outer sections of a sonata form. It also implies a fluidity of harmonic change, a restlessness that prevents a given harmony from becoming too prominent. In a typical development section, “The modulations must not only be rapid,” as Charles Rosen explains, “but must also never give the impression of a second tonality as strong as the dominant.”⁵¹ This does not seem to hold for the first movement of the Fourth. Although the dynamic middle part cycles through keys in the manner one would expect of a development section, the static passages surrounding it overemphasize ‘remote’ harmonies, harmonies outside the tonic-dominant polarity. The dominant of C-flat major (=B major), in particular, takes up so much space that it seems to rival the true dominant—itsself absent from the retransition—in tonal strength.

⁵¹ Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms*, 272. Rosen describes several instances of “static moments that generate tension” in development sections, including the ten-bar drone bass and continuous *forte* preceding the recapitulation of Haydn’s *Emperor* Quartet in C Major, op. 76,

Adorno noted that the unusual development section of the Fourth's opening movement seems to create the impression of "suspended time," an aspect of Beethoven's art that he felt merited special attention. Beethoven's moments of suspended time, he suggested, are "most emphatically distinct from the 'floating' passages to be found in Romanticism," and seem to be generated "entirely spontaneously."⁵² For Adorno, the significance of these moments lay not merely in the fact that they seem to threaten the unfolding of musical time, but rather in that they engender a metaphysical conflict, a dialectical tension between subjective and objective modes of existence. What is "subjectively produced" seems, "just as it is about to be dynamically unfolded, to cut itself off from the source of its production. The subjective force, within its 'productive process', that is, technically speaking, in the course of its modulation, becomes alien to itself, confronting itself as a non-human objectivity." In these moments of alienation, "symphonic time seems to stand still: as they swing back and forth, the passages become the pendulum of time itself."⁵³

In essence, Adorno interprets these moments as exemplary of the Hegelian dialectic, a process of self-awareness through an encounter with something outside of the self. Indeed, amending his remarks many years later, he specifically compared this development section to Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*, writing, "It is as if the objective unfolding of the music were steered by

no. 3.

⁵² Theodor W. Adorno, *Beethoven: The Philosophy of Music*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 99.

the subject, as if the subject were balancing the music.”⁵⁴ According to Hegel, the subject is never effaced during the dialectical process; rather, it comes into being precisely through this process of self-abnegation and reinstatement. The subject “is only truly realized in the process of positing itself, or in mediating with its own self its transitions from one state or position to the opposite.” It is, in its essence, “pure and simple negativity.”⁵⁵ See Figure 2.3.

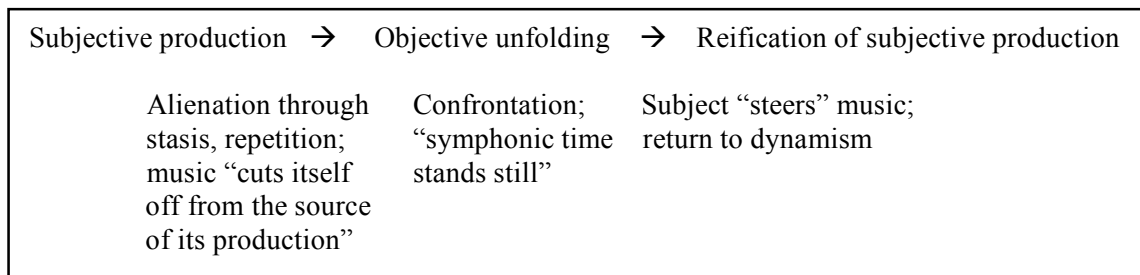


Figure 2.3: Adorno’s model of dialectical process in the development section

As a possible illustration of this process, consider the first moment of “suspended time” in the development section, the fourteen-bar prolongation of A Major. The sudden, marked deceleration in harmonic rhythm and the constant tick-tock motif in the cellos seem to evoke, even enact, the sense of time’s standing still. The *tirade* figure in the first violins, too, seems stuck in a loop, as if trying to restart the symphony’s engine. The addition of the dominant seventh to the triad in bar 213 only intensifies the music’s curious

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 107. This fragment [No. 239] dates from 1953; the other [No. 228] from 1938. See the “Comparative Table of Fragments” in Adorno, *Beethoven: The Philosophy of Music*, 253ff.

⁵⁵ G.W.F. Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*, trans. J.B. Baillie (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 2003 [1910]), 10.

state of paralysis. But time cannot remain suspended forever—the flute intervenes at last, steering the music toward D Major. The unity of the musical form restates itself as a duality, only to emerge once again as a unity.

Adorno's interpretation, insofar as it can be reconstructed from his fragments, reflects his larger conception of Beethoven's music as one which "moves by means of antitheses; that is to say, its moments, taken individually, seem to contradict each other."⁵⁶ While such an interpretation effectively describes the processual character of the music, the sense of form unfolding through time, it also privileges a linear conception of musical form that does not consider the significance of cyclic relations. When viewed in the context of the entire movement, the antitheses of the development section take on another level of meaning. Since, in the slow introduction, both C-flat minor and D minor are evoked through their dominants without being confirmed, the tension projected by these dominants may be said to prolong itself throughout the Allegro vivace. In this sense, the long stretches of A major and G-flat major (=F-sharp Major) in the development reiterate these unconfirmed dominants, restaging a problem articulated in the introduction.⁵⁷ As noted above, A Major finds its eventual resolution with the arrival of D Major in bar 217; G-flat major, by contrast, seems rather to dissolve into the tonic triad, unexpectedly changing function from dominant seventh to augmented sixth in bar 305.

⁵⁶ Adorno, *Beethoven: The Philosophy of Music*, 13.

⁵⁷ The diminished sonority in the development also recalls the introduction, where the same harmony twice introduces the dominant (bars 7 and 9).

Hence, the antithetical moments in the development, which mark the linear unfolding of form, also imply a kind of history or memory. The concept of cyclic integration is fundamental to this notion, since it underlies this type of ‘recursive’ formal logic (a comparable example in Haydn is the return of the “drumroll” motive in the coda of Symphony No. 103). These moments are “out of time,” not only because they interrupt the flow of harmonic rhythm, but also because they look backwards in time, to the slow introduction. By pointing back to the tonal and expressive world of the opening Adagio, these static passages establish a tension between the symphony’s sounding present—its goal-oriented, progressive, linear temporality—and its sounded past—the wandering, fantasizing, cyclic temporality of the Adagio.

Similar instances of harmonic stasis occur in the second and fourth movements, in both cases—as in the first movement retransition—occurring in central episodes involving the G-flat—F motive (II, mm. 54-64; IV, mm. 161-181). In these passages, the symphony’s slow introduction is recalled on multiple simultaneous levels, not only through motivic and harmonic reminiscence, but also through a return to the static harmonic rhythm first encountered in the introduction.

While the treatment of harmonic stasis as a cyclic element illustrates one way in which Beethoven rethinks tradition in the Fourth Symphony, it also demonstrates an important aesthetic innovation. Indeed, these “suspended” passages are novel not only in the way they refer to earlier events, but also in the way they contradict typical formal functions. As William Caplin indicates,

the development's 'core' is generally the most unstable part of a sonata movement:

The core of the development typically projects an emotional quality of instability, restlessness, and dramatic conflict. The dynamic level is usually forte, and the general character is often one of *Sturm und Drang*. The core normally brings a marked increase in rhythmic activity projected by conventionalized accompanimental patterns. Polyphonic devices—imitation, canon, fugal entries—can contribute further to the complexity of the musical texture. In short, the core is that part of the development in which the traditional aesthetic sense of a “working out” of the material is most prominently expressed.⁵⁸

In the first movement, the core section almost systematically disregards these generalizations: harmonic rhythm decelerates, the texture becomes simpler, and the overall dynamic decreases, all the way to a rare pianississimo (m. 281). A similar observation may be made regarding the central episode of the second movement and the finale's development section; in both cases, Beethoven creates a sense of drama by contradicting sonata norms—rather than “working out” his material through rhythmic instability, modulations, and polyphonic textures, he does so through a marked suspension of these elements.

The use of harmonic stasis as an agent of thematic work seems to set this symphony apart, not least from Beethoven's so-called “heroic” symphonies, in which the drama may be said to arise out of an amplification of techniques associated with *Sturm und Drang*. And yet, following Adorno, one might suggest that the Fourth Symphony's passages of suspended time—paradoxically—are those most strongly marked as “heroic”: they exemplify what has come to be

⁵⁸ William Caplin, *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of*

understood as this style's fundamental aesthetic concern—the emergence through dialectic of a sense of subjectivity, of “presence.”⁵⁹ This idea seems illuminating, insofar as it seems to identify a crucial link between the Fourth Symphony and, say, the Third and Fifth. To whatever extent these three symphonies occupy diverse points on a stylistic axis, their underlying sense of dramatic expression, in this view, is alike. Subjectivity in Beethoven's music takes on multiple forms, not necessarily correlating with the musical markers of the “heroic style.”

And yet, in the spirit of the dialectic, it seems important to acknowledge that this Adornian reading relies on a formalist conception of music which, though rooted in forms of listening that arose during Beethoven's lifetime, is largely a product of later nineteenth- and twentieth-century analytical approaches.⁶⁰ Indeed, the notion of subjectivity in music—so fundamental to the idea (or ideal) of “Beethoven hero”—is no less fraught than the modernist conception of the author, the death of which was pronounced long ago.⁶¹ To

Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 142.

⁵⁹ In the most influential recent book on the heroic style, *Beethoven Hero*, Scott Burnham characterizes Beethoven's music as the ideal expression of Hegel's philosophy: “The feeling provoked by this music is one of transcendent individuality, of merger with a higher world order in the name of Self. This effect is identical to that enunciated in the Idealist trajectory of Hegel's phenomenology, with one overwhelmingly important exception: Beethoven's music is heard and experienced; it is a concretion with a degree of compression and concentration that Hegel's philosophy could never hope to reach.” (Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, 121). The idea of the dialectic is fundamental to Burnham's conception of the heroic style, since it is the dialectic which is seen to generate the music's “ironic self-consciousness,” and by extension, its powerful impression of “presence.” It is precisely through dialectic, Burnham argues, that Beethoven's music captures the heroic spirit of the *Goethezeit*.

⁶⁰ See Janet Schmalfeldt, “Form as the Process of Becoming: The Beethoven–Hegelian Tradition and the ‘Tempest’ Sonata,” *Beethoven Forum* 4 (1995), pp. 37–71.

⁶¹ See Roland Barthes, “The Death of the Author,” in *Image–Music–Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), pp. 142–148, and Michel Foucault, “What is an Author?,” in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Random House, 1984), pp. 101–120.

ask whether and in what ways the Fourth projects a sense of subjectivity, then, is perhaps to ask the wrong questions. Moreover, any examination of a musical work through the singular lens of its score offers to reveal only one dimension of a multidimensional artwork. In the following chapter, I step outside the frame of the score and consider the Fourth Symphony as both a sonorous and cultural object, examining it within the context of diverse institutional, social, and political relationships.

CHAPTER III

PERFORMING THE FOURTH

The Fourth Symphony in the Digital Age. Led by Sir Simon Rattle, the Berlin Philharmonic opened its 2010–2011 season with a genuinely twenty-first-century performance of Beethoven’s Fourth Symphony. Broadcast live in thirty-three cinemas and three open-air spaces in Germany, as well as in thirty-one movie theaters across eleven further European countries, the concert—which also included Mahler’s First Symphony—was promoted by the orchestra’s management as a conscious attempt to win over young audiences. The digital age has seen a number of such attempts: in this country, perhaps the most notable is “Live at the Met,” a series of New York Metropolitan Opera performances broadcast in high-definition to movie theaters worldwide. The ability to experience classical music in the movie theater is part of a much larger global trend to digitize and repackage the musical experience, whether through music files downloaded from retailers like iTunes or through instantly streamed music and video on websites like YouTube. While the extent and complexity of this digitization leaves no doubt about its significance for those already interested in classical music, whether it will succeed in drawing in new and younger listeners is less clear. As a critic for the Berlin daily *Der Tagesspiegel* wondered: “Will they really be fooled into thinking the concert hall is the movies?”¹

¹ Ulrich Amling, “Offener Himmel, weites Meer Saisonbeginn bei den Berliner Philharmonikern,” *Der Tagesspiegel* (August 28, 2010).

For audiences experiencing a concert in their local cinema, of course, the question becomes reversed: will they really be fooled into thinking the movie theater is the concert hall? Rattle's Fourth Symphony translates relatively well to the screen, to be sure, but it bears all the marks of a recent and well-established tradition of concert broadcasting, a tradition inspired largely by sportscasting: the pans for tutti passages, the zooming in on individual soloists, the extreme close-ups on the conductor. The physical audience, meanwhile, occupies secondary status, appearing most often in the margin of the shot—the dialogue rather takes place between conductor and orchestra, and between orchestra and digital viewer. The experience is at once personal and distancing: a close-up on the oboe forces us to peer into the open shirt of a bassoonist, yet the medium of the screen robs us of any real—or at least any corporeal—human interaction. An abstract listening and viewing experience is substituted for the physical and social experience of music-making. The experience is intense but cerebral, a multimedia revival, perhaps, of the nineteenth-century ideal of aesthetic autonomy.

The telecast raises questions about the ways in which our experience of music depends on medium. "The medium is the message," quipped Marshall McLuhan. While eighteenth- and nineteenth-century composers and philosophers could hardly have predicted the degree to which our modern media profoundly influence, even transform, our perception of the musical work, concerns about media—that is, about the material aspect of artistic production—also formed an integral part of the cultural experience of music in

the early nineteenth century.² This was certainly the case for symphonies, the production of which varied considerably according to economic and social circumstances. A particular symphony could be performed in an intimate room for a private audience of aristocrats on one day, in a public theater for a mixture of middle- and upper-class concertgoers on the next. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, symphonies were played by orchestras of all sizes, often using what seemed to listeners unbalanced or even unacceptable forces. A reviewer in Milan, for instance, noted that the orchestra for a performance of the “Pastoral” Symphony was missing five instruments; no wonder all were agreed that there was “great genius here, but little song” (*Si vede il gran genio, ma c'è poco canto*).³ Medium facilitated aesthetic experience while also helping to shape it.

Recent inquiries into the nature of the musical work have led to studies of the relations among composers, performers, and audiences that shed light on the function of medium in the performance and reception of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century music. Each of these studies challenges the longstanding notion that instrumental music can only be understood in

² As Emily Dolan has recently observed, “Aesthetics as it was conceived by its earliest theorizers was not the study of beauty, and certainly not the study of art or of ideal forms, but—in accordance with the word's etymology—was the study of sensation: for a thinker such as Baumgarten (usually credited with writing the first modern ‘aesthetics’ in 1750) it was an inquiry into the process by which our sensations of the outside world were translated into higher orders of cognition. That is to say that the aesthetic was understood as the study of the mediation between inner and outer worlds, between sensation and cognition, and as an enquiry into the senses and those things that served as extensions of the senses. It therefore dealt in equal measure with immediate sensation and abstract reason. This important sense of the aesthetic was increasingly obscured by the transcendent speculations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.” “Editorial,” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 8/2 (2011), pp. 175–177, 176–77.

abstract terms; each also reinforces the “relational” nature of musical performance to which Christopher Small has recently called attention, locating musical meaning not just in the realm of sonorous relationships, but in the broader realm of the social, political, and institutional relationships that the act of performance both creates and reflects.⁴

While studies of this kind have been especially vital to our understanding of Haydn’s instrumental music,⁵ Beethoven’s presents unique challenges that have historically problematized such approaches. His instrumental music has long been associated with the notion of the musical work as an authoritative, quasi-mystical text; as Lydia Goehr has argued in *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, his music helped encourage the formation of the modern work-concept in the early 1800s.⁶ It was Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony that inspired E.T.A. Hoffmann to describe instrumental music as the “most Romantic of the arts,” one which “scorns all assistance from and combination with other arts.”⁷

³ Cited in Senner, *Critical Reception*, Vol. 2, 58.

⁴ See Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 1-18 and 130ff. For a treatment of these issues with respect to German musical culture around 1800, see David Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 125-160.

⁵ On “relational” aspects in Haydn’s instrumental music, see David Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment: The Late Symphonies and their Audience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon’s Roar: Music, the Visual Arts, and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn, c. 1750 to c. 1810* (Ashgate Press, 2001); Elaine Sisman, “Haydn’s Career and the Idea of the Multiple Audience,” in Caryl Clark, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 3-16; Mary Hunter, “Haydn’s London Piano Trios and his Salomon String Quartets: Private vs. Public?,” in Elaine Sisman, ed., *Haydn and his World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 103-130; Melanie Lowe, *Pleasure and Meaning in the Classical Symphony* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).

⁶ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), especially pp. 205-242. See also Jim Samson, “The Musical Work and Nineteenth-Century History,” in Jim Samson, ed., *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 3-28.

⁷ E.T.A. Hoffmann, “Review of the Fifth Symphony,” trans. F. John Adams, Jr., in Elliot Forbes,

In emphasizing the abstract, absolute nature of instrumental music, Hoffmann claimed for it a higher status than it had yet known; at the same time, he inspired a tendency to elevate the subjective experience of the musical work above all else. In such criticism, this elevation came at the expense of music's materiality: as Goehr observes, "All references to occasion, activity, function, or effect were subordinated to references to the product—the musical work itself."⁸ By emphasizing the sublime authority of the work, nineteenth-century critics suppressed or disavowed music's means of production, seen as external to the work's identity; and this most of all with respect to Beethoven.

Beethoven's symphonies pose a specific problem for studies that aim to view his music in relation to context. Vienna had no regular public concert series in the early 1800s, nor did it have a standing concert orchestra (it did have theater orchestras, however); symphony performances took place in private homes, churches, theaters, and whatever other venues the composer could obtain. The unpredictable nature of concert life thus makes it difficult to generalize about the way Beethoven's symphonies were performed. In addition, they stand in complex relationship to the question of audience. While Haydn's "London" symphonies premiered before a broad and substantially unchanging public, Beethoven's symphonies premiered in a variety of private and public circumstances. The First, Second, Fifth, Sixth, and Ninth Symphonies premiered in theaters, the Seventh and Eighth in other large public venues;

ed., *Beethoven: Symphony No. 5 in C Minor* (New York: Norton, 1971), 151.

⁸ Goehr, *Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, 152.

however, both the Third and Fourth premiered in elite company at the palace of Prince Lobkowitz, one of Beethoven's most important benefactors. Destined for public consumption but supported by—and typically dedicated to—members of the nobility, Beethoven's symphonies had to appeal to multiple audiences, whose tastes and expectations were as diverse as their social makeup.

This chapter seeks to shed new light on Beethoven's Fourth Symphony by exploring its relationship to the social and musical institutions of early nineteenth-century Vienna. Three contemporary performances form the basis of this study: first, the symphony's private Viennese premiere at the palace of Prince Lobkowitz (March 1807); second, a public performance in the University Hall during the *Liebhaber-Concert* series (December 1807); and third, a colossal performance in the *Grosser Redoutensaal* by the conservatory orchestra (April 1825). Diverse in orchestral makeup, venue, and audience, these three performances illustrate how economic, social, and political forces helped shape the symphony's early meanings.

Early Performances, 1807–1830. Concert life in Beethoven's Vienna (especially earlier in his career) is not particularly well documented. In a culture in which private performances in homes and palaces constituted a major part of musical life, only a fraction of performances were documented at all; of these, many have left records that are incomplete or merely suggestive. Public concerts, such as those organized by institutions like the Tonkünstler Societät and the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, were more extensively documented, but few concert programs have survived and in many cases the

records remain partial.⁹ As such, reconstructing the performance history of an individual musical work can be a complicated task; any such reconstruction is provisional at best, subject to emendation through the reevaluation of extant sources and the discovery of new ones.

Table 3.1 lists twenty-one known performances of the Fourth Symphony between 1807 and 1830.¹⁰ Of these, twenty occurred in German-speaking lands—including thirteen in Vienna—and one took place in Milan. Archival work would doubtless yield further results; I have here aimed only to synthesize data that have been scattered in different locations, for the purpose of providing an overview of the symphony’s early performance history. Insofar as the Viennese performances are concerned, the data reflect a general trend with respect to symphony production in the city, moving from the genre’s relative significance in the early 1800s, through a decline in the 1810s, to its resurgence in the 1820s, brought about by the founding of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* and the creation of the *Concerts Spirituels*. Thus, although the Fourth Symphony appears to have received fewer performances writ large than

⁹ In her 1989 study of concert life in Vienna, Mary Sue Morrow indicates that no more than 150 actual concert programs survive for the period before 1810; much of her evidence for concerts during this period hence comes from diaries, memoirs, reviews, and archival material. *Concert Life in Haydn’s Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical Institution* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1989), xix-xxii. Additional concerts (as well as some corrections) are listed in Dexter Edge’s review article in *The Haydn Yearbook* 17 (January 1992), 108-167. According to Edge, “Relatively complete programmes are preserved for 229 of [the 419 public concerts between 1770 and 1779 in Morrow], or around 55%. Of those for which complete programmes are known, fully 103 are *Tonkünstler-Societät* concerts. After 1800, the proportion of concerts whose programmes are preserved increases somewhat, although not as much as Morrow suggests. Of 349 public concerts between 1800 and 1810, relatively complete programmes are preserved for 201, or 58%. Of these, 44 are *Tonkünstler-Societät* concerts, and 80 others are similar oratorio performances or special benefit concerts for charity.” (127)

¹⁰ The most up-to-date list of Viennese performances of Beethoven’s orchestral works is in Stefan Weinzierl, *Beethovens Konzerträume* (pp. 220-245), from which Table 3.1 draws.

some of Beethoven's others, its programming is consistent with changing attitudes toward the symphonic genre.

Table 3.1: Performances of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony, 1807–1830
(Vienna unless otherwise noted)

Date/Venue	Series	Source
a. 27 Feb 1807 Lobkowitz Palace	L. van Beethoven (2 concerts)	Weinzierl:224, Morrow:405, Forbes I:416, AmZ 18.3.07:400
15 Nov 1807 Burgtheater	Benefit	Weinzierl:225, Morrow:345, Forbes I:428, AmZ 16.12.07:184, ThZ 1807
27 Dec 1807 University Hall	Amateur Concerts	Weinzierl:225, Morrow:347, Biba:85, AmZ 27.1.08: 286
13 Apr 1808 Burgtheater	Benefit (Charity Institute) – Mvt. I only	Weinzierl:226, Morrow:349, Forbes I:431, AmZ 18.5.08:540, BW Nr.326, II:14
25 Mar 1810 Burgtheater	Benefit (Theatrical Poor Fund)	Weinzierl:227, Morrow:359, Forbes I:485, AmZ 25.4.10:477, ThZ 1810
23 Jan 1811 Leipzig Gewandhaus	Benefit	Senner II:55, AmZ 23.1.11:62
6 Jan 1813 Grosser Redoutensaal	P. Rode – Mvt. I only	Weinzierl:228, Senner II:56- 7, AmZ 17.2.13:117, WamZ 16.1.13:48
b. 11 Aug 1813 Milan	Moller's Academy	Senner II:58, AmZ 11.8.13:532
15 Nov 1815 Kärntnertor	Benefit (Charity Institute) – Mvt. I, II, IV only	Weinzierl:230, AmZ 20.12.15:854
b. 30 Oct 1816 Kassel		Senner II:59-60, AmZ 30.10.16:758-59
25 Apr 1819 Kleiner Redoutensaal	Anna K. Wranitzky – Mvt. I only	Weinzierl:234, AmZK 28.4.19:273, AmZ 26.5.19:363
14 Apr 1820 Mehlgrube	Concerts Spirituels	Weinzierl:234, Hanslick:189

1 Nov 1820 Kleiner Redoutensaal	A.C. de Belleville – Mvt. I only	Weinzierl:235, AMZ 3.1.21:9
19 Apr 1821 Grosser Redoutensaal	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde	Weinzierl:236, Hanslick:158, Perger:287, WZKLT 5.5.21:468
28 May 1822 Düsseldorf	Great Lower Rhine Music Festival	Senner II:60, NU 1.6.22
13 Jan 1823 Berlin		Senner II:60, BamZ 28.1.24:31
4 Apr 1825 Grosser Redoutensaal	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde	Weinzierl:241, Perger: 289, BamZ 18.5.25:161-3 & 25.5.25:169, AmZ 25.5.25:345,GdM/Zet,WZKL TM 14.5.25:486
27 Apr 1826 Landständischer Saal	Concerts Sprituels	Weinzierl:242, AmZ 31.5.26:364, GdM/Zet
b. 17 Dec 1827 Bonn		Senner II:64-5, Bonn 17.12.26
b. 22 Jun 1828 Cologne	Great Lower Rhine Music Festival	Senner II:65-6, BKZ 22.6.28
b. 20 Mar 1830 Berlin	Möser's Music Performances	Senner II:66-7, BamZ 20.3.30:92

Sources

AmZ	<i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> (Leipzig)
AmZK	<i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat</i> (Vienna)
BamZ	<i>Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i>
Biba	Otto Biba: "Beethoven und die 'Liebhaber Concerte' in Wien im Winter 1807/08"
BKZ	<i>Beiblatt der Kölnischen Zeitung</i>
Bonn	<i>Bonner Wochenblatt</i>
BW	Ludwig van Beethoven: <i>Briefwechsel: Gesamtausgabe</i>
Forbes	Eliot Forbes: <i>Thayer's Life of Beethoven</i>
GdM/Zet	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, concert ticket (reported in Weinzierl)

Hanslick	Eduard Hanslick: <i>Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien</i>
Morrow	Mary Sue Morrow: <i>Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna</i>
NU	<i>Niederrheinisches Unterhaltungsblatt</i>
Perger	R.v. Perger & R. Hirschfeld: <i>Geschichte der k.k. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien</i>
Senner	Wayne Senner, et al: <i>The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions by His German Contemporaries.</i>
WAmZ	<i>Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i>
Weinzierl	Stefan Weinzierl: <i>Beethovens Konzerträume</i>
WZKLTM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode</i>

Before considering the Viennese premiere in detail, it makes sense to address the possibility of undocumented early performances in Oberglogau at the castle of Count Franz von Oppersdorff, the symphony's dedicatee.¹¹ As already mentioned, the patron of a new work was entitled to be the sole owner of the manuscript for a fixed period of time—usually six months—during which he had exclusive rights to the work's performance. In his letter of November 18, 1806, Beethoven told Härtel that he would be free to publish his new symphony in six months, suggesting that Oppersdorff had exclusive rights until around May 1807.¹² That the symphony was “being engraved” in August confirms that by this point the six-month term had already expired.

In this case, however, it appears that exclusive rights pertained only to publication, not performance. As we know from reports in contemporary journals, the Fourth was performed in Vienna in early March 1807, well before Oppersdorff's six-month lease ended. It seems unlikely that Beethoven would have had the work performed in public during this period without his patron's

¹¹ For a description of the castle, see Heinrich Schnurpfeil, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Stadt Ober-Glogau in Oberschlesien, mit der Genealogie der Grafen von Oppersdorff* (Oberglogau, 1860), pp. 152-161.

¹² Anderson, *Letters of Beethoven*, Vol. 1, No. 137.

consent. As a friend and relative of Prince Lichnowsky, Oppersdorff might have granted Beethoven permission to have the work played in Vienna. It is also possible that Oppersdorff, who traveled in and out of the city, attended the Viennese premiere, though this remains undocumented.¹³ In any case, if Oppersdorff had possession of a manuscript copy of the symphony from roughly November 1806 to May 1807, it is likely that—whatever his involvement in the Viennese premiere—he would have had the work copied and performed by his own orchestra during that period.

Few details survive about Oppersdorff's orchestra, at that time one of the few remaining of its kind. Because of the expenses associated with maintaining personnel and instruments, and because of the declining fortunes of the nobility across German-speaking lands, many noblemen had disbanded their court orchestras in favor of wind bands and other smaller configurations.¹⁴ However, a personal exchange between Hermann Deiters and one of Oppersdorff's legal advisers indicates that the Count maintained the chamber orchestra established by his ancestor in the seventeenth century, demanding that "all who were in his service could play a musical instrument."¹⁵ There were

¹³ In a letter from Beethoven to Oppersdorff (probably dated March 1808), it is evident that the Count spent time in Vienna: "I was really very much hurt that you, my *beloved friend*, should have run away without even letting me know anything about your departure." Anderson, Vol. 1, No. 166.

¹⁴ On the decline of private patronage of the orchestra, see Wyn Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven's Vienna*, 36-49.

¹⁵ See Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, Vol. 1, 402. The castle chamber orchestra was established by Johann Georg von Oppersdorf (1588-1651). The Jesuit priest Joachim Meltzer composed dramas and melodramas that were performed at the castle during the seventeenth century. Around 1800, Franz von Oppersdorff maintained the orchestra as well as a small theater, where operas were performed. As political tensions mounted, both the chamber orchestra and theater were dissolved between 1810 and 1812. Walter Kwasnik, "Oberloggau als

also professional musicians in the ranks. When Beethoven visited in the late summer of 1806, the choral director and hornist Hoschek led the orchestra; the organist Albrecht may have played keyboard. The flautist and composer Johann Sedlatzek (who left the castle around 1809 and eventually landed in Vienna) was also on the roster of professional musicians. Details about the size of the orchestra, the balance of forces, and the ratio of amateurs to professionals all remain uncertain, but the ensemble was sufficiently numerous and diverse to perform Beethoven's Second Symphony for the composer when he visited. Hence, this provincial orchestra may have given the first performances of the Fourth Symphony before the Viennese premiere.

Performing the Fourth in Beethoven's Vienna: Three Case Studies

Early March, 1807: Lobkowitz Palace "Eroicsaal." The evidence surrounding the Viennese premiere is more substantial. On February 27, 1807, a correspondent for the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* reported that Beethoven's first three symphonies, along with "a fourth, as yet completely unknown symphony" were to be performed for "a select circle that contributed a very considerable sum for the benefit of the composer."¹⁶ Further evidence shows that a pair of all-Beethoven concerts took place in early March "at the house of Prince L.," during which all four symphonies, the *Coriolan* overture, and some arias from *Fidelio* were performed.¹⁷ "Prince L." refers in this instance

Musikstadt," *Musik des Ostens*, 5 (1969), 97-112.

¹⁶ Cited in Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, Vol. 1, 415-416.

¹⁷ Ibid, 416. The other "Prince L.", Prince Lichnowsky, organized a separate performance of

to Prince Franz Joseph Maximilian Lobkowitz, a wealthy and influential aristocrat whose financial support for the arts—and for Beethoven’s music in particular—was without parallel.¹⁸ Indeed, in 1807, the year of the premiere, Lobkowitz’s music-related expenditures reached an unprecedented height of 961,786 florins, nearly 300,000 florins more than in the previous year and over 660,000 more than in 1798, from when the earliest records date.¹⁹ These expenditures—which included manuscript copying, the purchase of new scores, the hiring of performers, and the paying of musicians’ pensions—continued to climb in subsequent years, reaching 2.6 million florins in 1811.²⁰ Thereafter, the Prince went bankrupt and his estate was placed under state control in 1814. He died two years later, aged 44. Among the Prince’s many contributions to Beethoven’s career was the granting of permission to use his court orchestra for trial performances of the “Eroica” Symphony in 1804. Records from these rehearsals as well as other documents from the Lobkowitz archive—including original sets of manuscript parts for the Fourth

Beethoven’s *Coriolan* overture at around this time (Forbes, 416). The Lichnowsky concert was reported in *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* (Cotta), 8 April [Forbes incorrectly gives March] 1807, p. 336.

¹⁸ The following paragraphs are based on Tomislav Volek and Jaroslav Macek, “Beethoven’s Rehearsals at the Lobkowitz’s,” *Musical Times*, Vol. 127, No. 1716 (Feb. 1986), pp. 75-80, as well as three further articles on Prince Lobkowitz in Sieghard Brandenburg and Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff, eds., *Beethoven und Böhmen: Beiträge zu Biographie und Wirkungsgeschichte Beethovens* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1988): Jaroslav Macek, “Franz Joseph Maximilian Lobkowitz: Musikfreund und Kunstmäzen,” pp. 147-191; Tomislav Volek and Jaroslav Macek, “Beethoven und Fürst Lobkowitz,” pp. 203-217; and Jana Fojtíková and Tomislav Volek, “Die Beethoveniana der Lobkowitz-Musiksammlung und ihre Kopisten,” pp. 219-258.

¹⁹ Volek and Macek, “Beethoven und Fürst Lobkowitz,” 182.

²⁰ This increase is to some extent mitigated by the disastrous inflation of 1810-11. See Barry Cooper, *The Beethoven Compendium* (Ann Arbor: Borders, 1991), 68-70.

Symphony—allow us to approximate the size and balance of the orchestra, and to address several other questions about performance practice.

As soon as he came of age in 1797, the 25-year-old Lobkowitz formed a standing ensemble made up of musicians whom he had previously paid out of his fixed allowance. As Kapellmeister he hired the well-known Czech composer and violinist Anton Wranitzky, who had already served him unofficially for several years. By 1807, his ensemble consisted of eight instrumentalists (including Wranitzky) and three singers. Though this ensemble was well suited to perform chamber music, the performance of large-scale works obviously required additional forces. The additional musicians included professionals from the Kapelle of Aloys von Liechtenstein and the Harmonie of Baron Peter von Braun,²¹ as well as “*gebildete Dilettanten*” (learned amateurs).²² The records indicate that a total of twenty-seven musicians were employed for the rehearsals of the “Eroica” in 1804, including the members of the Lobkowitz Kapelle (then numbering just five). The orchestra for the rehearsals had the following configuration: 7 violins, 2 violas, 2 cellos, 2 basses, 2 each of woodwinds and brass (plus a third horn, needed for the “Eroica”), and 1 kettledrummer.

While the records specify that the early performances of the “Eroica” were *Proben* (rehearsals or read-throughs), the premiere of the Fourth Symphony was a bona fide performance—it was advertised and reviewed in contemporary

²¹ Macek, “Musikfreund und Kunstmäzen,” 160.

²² Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Oesterreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809* (Amsterdam: Kunst-

journals as such. The forces for a performance would presumably not have been smaller than those used for a rehearsal, and they may have been somewhat larger. The set of authentic manuscript parts in the Lobkowitz archive has the distribution 3 V1—3 V2—2 Vla—3 VcB, suggesting a minimum orchestra of thirty-four.²³ However, it appears that parts have been lost: the first page of V1 bears the inscription “4 Primi, 4 Secondi, 2 Viole, 4 Bassi,” indicating that there were at one time four desks of at least V1, V2, and VcB—or enough parts for an orchestra of forty. Further evidence seems to corroborate these numbers. In a bill prepared by Prince Lobkowitz's head copyist Wenzel Sukowaty and reflecting copying expenses from 1806 to 1807, there appears the entry “*Zu zwey Sinfonien von Bethoven das quattro doplirt und Violino zu einem Quartet....50 [Bögen].*” This suggests that for two symphonies performed during this period, a set of manuscript parts for the string group was duplicated (= 2 V1—2 V2—2 Vla—2 VcB) and the first violin part then made “into a quartet” (= 4 V1—2 V2—2 Vla—2 VcB), allowing for an orchestra of at least thirty-two. It cannot be established that Sukowaty's entry refers to the March 1807 performance. However, the suggested number is approximately consistent with the number of surviving manuscript parts for the symphony, and with other documented performances at the palace.²⁴ Given this evidence,

und Industrie-Comtoir, 1810), Vol. 1, 467.

²³ See Jonathan Del Mar, *Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphony No. 4 in B-flat Major: Critical Commentary* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), p. 16 and Bathia Churgin, “A New Edition of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony: Editorial Report,” *Israel Studies in Musicology*, Vol. 1 (1978), p. 15.

²⁴ See Macek, “Musikfreund und Kunstmäzen,” 160.

it seems reasonable to assume that the orchestra for the Fourth Symphony's premiere numbered between thirty-two and forty musicians (see Table 3.2).

Date: place	Strings	Winds	Brass and drums	Total
Early March, 1807: Lobkowitz Palace "Eroicasaal"	6–8 first violins 4–8 second violins 4 violas 3-4 cellos 3-4 double basses	1 flute 2 oboes 2 clarinets 2 bassoons	2 horns 2 trumpets 1 timpani	32–40
December 27, 1807: University Hall	13 first violins 12 second violins 7 violas 6 cellos 4 double basses	1 flute 2 oboes 2 clarinets 2 bassoons	2 horns 2 trumpets 1 timpani	54
April 4, 1825: Grosser Redoutensaal	20 first violins 20 second violins 12 violas 10 cellos 8 double basses	2 flutes 4 clarinets 4 oboes 4 bassoons	4 horns 4 trumpets 2 timpani	94

Table 3.2: Orchestras for three Viennese performances of Symphony No. 4

An orchestra of this size was suitable for a performance in the palace's regular concert hall, the so-called "Eroicasaal" (so dubbed nowadays because of the Third Symphony trial performances). Measuring only fifteen meters long by eight meters wide, the two-story hall—which now exists more or less as it did in Beethoven's day—currently seats up to a hundred people.²⁵ In Beethoven's day, a balustrade divided the hall into areas for the orchestra and the public.

²⁵ The "Eroicasaal," now a tourist attraction and function room, belongs to Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum. According to the museum website, the room can presently accommodate 50 to 100 people in "cinema-style seating" for a concert. <http://www.khm.at/khm/service/vermietung/uebersicht-der-museen/oesterreichisches-theatermuseum/eroica-saal> (accessed January 23, 2012).

Carpenters' and upholsterers' bills show that Lobkowitz took great care in the comfort of both guests and musicians. Nineteen benches, including twelve with backrests, all upholstered in red fabric, served as seating for guests; twenty-four chairs, covered in red canvas, provided seating for musicians. Adjustable cherrywood music stands and even a low podium were constructed for the orchestra. All of this suggests that during an orchestral concert the "Eroicasaal" had space for an audience not much larger than the size of the orchestra described above. In any case, the sound of a roughly thirty-six-person orchestra would have been impressive, even overwhelming, in the small space. The room's construction suggests a live, resonant acoustic, one favorable to dynamic extremes.²⁶

Two further matters, leadership and standards, merit discussion here. The matter of how orchestral performances were directed in this period is uncertain. Even within Vienna, practices were diverse, and it is not always clear whether orchestral music was led by a first violinist, a keyboardist, or a separate conductor. There is evidence to suggest, however, that Beethoven was in the habit of directing his own works at this time. Ferdinand Ries recounts that during one of the trial performances of the "Eroica" at the Lobkowitz palace, Beethoven was "directing" [*dirigieren*], and "so completely put out the orchestra" during a syncopated passage that it had to start again from the

²⁶ For an overview of the acoustical and architectural features of concert spaces in Beethoven's Vienna, see Stefan Weinzierl, *Beethovens Konzerträume: Raumakustik und symphonische Aufführungspraxis an der Schwelle zum modernen Konzertwesen* (Frankfurt/Main: E. Bochinsky, 2002). On the "Eroicasaal," see pp. 167-170.

beginning.²⁷ This has been taken to mean that Beethoven was conducting from the podium, but it also remains possible that he directed from the keyboard. The English physician Dr. Henry Reeve, who attended a performance of *Fidelio* on November 21, 1805, noted in his journal that Beethoven “presided at the pianoforte and directed the performance himself.”²⁸ Of course, the opera has no obbligato keyboard part; however, the use of the continuo in operas was doubtless still considered conventional. Perhaps Beethoven directed from the keyboard to help coordinate transitions and guide the singers. It is hard to know whether he would have directed from the keyboard or the podium during a symphony performance. In any case, there is ample evidence that Beethoven directed his symphonies—in whatever sense—in both public and private concerts; it seems likely that he would have done so during the premiere of the Fourth Symphony.²⁹

The Prince’s intense personal and financial investment in music assured an exceptionally high level of music making at the palace, to Beethoven’s great benefit. When Johann Friedrich Reichardt visited the palace in 1809, he

²⁷ Franz Gerhard Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Coblenz, 1838), 79.

²⁸ Henry Reeve, *Journal of a Residence at Vienna and Berlin in the Eventful Winter 1805-6* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1877), 65. Reeve’s language recalls descriptions of Haydn’s conducting in London. Charles Burney, for instance, recorded in 1791 that “on February 25, the first of Haydn’s incomparable symphonies, which was composed for the concerts of Salomon, was performed. Haydn himself presided at the pianoforte: and the sight of that renowned composer so electrified the audience, as to excite an attention and pleasure superior to any that had ever, to my knowledge, been caused by instrumental music in England.” Quoted in Ian Woodfield, *Salomon and the Burneys: Private Patronage and a Public Career* (Ashgate, 2003), 74. On the practice of keyboard conducting, see David Camesi, “Eighteenth-Century Conducting Practices,” in *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 18/4 (Winter, 1970), pp. 365-376, especially 370-76.

²⁹ See Clive Brown, “The Orchestra in Beethoven’s Vienna,” in *Early Music*, 16/1 (1988), pp. 4-20, especially 13-17.

described it as “a veritable seat and academy of music. . . .At any hour one can organize rehearsals as one pleases and in the best and most favorable of circumstances; often several rehearsals and practice sessions are held at the same time in different rooms.”³⁰ Indeed, the trial performances of the “Eroica” demonstrate that the Prince was willing to give Beethoven a free hand with his orchestra to attain a high standard of performance. Tomislav Volek and Jaroslav Macek go so far as to describe this as a “new form of patronage”:

In this case the patron did not confine himself merely to paying the artist for the work he had written, but, while it was still in an incomplete state, he hired an orchestra for the composer and put at his disposal his employees and rooms—and all this without any claim on the composer’s further dependence on him. With this generous solution Beethoven received in Vienna an opportunity comparable with that which Haydn had enjoyed in Eszterháza (and which Mozart never had)...³¹

Lobkowitz’s generosity not only permitted Beethoven to have his Third and Fourth Symphonies performed at a high level, it also granted the composer the tools needed to evaluate and revise these works. These early performances—whether or not they were explicitly designated as rehearsals—were crucial moments in the history of these pieces, moments that gave Beethoven a chance to fine-tune his works before producing them for a larger public.³²

³⁰ Quoted and trans. in Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven’s Vienna*, 45. The original remark appears in Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe*, Vol. 1, 468.

³¹ Volek and Macek, “Beethoven’s Rehearsals at the Lobkowitz’s,” 78.

³² As evidence for such fine-tuning, Carl van Beethoven reports that “My brother believed at first, before he had heard the [Third] symphony, that it would be too long if the first part of the first movement were repeated; but after several performances it seemed that it would be detrimental if the first part were not repeated.” Beethoven’s vacillations are evident in the autograph copy, in which the repeat is crossed out and then reinstated. See Thomas Sipe, *Beethoven: Eroica Symphony*, 27.

December 27, 1807: University Hall. Arranging a public performance of a symphony in Vienna in the early 1800s was a complex business. Large-scale musical performances had to be organized on an ad hoc basis, with unpredictable results. Thus, it was of some significance when a group of distinguished noblemen—including Prince Lobkowitz, Prince Trauttmansdorff, Prince Freiherr Anton von Spielmann, and Count Moritz von Dietrichstein—organized a regular series of twenty concerts to take place during the 1807–1808 season. Referred to as the *Liebhaber Concerte* (Amateur Concerts), this popular, public concert series paired skilled amateurs with professional musicians in the performance of large-scale instrumental works. With its special focus on the symphony, it marked an important waypoint in the history of the genre.³³ Moreover, the Amateur Concerts had an ambitious social and political agenda. A glimpse into the workings of this concert series illuminates a different aspect of the Fourth Symphony’s early performance history.

Organized by a group of influential aristocrats, the series depended on subscriptions from the wider aristocratic community. Seventy distinguished individuals were allowed to buy as many tickets as they pleased to be distributed to friends and acquaintances; unused tickets had to be returned and were then sold to the public. The concerts were unusual in that they primarily focused on instrumental rather than vocal music. A standing orchestra of fifty-five musicians (eighteen professionals and thirty-seven

³³ See Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven’s Vienna*, 123-129.

amateurs) convened each week. Devoted to the performance of “decidedly significant and excellent music,” the series included modern music by local and foreign composers as well as ‘classics’ by Mozart, Haydn, Gluck, and others.³⁴ A minimum of one rehearsal was allotted for each concert; during weeks when especially large or difficult works were programmed, two rehearsals took place.³⁵

The audience for the first concert, over 1300 people, proved far too large for the requisitioned space, the Mehlgrube. Reichardt complained that “excellent things by Beethoven, Romberg, Paër, and others could have no effect, since in the narrow space one was quite deafened by the noise of the trumpets, kettledrums and wind instruments of all sorts.”³⁶ In his official capacity as Obersthofmeister, Prince Trauttmansdorff exercised his influence to obtain the spacious University Hall for the remaining nineteen performances.³⁷ This space is beautifully captured in Balthasar Wigand’s miniature depicting the final concert in the series, a gala performance of Haydn’s *Creation* at which the ailing composer made his last public appearance (see Figure 3.1).³⁸

³⁴ “Jedes Concert muß sich durch Aufführung bedeutender und entschieden vortrefflicher Musikstücke auszeichnen, weil das Institut nur auf solche Art seine Würde zu behaupten und eine stets höhere Vollkommenheit zu erreichen im Stande ist.” Cited in Otto Biba, “Beethoven und die ‘Liebhaber Concerte’ in Wien im Winter 1807/08,” in *Beiträge ‘76–78: Beethoven Kolloquium 1977: Dokumentation und Aufführungspraxis*, ed. Rudolf Klein (Kassel, 1978), pp. 82-93, 84.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

³⁶ “Aber selbst sehr gute Sachen von Beethoven, Romberg, Pär u.a. konnten keine Wirkung thun, da man in dem engen Raum von dem Lärm der Trompeten und Pauken und allen möglichen Blaseinstrumenten ganz betäubt ward.” Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe*, 174.

³⁷ On the hall’s acoustics, see Weinzierl, *Beethovens Konzerträume*, 157-160.

³⁸ For more on this image, see Theodore Albrecht, “The musicians in Balthasar Wigand’s depiction of the performance of Haydn’s *Die Schöpfung*, Vienna, 27 March 1808,” *Music in Art* XXIX/1-2 (2004). On the mythologizing of Haydn in retellings of this event, and the increasing



Figure 3.1: Performance of Haydn's *Creation* at the University Hall in Vienna, 27 March 1808. Souvenir box by Balthasar Wigand, 1808 (lost since 1945). Copy of 1909 (© Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde).

The scope and goals of this new institution exceeded those of earlier concert series in Vienna. Indeed, as we learn from a mission statement from the estate of Count Dietrichstein, the organizers hoped this series would contribute to a national project of musical renewal:

The production of domestic and foreign masterworks will purify taste and give it a firm, consistent direction; it will stimulate emulation among our nation's artists; safeguard genius from the oppression of the rabble; bring

inclusion of Beethoven as a participant, see Christopher Wiley, "Re-Writing Composers' Lives: Critical Historiography and Musical Biography," PhD diss. (University of London, 2008), 133-142.

young talents to consummation, and in so doing, through continued collaborative practice in the orchestra, train accomplished masters on the various instruments, who will then spread good technique through their pupils.

Die Produktion der Meisterwerke des In- und Auslandes wird den Geschmack reinigen und ihm eine feste, bleibende Richtung geben; — sie wird die vaterländischen Künstler unter sich zur Nacheiferung aufmuntern; — das Genie vor der Unterdrückung der Kabale sichern; — junge Talente zur Vollkommenheit bringen, und aus sich selbst durch fortwährende gemeinschaftliche Uibung im Orchester vollendete Meister auf den verschiedenen Instrumenten bilden, welche eine gute Methode durch ihre Zöglinge überall verbreiten werden.³⁹

Hoping to “purify” the nation’s taste, protect and promote its artists, and create a new standard of performance that could radiate outwards (with the orchestra members leading by example), the series organizers articulated a political agenda for the Amateur Concerts. In so doing, they attempted to compensate for the fact that Vienna had no conservatory, no Concerts Spirituels, no recurring music periodicals—here was a city with great music but no great musical institutions. In the wake of the French occupation of late 1805, the fostering of such institutions took on a new sense of urgency; the public cultivation of music—and in particular, instrumental music—came to be recognized as both a civic and a national concern.

The Fourth Symphony was performed on December 27, 1807 “under the direction of the composer.”⁴⁰ Also featured on the program were the overtures to Winter’s *Tamerlan* and Cherubini’s *La prisonnière*, a piano concerto by Mozart and an unidentified set of variations for oboe; see Table 3.3.

³⁹ Biba, “Liebhaber Concerte,” 84. Translation mine.

⁴⁰ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, cited in Senner, *Critical Reception*, Vol. 2, 55.

Early March, 1807: Lobkowitz “Eroicasaal” (Two concerts, order not known)	December 27, 1807: University Hall	April 4, 1825: Grosser Redoutensaal
Beethoven, Symphony No. 1 (1800)	Winter, Overture to <i>Tamerlan</i> (1802)	Beethoven, Symphony No. 4 (1806–7)
Beethoven, Symphony No. 2 (1802–3)	Mozart, Piano Concerto, played by Herr Llorca	Rossini, scene with aria and chorus from <i>La Cenerentola</i> (1817)
Beethoven, Symphony No. 3 “Eroica” (1804–5)	Beethoven, Symphony No. 4 (1806–7)	Bertrams, Polonaise for violin, played by composer
Beethoven, Symphony No. 4 (1806–7)	Variations for oboe, played by Herr Flad	Spohr, Overture to <i>Jessonda</i> (1823)
Beethoven, Piano Concerto [No. 4?]	Cherubini, Overture to <i>La prisonnière</i> (1799)	Beethoven, second-act finale from <i>Fidelio</i> (1805–6/1814)
Beethoven, Overture to <i>Coriolan</i> (1807)		
Beethoven, arias from <i>Fidelio</i> (1805–6)		

Table 3.3: Concert programs for three Viennese performances of Symphony No. 4

The mixed fare reflects the typically cosmopolitan outlook of the Amateur Concert programs. While the series organizers hoped to inspire a kind of national or patriotic (*vaterländisch*) unity, the sense of patriotism implied by the programs is multifarious: on one hand, the series formulated a taste that *transcended* nationalities; on the other hand, it aimed to stimulate emulation—and hence, competition—among individual nations and artists. French composers such as Cherubini, Méhul, and Dalayrac are found alongside Haydn and Mozart, suggesting an agenda that cast musical patriotism not as a fixation on national symbols and propaganda, but as a demonstration of

Vienna's cosmopolitan identity.⁴¹ Meanwhile, the prevalence of symphonies by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven on Amateur Concert programs showed that Vienna not only remained a vital part of an international musical discourse, but also set the standard in the most vaunted of the public musical genres. At the Amateur Concerts, Beethoven's four symphonies found an ideological home within a newly charged discourse on Austro-German identity—a topic to which I shall return below.

April 4, 1825: Imperial Grand Ballroom. Although Vienna still lacked a regular concert hall in 1825, the standard of public music making had measurably increased. With the creation of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in 1812 and the founding of a music conservatory in 1817, Vienna had finally gained some of the infrastructure it had long been without. More than four hundred musicians had enrolled in the conservatory since its founding; many of these now contributed their talents to the city's public concert life. For the Gesellschaft-sponsored concerts of 1825, the orchestra consisted almost entirely of current and former students of the conservatory.⁴² This orchestra, which specialized in “large-scale performances” (*große Aufführungen*) of orchestral works, gave one such performance of the Fourth Symphony on April 4, 1825, in the large ballroom of the Imperial Court. The performance,

⁴¹ Such cosmopolitanism was perhaps most obviously on display during the gala performance of Haydn's *Creation*, sung in Giuseppe Carpani's new Italian translation. See Annette Oppermann, ed., *Joseph Haydn Werke XXVIII/3: Die Schöpfung*, Vol. 2 (Munich: Henle, 2008), 494-8.

⁴² Rellstab notes that the orchestra was entirely made up of current students and conservatory-trained musicians, with the exception of the double basses and male voices: “und

described in detail by Rellstab, illustrates the ways in which the symphony as a genre—and Beethoven’s symphonies, in particular—had taken on new significance for Viennese audiences by the mid-1820s. It also offers further insight into the relationship between changing performance practices and approaches to listening.

Vienna had a longstanding tradition of large-scale public performances, particularly of choral works. Since the 1770s, the Tonkünstler-Societät had sponsored semi-annual performances of large-scale works for charity, with forces often exceeding a hundred. Haydn conducted a massive performance of *The Creation* with a string section of sixty-eight, as well as tripled winds and doubled trumpets, trombones, and timpani.⁴³ Symphonies, too, were occasionally performed in this way. In 1781, Mozart told his father that he was delighted by a performance of one of his symphonies by a large orchestra of sixty-eight strings, six bassoons, and doubled winds, brass and timpani. The orchestra for the premiere of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony on May 7, 1824 also included doubled winds, brass, and timpani, but featured a comparatively small string section of fifty.⁴⁴

The evidence for the size of the orchestra at the Gesellschaft concerts of the 1820s comes from the unpublished reminiscences of Johann Baptist Geissler, then the society’s archivist and librarian. According to Geissler, in

es ist vortrefflich” (“Reiseberichte,” 162).

⁴³ See H.C. Robbins Landon, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (London, 1955), 83, and A. Peter Brown, *Performing Haydn’s The Creation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 20-43, esp. 29-30.

⁴⁴ 12 firsts, 12 seconds, 8 violas, 10 cellos, and 8 basses. See Thomas Forrest Kelly, *First*

society-sponsored concerts the orchestra comprised 20 first and 20 second violins, 12 violas, 10 cellos, and 8 basses, with winds, brass, and timpani doubled “according to the needs of the composition.”⁴⁵ As the autograph manuscript of the Fourth Symphony indicates, Beethoven himself arranged the work for performances with massed winds, brass, and timpani, marking “Solo” and “Tutti” passages for these parts throughout all four movements.⁴⁶

Assuming the parts were doubled, the orchestra for the 1825 performance must have numbered approximately ninety-four musicians.

Of course, a large orchestra was needed in a large space. The Redoutensaal, a splendidly decorated rectangular hall measuring 46 meters long by 17 meters wide, was used for masquerade balls (Redoutes) during the later eighteenth century. Though not purpose-built for music, the large-capacity hall had a good acoustic for large-scale orchestral works, its sixteen-meter-high ceiling allowing for significant reverberation time; among the works premiered there was Beethoven’s Eighth Symphony.⁴⁷ Beginning in 1817, the hall was outfitted with an orchestral platform in oval form for society-

Nights: Five Musical Premieres (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 133.

⁴⁵ Biba, “Concert Life in Beethoven’s Vienna,” 90.

⁴⁶ Jonathan Del Mar’s edition of Symphony No. 4 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001) is the first to restore the “solo” and “tutti” markings from the autograph. Here (as in the case of Haydn’s *Creation*, for which authentic first, second, and third *Harmonie* parts survive), these markings clearly indicate the use of additional forces. On alternative meanings of the “solo” indication in contemporary symphonies, see Andreas Friesenhagen, “Haydn’s Symphonies: Problems of Instrumentation and Performance Tradition,” *Early Music*, 39/2 (May 2011), pp. 253-261, 256-8.

⁴⁷ The space measures 46 meters long by 17 meters wide by 16 meters high. On its acoustics, see Weinzierl, *Beethovens Konzerträume*, 160-162, and Michael Barron, *Auditorium Acoustics and Architectural Design* (Spon Press, 2010), 80.

sponsored concerts.⁴⁸ In his travel report, Rellstab describes a tiered platform, noting that the orchestra was seated “amphitheatrically going up, so as to ensure the greatest efficacy of the instruments.”⁴⁹ Presumably, this indicates something akin to modern (and many eighteenth-century) orchestral seating plans, with the more powerful brass and percussion instruments in the back on risers and the less powerful instruments close to the audience.

The Fourth Symphony opened the program. It was followed by a scene and aria with chorus from Rossini’s *La Cenerentola*, a polonaise for violin composed and performed by Bertrams (a member of the society), the overture from Spohr’s *Jessonda*, and the second-act finale from *Fidelio*. The mingling of operatic and instrumental works is characteristic of the era’s concert programs; noteworthy, however, is that both the Fourth Symphony and *Fidelio* were then almost two decades old. Against the backdrop of modern operatic excerpts from Spohr and Rossini, Beethoven’s music was emerging as part of a new canon of great music. Indeed, it was in many ways coming to occupy the place that the music of Haydn and Mozart had enjoyed during the Amateur Concerts of 1807–8: namely, as the standard against which new music was measured. At the same time, it is clear from Rellstab’s report that Beethoven’s persona had begun to influence, even govern, the perception of his music: “In this superb locale,” he writes, “the miraculous symphony was played with all due fire, which may impress on our minds that we are in close proximity to the still living master,

⁴⁸ Biba, “Liebhaber Concerte,” 90.

⁴⁹ “Reiseberichte,” 162.

who would be present with a severely critical ear if an extremely unlucky fate had not, unfortunately, excluded him from the Paradise he opens up for us. Simply the awareness of being so near to the creator of this work brought about the sense of his spirit's invisible presence."⁵⁰ The deaf Beethoven, exiled from his own kingdom, was nonetheless present in spirit, his invisible aura hovering over the concert hall. This monumental performance of the Fourth Symphony thus drew from and reinforced the sense that Beethoven had become something of a saint, a divinely inspired, mysterious figure who could transcend physical limitations, perhaps even death itself, by virtue of his extraordinary creations.

The three performances described above trace a transformation in Vienna's musical culture. In part because of the decline in private patronage around 1800, the symphony increasingly came within the purview of the middle class, as large-scale concerts enabled mixed audiences to hear and even participate in symphonic performances. Beethoven's symphonies both profited from and helped shape this transformation, insofar as they successfully navigated, at times guided, the genre's shift from a private realm toward a public one. Changing performance practices, including the expansion of the orchestra to large, even colossal, proportions, mark both Vienna's increased institutional investment in the symphony and listeners' newfound taste for the monumental. By the time of the Gesellschaft concerts of the 1820s, Beethoven's symphonies were seen as more than entertainment; they began to

⁵⁰ Senner, *Critical Reception*, Vol. 2, 61.

take on the status of bona fide, even canonic, artworks—as objects in an “imaginary museum,” or as Rellstab put it, as an opening to Paradise.⁵¹

Given the diverse nature of the performances described here, it seems clear that analyzing the score of a work like the Fourth Symphony can only reveal one aspect of its significance. A further range of potential meanings emerges through the act of performance; meaning is mediated in multiple and complex ways by context. An intimate performance before an audience of aristocrat-connoisseurs in the Lobkowitz Palace suggests a different, if overlapping, range of potential meanings from a large-scale performance in the Redoutensaal by conservatory-trained musicians. Though no one reading can ever totally explain an artwork’s significance, taking into account the material, social, and political concerns that shape a work’s production can only enrich our experience of it. An exploration of the ambitious Amateur Concerts of 1807–1808 in greater depth will offer a more comprehensive view of the political background that gave rise to this institution, one whose larger cultural importance has been overlooked. The series’s political agenda, I will argue, helped to regulate the meanings of Beethoven’s symphonies, implicating them in a political project of cultural renewal.

Beethoven, Napoleon, and the Viennese Amateur Concerts of 1807–1808

The Amateur Concerts as a Political Institution. The Battle of Austerlitz, also known as the Battle of Three Emperors, took place on 2 December, 1805.

⁵¹ See Wyn Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven’s Vienna*, 184–196.

Its result was immortalized in a contemporary French print (see Figure 3.2). Emperor Francis of Austria and Tsar Alexander cling desperately to one another while Napoleon, cloaked in regal splendor, effortlessly tips the “balance continentale” with the point of his sword. William Pitt looks on from the clouds, thumbing his nose (*le pied de nez*) and cursing the loss of British guineas, while Friedrich Wilhelm stands idly by in the background—the emblem of ever-annoying Prussian neutrality. It was Napoleon’s greatest victory. The defeat of Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz exhausted the resources and coffers of both and led to the humiliating Peace of Pressburg. Great Britain’s depleted finances and Prussia’s refusal to break the partial neutrality with France combined to make defense of the continent extremely tenuous.

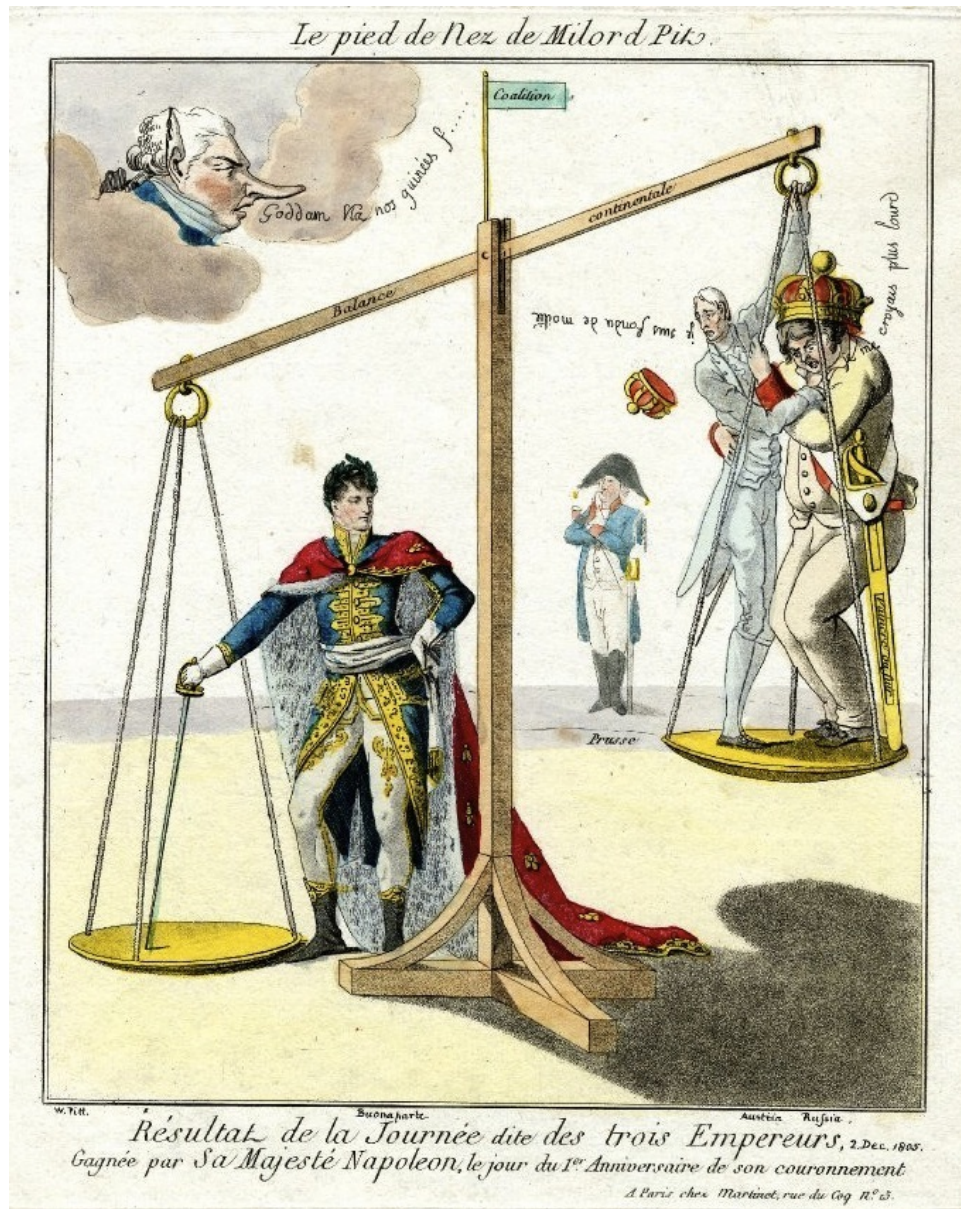


Figure 3.2: *Le pied de Nez de Milord Pitt* (Paris, 1805)
 © Trustees of the British Museum. Used by permission.

By the spring of 1806, reports began to suggest that life in Vienna was on the mend after the devastating French occupation that winter. The fashionable *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* printed the following update at the end of a report on music and theater in Vienna during the winter months:

You can see from all that has been said, that the Viennese have already long recovered from the horrors of the war, and that amusement, joy, and peaceful arts are paid homage once again. The prosperity among the local inhabitants must be very firmly based, because one does not notice the slightest reduction of luxury either in garments, or in equipages [horse-drawn carriages], or at tables; and where it concerns the advancement of charitable purposes—the support of the poor and the encouragement of the deserving—there the Viennese give with full hands and without reservation. This year earlier than usual we have gentle weather and all the harbingers of spring. Here the whole beautiful world flows on foot to the *Bastey*, and by carriage to the *Prater*; the crowding and mixing of so many glad and well-dressed people from every class earns, among all the plays of Vienna, perhaps the first place.

Sie sehen aus allem bisher Gesagten, daß man sich in Wien von den Schrecknissen des Kriegs schon längst wieder erholt hat, und daß der Unterhaltung, der Freude, und den friedlichen Künsten wieder wie sonst gehuldigt wird. Der Wohlstand unter den hiesigen Bewohnern muß sehr fest gegründet seyn, denn man bemerkt nicht die mindeste Abnahme des Luxus weder in Kleidern, noch in Equipagen, noch an den Tafeln, und wo es auf Beförderung wohlthätiger Zwecke, auf Unterstützung Hilfsbedürftiger und auf Ermunterung des Verdienstes ankommt, da giebt der Wiener mit vollen Händen und ohne Ansprüche. Wir haben heuer früher als sonst gelinde Witterung und alle Vorboten des Frühlings. Da strömt die ganze schöne Welt zu Fuß nach der *Bastey*, und im Wagen nach dem *Prater*; das Gedränge und Gewühl so vieler froher und wohlgekleideter Menschen aus allen Classen, verdient unter allen Schauspielen Wiens vielleicht die erste Stelle.⁵²

If the city's social life had returned to normal, its political life remained troubled and chaotic. Count Saurau, one of the most influential ministers on the imperial council, wrote to the emperor on March 16, 1806 that the country's internal conditions posed a far greater threat than did Napoleon.⁵³ In addition to having to fund its military operations, the Austrian nation now

⁵² "Theater und Musik in Wien in den letzten Wintermonaten 1806. Wien den 16. April 1806," in *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (May 1806), pp. 284-291, 291. My translation.

⁵³ James Allen Vann, "Habsburg Policy and the Austrian War of 1809," *Central European History* Vol. 7, No. 4 (Dec., 1974), pp. 291-310, 301.

owed vast sums in indemnities as a result of the Peace of Pressburg. Worse, the government seemed to be in a state of paralysis, unable to agree on even the most superficial decisions. In a diplomatic cable to the Russian court, Count Razumovsky compared the Viennese cabinet to “a debilitated body, escaped from total destruction, hoping to regain its forces in calm and tranquility, and dreading at every instant a new tremor that would be able to overpower and annihilate it.”⁵⁴

The year 1806 brought momentous changes in the political structure of Europe. The Holy Roman Empire, dating back to the ninth century, fizzled out of existence: Goethe said he was more interested in a dispute between his coach driver and the footman than he was in the news that the empire was dead. Napoleon organized the German states into the *Rheinbund*, or Confederation of the Rhine, and placed garrisons throughout Germany at the expense of his hosts. By year’s end, he had embarked on a new military campaign, with French troops entering Berlin on 27 October (after the Battles of Jena and Auerstadt) and Warsaw on 19 December. Given this state of affairs, Emperor Francis attempted to clean house. In addition to retiring twenty-five field generals, he replaced several key members of the imperial council. The most important new appointment was that of Count Johann Philip Stadion, former ambassador to St. Petersburg, who replaced Ludwig Cobenzl as

⁵⁴ “La situation politique du cabinet de Vienne est celle d'un corps débile, échappé à une destruction totale, espérant regagner ses forces dans le calme et la tranquillité et redoutant à tout instant une nouvelle secousse qui pourrait l'accabler et l'anéantir.” From a diplomatic cable to the Russian court dated 20 March, 1806, in Aleksandr Alekseevich Wassiltchikow, *Les Razoumowski*, trans. Alexandre Brückner (Halle: Tausch and Grosse, 1893-1902), 3 vols., Vol. 2, 318.

foreign minister beginning in 1805. During his four-year term, Stadion pursued an aggressive, new foreign policy focused on the creation of a unified German state with Vienna—not Berlin—at its center.⁵⁵ Stadion realized that in addition to improving the efficiency of the bureaucracy, the cabinet needed to exercise stronger influence over public opinion. To this end, he set out to create several new German-language periodicals on the model of the most successful French newspapers. The first of these, the *Vaterländische Blätter für den Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaat*, was created with the intent of fostering an exchange of news and culture among the Habsburg lands. Edited by Johann Michael Armbruster, the journal issued thrice weekly and included reports on politics, literature, economics, art, music, and a variety of other topics. This journal, and others like it, helped contribute to the development of an Austro-centric German national consciousness, something Stadion viewed as crucial to the success of the Habsburg regime.

This national consciousness formed the backdrop for the creation of a new and unprecedented musical institution, the Amateur Concerts of 1807–1808. Between 1803 and 1805, the wealthy banker Joseph Würth had sponsored two seasons of weekly musical entertainments in the music room of his new palace. These private concerts paired skilled amateurs with professional musicians in important orchestral pieces, including overtures, concertos, and symphonies. After the French occupation forestalled a planned

⁵⁵ See Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire: 1526-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 221-222.

third season of concerts, several leading aristocrats met to consider how to address the growing demand for serious music in Vienna. A new plan was formulated along the model of Würth's subscription concerts, but on a much larger scale.

As discussed earlier, both the scope and the goals of this new institution exceeded that of previous concert series. The series had a professed mission to cultivate the nation's taste, protect its artists, and create a worthy standard of performance. Given these objectives, it is no surprise that the Amateur Concerts were the highlight of the first musical report in Stadion's new patriotic journal, the *Vaterländische Blätter*. In May 1808, the court clerk Ignaz von Mosel—a violist in the Amateur Concerts—contributed a two-part article on the present state of music in Vienna. Above all, he reported, the social mixing encouraged by institutions like the Amateur Concerts had powerful implications:

Here, music daily works the magic that one otherwise ascribes only to love: it makes all classes equal. Nobles and bourgeois, princes and their vassals, superiors and their inferiors, sit together at one desk, and forget over the harmony of the tones the disharmony of their classes.

Die Tonkunst wirkt hier täglich das Wunder, das man sonst nur der Liebe zuschrieb: Sie macht alle Stände gleich. Adelige und Bürgerliche, Fürsten und ihre Vasallen, Vorgesetzte und ihre Untergebenen, sitzen an einem Pulte beisammen, und vergessen über der Harmonie der Töne die Disharmonie ihres Standes.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Ignaz von Mosel, "Uebersicht des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Tonkunst in Wien," *Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat* (27 May 1808), 39-44 and (31 May 1808), 49-54, 39. My translation.

To the editors of the *Vaterländische Blätter*, what better way to illustrate Austria's stability in the face of a foreign threat than to showcase the harmonious social relations among classes? Indeed, to the extent that such harmony in fact existed, it served as a pretext for the kind of popular solidarity that the Austrian government now hoped to inspire.

Such solidarity was perhaps most eloquently performed in the symphony, the instrumental genre that demanded the most concentration, discipline, and cooperation from its practitioners. Indeed, symphonies were the hallmark of the Amateur Concerts: every concert in the series except the last—a performance of Haydn's *Creation*—featured a symphony. At the same time, as the importance of the genre increased, the size of the repertoire shrank. Although the series featured the music of over thirty composers, only three had symphonies performed: Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven (see Table 3.4). This circumstance, a “moment of crystallization in the history of music in Vienna,” represented not only a narrowing of musical taste, but also a judgment on the part of the city's musical elite that Beethoven ranked ahead of his contemporaries in this genre.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven's Vienna*, 129.

Table 3.4: Symphonies performed at Viennese Amateur Concerts, 1807–1808
(Venue is University Hall unless otherwise noted)

12 November (Mehlgrube)	Beethoven, Symphony No. 2 in D
22 November	Haydn, Symphony No. 100 in G ('Military')
29 November	Mozart, Symphony in C (K 551)
6 December	Beethoven, Symphony No. 3 in E-flat
13 December	Haydn, Symphony in D
20 December	Mozart, Symphony in G minor (K 550)
27 December	Beethoven, Symphony No. 4 in B-flat
3 January	Mozart, Symphony in C (K 551?)
17 January	Beethoven, Symphony No. 1 in C
24 January	Haydn, Symphony in E-flat (99, 103?)
31 January	Mozart, Symphony in D (K 504?)
2 February	Beethoven, Symphony no. 3 in E-flat
7 February	Haydn, Symphony in E-flat
14 February	Mozart, Symphony in C (K 425?)
22 February	Beethoven, Symphony No. 2 in D
28 February	Haydn, Symphony in B-flat (98, 102?)
6 March	Mozart, Symphony in C
13 March	Haydn, Symphony in C Minor (95?)
20 March	Beethoven, Symphony No. 1 in C
27 March	[no symphony]

This judgment was confirmed by the appearance of two large orchestral works—the “Eroica” Symphony and the Overture to Collin’s *Coriolan*—on the program for the concert of February 2, 1807, at which the Emperor’s youngest brother, the Archduke Rudolph, made a special appearance. According to the

official report in the *Wiener Zeitung*, the works on the program—which also included the Overture to Cherubini’s *Médée*, an aria by Eybler, and a set of variations for flute by Devienne—were “carefully selected” for the Archduke, known as a connoisseur and protector of music. This concert was the only one in the series to feature more than one work by Beethoven, or indeed by any composer. Of course, there may have been a personal connection at play: Beethoven had begun instructing the Archduke in theory and piano in 1803 or 1804, and in 1807, he dedicated the first of many important works, the Fourth Piano Concerto, to his friend and patron.⁵⁸

Beethoven, however, remains absent from the official report, which focuses instead on the arrival of the Archduke and the Duke of Saxony-Teschen:

[H]is Imperial Highness the Most Worthy Serenissimus Archduke Rudolph, coadjutor of the Archbishopric of Olmütz, and [His] Royal Highness Duke Albrecht of Saxony-Teschen, supremely graced the generally approved Amateur Concert in the large hall of the University with their presence. The as always select company of listeners was on this day especially radiant, and consisted mostly of the local high nobility, distinguished foreigners, and the most outstanding members of the middle class. The orchestra, inspired by the presence of his imperial highness (whom music reveres as an insightful connoisseur and protector), performed the musical works carefully selected for this concert with particular zeal and precision, and their royal imperial highnesses left the hall after the music finished with the most gracious testimony to their complete satisfaction.

[...] beglückten Se[ine] kais[erliche] Hoheit der hochwürdigstdurchlauchtigste Erzherzog Rudolph, Koadjutor des Erzbisthums Olmütz, und des Herzogs Albrecht von Sachsen-Teschen königl[iche] Hoheit das mit allgemeinem Beyfalle bestehende

⁵⁸ See Susan Kagan, *Archduke Rudolph, Beethoven’s Patron, Pupil, and Friend: His Life and Music* (Pendragon Press, 1988).

Liebhaberkonzert im grossen Universitätssaale mit Höchst ihrer Gegenwart. Die zwar immer gewählte Gesellschaft der Zuhörer war an diesem Tage besonders glänzend, und bestand grösstentheils aus dem hiesigen hohen Adel, aus angesehenen Fremden und den vorzüglichsten Personen des Mittelstandes. Das Orchester, begeistert durch die Anwesenheit S[eine]r kais[erliche] Hoh[heit] (Höchstwelchen die Tonkunst als einen einsichtsvollen Kenner und Beschützer verehrt,) führte die für dieses Konzert sorgfältig gewählten Tonstücke mit besonderem Eifer und Präzision aus, und Ihre kaiserl. königl. Hoheiten verliessen den Saal nach geendigter Musik mit gnädigster Bezeugung Ihrer vollkommenen Zufriedenheit.⁵⁹

In this official report, musical practice is made to epitomize social practice.

“Inspired” by the presence of the Archduke, a member of the royal family whom music itself “reveres,” the orchestra performs with “particular zeal and precision.” Under the figurative authority of empire, the civil polity—the orchestra—reaches its potential. The polity, in turn, is rewarded by a benevolent gesture of gratitude from the two dukes, recalling a form of contract between a ruler and his subjects. If, as Mosel claimed, music made “all classes equal” in Vienna, then such equality was firmly inscribed within the social hierarchy of autocracy. The concert, produced for and by the ‘public’ under the aegis of the state, served as a model for appropriate, even ideal, civic relations.

It seems ironic that the concert for the Archduke should have opened with the “Eroica” Symphony, a work Beethoven originally planned to dedicate to Napoleon. Yet few people would have been aware of the irony: the original dedication had not yet been made public, and the score appeared in print with the dedication to Prince Lobkowitz in 1806. Had the Napoleonic connection

⁵⁹ *Österreichisch-Kaiserliche privilegierte Wiener Zeitung* (6 Feb 1808), 601. My translation.

been known, it might not have mattered much (or as much as we may expect) in this context. The presence of French composers such as Cherubini, Devienne, Méhul and others on Amateur Concert programs suggests that while the institution had broadly political goals, the repertoire was not chosen in view of a specific agenda. Put differently, these concert programs did not reference specific political events (as would be the case, for example, during the second French occupation in 1809, or during the Congress period in 1814–15); rather, they served to refound the concept of nation through shared cultural experience. In the wake of the Peace of Pressburg, nationalism—or more precisely, a newfound conception of *Vaterland*—emerged in Vienna as a civic concern, as the fostering of a particular sense of community within and against the larger framework of international politics. The Amateur Concerts rechristened and elaborated on an existing model of the concert as the embodiment of an ideal society.⁶⁰

Performance as Politics: An Interpretation of the Third Movement. If the Amateur Concerts modeled an ideal society, the symphony served as one of the paramount means through which this ideal was performed (the oratorio was another). As Mark Evan Bonds has explained with respect to German music festivals of the early 1800s, the performance of symphonies often had the character of a “ritual enactment,” projecting the sense of “a diverse yet coherent national state, a state that outside the concert hall could only be

⁶⁰ For an extensive study of the concert as a model of sonorous and political coexistence, see Damien Mahiet, “The Concert of Nations: Music, Political Thought and Diplomacy in Europe,

contemplated.”⁶¹ In the Amateur Concerts, the stakes of such ritual enactment were high, insofar as the Austrian cabinet placed a new premium on popular solidarity in the wake of the Peace of Pressburg. Whether or not such a concert made “all classes equal” as Mosel claimed, it brought together members of different social standings in a collective expression of identity. The social dynamics of the Amateur Concerts offer a lens through which we can view Beethoven’s symphonies and consider anew some of their potential meanings.

The third movement of Symphony No. 4—variously called “minuet,” “scherzo,” and “scherzando” by contemporaries—provides a suggestive case study. With its jagged rhythms, asymmetrical phrases, and extreme shifts of texture and orchestral color, this movement takes part in a tradition of movements that challenge or contradict the traditional minuet type. To be sure, Beethoven had already furthered this tradition in his first three symphonies; of these, only the First Symphony’s third movement bears the designation “Menuetto,” and that movement resembles a minuet in little more than in its triple meter and outward design. In the third movements of the Second and Third Symphonies, Beethoven distanced himself more explicitly from the minuet with the designation “Scherzo.” The Fourth Symphony’s third movement, by contrast, bears no such title. The autograph features only the heading “3tes Stück” (third movement) and the tempo marking “Allegro molto e vivace.” The title “Menuetto: Allegro vivace” appears at the head of a later

1600s-1800s,” PhD diss. (Cornell University, 2011).

⁶¹ Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 84.

authentic manuscript; however, it remains unknown whether this was Beethoven's afterthought or the addition of another hand.⁶² In any case, the free exchange of terminology both in surviving manuscripts and in contemporary reports suggests that the minuet type continued to influence the way listeners perceived such stylistically ambiguous movements. In the Allegro molto e vivace, Beethoven invites listeners to consider the implications of the movement's departures from and reinterpretations of generic conventions.⁶³

To be sure, grace and refinement—the hallmarks of the minuet genre—are not the object of the Allegro molto e vivace. Here, the opening gesture, a mercurial upward arpeggiation of the tonic, creates the feeling of two-four meter within a three-four context (see Example 3.1). Marked fortissimo and proclaimed by the full orchestra, the four-bar phrase begins on a unison F upbeat, after which assertive two-note arpeggiations leap up an octave before giving way to a downward dominant-seventh arpeggiation. The phrase ends abruptly on the dominant, followed by a beat of rest and a contrasting idea in the clarinet and bassoon. The lively tempo, hemiola rhythms, unsophisticated harmonies, and sharp articulations lend the opening four-bar phrase a boisterous, even rowdy, character: this is no *pas de menuet*, it is a gallop. At the same time, the sheer physicality of the gesture forces one to confront its unconventional nature. The spontaneous, even violent, rhythmic shifts would

⁶² Jonathan Del Mar, "Critical Commentary," 46.

⁶³ In making this claim, I follow Melanie Lowe, who has suggested that late-eighteenth-century listeners would have approached a symphony's third (or second) movement through a "minuet filter," equipped with a strong sense of the minuet's form, gestures, and topics. *Pleasure and Meaning in the Classical Symphony*, 110-112, 127, 153.

Here is Dr. Reeve's description of a masked ball at the Redoutensaal on
October 20, 1805:

The music was excellent; the band consisted of fifty performers, and they played from nine o'clock till five in the morning, allowing a little time to rest. Minuets were first danced, and then waltzes began; the awkward motions of the shopkeepers and their women in the minuets, and their rough twisting and twining in the waltz, were amusing enough.⁶⁶

Lacking the proper formal training, the "shopkeepers and their women" danced the minuet in a clumsy, comical manner. For these bourgeois couples, the minuet provided a pleasurable opportunity for role-playing: in the minuet, they could imitate (and hence aspire to) the graceful refinement of the aristocracy, if only "awkwardly." The minuet thus had multiple social meanings: not only did it articulate the elevated social standing of the elite, it also allowed for the confrontation, even transgression, of social boundaries.⁶⁷

In the opening gesture of the *Allegro molto e vivace*, then, high and low seem to collide in a reconstitution of social norms. The social ambivalence of the ballroom enters the concert hall, allowing for a different but no less poignant performative transgression of social boundaries. Indeed, for the fifty-four bourgeois and noble musicians who performed the piece at the Amateur Concerts, the transgressive opening would doubtless have highlighted the varied social disposition of the orchestra itself. Glancing at the roster for the

⁶⁶ Reeve, *Journal of a Residence at Vienna and Berlin*, 32.

⁶⁷ Mozart famously explores music's ability to harmonize social difference in the "ballroom scene" of *Don Giovanni* (Act I, Scene V), where three separate orchestras simultaneously perform different social dances (a minuet for the nobility, a country dance for the peasants, and a waltz for the bourgeois).

Amateur Concerts—a rare document uncovered by Otto Biba—one notices the names of barons, counts, and even a diplomat alongside those of court employees, professors, jurists, and rank-and-file musicians.⁶⁸ The challenge of executing the opening gesture would have compelled this diverse orchestra—as well as an even more diverse audience—to confront the music’s social ambivalence. In this sense, the opening gesture takes on the function of a social equalizer: it forces performers as well as listeners to meet on common ground, reestablishing order—paradoxically—through order’s disruption.

On one hand, then, the disruptive opening gesture threatens to erase social difference. On the other, it seems to posit a metaphoric social order through the collective participation of the individual instruments. By drawing on the full resources of the orchestra, the opening tutti declaration engages the entire ensemble in a collective action. Viewed from this perspective, the gesture enjoins its diverse performers to join in the common goal of performance. In so doing, it reflects a contemporary notion of the orchestra as an institution of cooperation and education. As John Spitzer has shown, this notion came to exist alongside—and in some degree, to supplant—the idea of the orchestra as reflecting a hierarchical, ‘top-down’ social order. In his “Letters to a Young Musician” (1799), for instance, Friedrich Rochlitz rejected the authoritarian model of the orchestra altogether, embracing instead a model of voluntary cooperation for the common good: “Never treat the members of your orchestra as subordinates but rather as helpmates in pursuit of a noble goal. Try to raise

⁶⁸ Biba, “Liebhaber Concerte,” 87. Many of the orchestra members are identified in the

them up, as a rational teacher does his pupils, rather than humiliating them and beating them down.”⁶⁹ Paradoxically, by thwarting musical expectations—and potentially throwing the musicians into chaos—the disruptive opening gesture entreats the orchestra members to cooperate in achieving a collective performance.⁷⁰

The opening tutti gesture serves as a touchstone for the movement as a whole. Its iteration, reiteration, and contradiction create an unusual structure, one that invites interpretation along social or political lines. The opening four-bar phrase demands resolution: it is an antecedent with no consequent, ending abruptly on a dominant arrival. To be sure, Beethoven might have fulfilled the expectation of a period structure: Example 3.2 shows Beethoven’s antecedent (mm. 1-4) with a hypothetical consequent, creating a typical I-V | V-I period. In place of such a consequent, however, he introduces a new idea, a slurred ascending melody in continuous quarter notes played by the clarinet and bassoon. This new melody outlines a dominant-ninth chord, suggestive of B-flat minor. The strings respond with a complementary descending idea. Clarinet and bassoon make their curious appeal a second time, here outlining the dominant-ninth of the dominant; the strings follow suit. This strange

endnotes.

⁶⁹ Cited in John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815*, 513-14.

⁷⁰ Beethoven apparently delighted in such coordinated disruptions. Ignaz von Seyfried, intimate with the composer between 1800 and 1806, recalls in his 1832 reminiscences that “when, especially in the Scherzos of his symphonies, sudden, unexpected changes of tempo threw all into confusion, [Beethoven] would laugh tremendously, assure the men he had looked for nothing else, that he had been waiting for it to happen, and would take almost childish pleasure in the thought that he had been successful in unhorsing such routined orchestral knights.” Quoted and trans. in O.G. Sonneck, *Beethoven: Impressions by his Contemporaries*

dialogue, lasting eight bars, comes to an end as the strings reintroduce the duple feel (13), initiating a modulation to F Major and leading to a tutti assertion of the new tonic (Example 3.3).



Example 3.2: Allegro molto e vivace, antecedent (mm. 1-4) with a hypothetical consequent, creating a typical I-V | V-I period.



Example 3.3: Allegro molto e vivace, mm. 13-20, showing duple rhythmic groupings.

In terms of its tonal plan, the entire first section (mm. 1-20) behaves like the first part of an ordinary minuet, insofar as it begins in the tonic and ends in the key of the dominant. Yet the extreme shifts of texture, orchestration, dynamics, harmony, and musical idea in the central section thwart typical expectations. Multivalent analysis proves a useful tool for charting the progression of ideas—see Figure 3.3.⁷¹ The opening gesture—tutti and

(New York: Dover Publications, 1967), 42.

⁷¹ On multivalent analysis, see James Webster, William Caplin, and James Hepokoski, “James Webster & The Concept of Multivalent Analysis,” in P. Bergé, ed., *Musical Form, Forms &*

fortissimo—seems to be undermined by the ensuing dialogue between winds and strings. Reduced in orchestration and marked piano, the dialogue involves a sharply contrasting idea that rejects the emphatic opening gesture and points the way to the minor mode. Momentarily threatened, a sense of stability is gradually restored as the first idea returns (13) and builds to a climax. The four closing bars ‘rhyme’ with the opening gesture, restoring its tutti orchestration and fortissimo dynamic level; in a gestural sense (if not a harmonic one), these four bars function as the missing, delayed consequent, ‘completing’ the antecedent-consequent period. The idea associated with the tutti opening is thus withheld, returning only after the brief interruption.

Formenlehre: Three Methodological Reflections (New York: Cornell University Press, 2009), 121ff., and Stuart Paul Duncan, “Blurring the Boundaries: Toward a Multivalent Reading of Three First-Movement Sonata Forms in Haydn’s Op. 50 String Quartets, in *Musicological Explorations*, Vol. 12 (2011), especially 1-12.

Figure 3.3: Multivalent Analysis of Beethoven, Symphony No. 4, Allegro molto e vivace

Measures :	1-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12	13-16	17-20
Idea:	1	2↑	2↓	2↑	2↓	1'	1''
Orchestration:	tutti	c/bs	str	c/bs	str	+bs +fl	tutti
Harmony (B-flat):	I-V	V ^{b9}	-	V ^{b9} V	-	V/V→	V (=tonic)
Metric dissonance:	d-c	c	-	-	-	d	c
Dynamics:	<i>ff</i>	<i>p</i>	-	-	-	<i>cresc</i>	<i>ff</i>
Cadences:							PAC

Legend:

- d= rhythmic groupings dissonant with 3/4 meter (hemiola or metrically displaced hemiola)
- c= rhythmic groupings consonant with 3/4 meter
- = no change to parameter
- 2↑ = ascending version of idea 2
- 2↓ = descending version of idea 2
- +x = instrument added to ensemble
- [+x] = instrument added only for measures indicated

(continues on next page)

Figure 3.3 (continued)

Measures:	21-24	25-26	27-28	29-30	31-32	33-34	35-36	37-38	39-40	41-42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50-52	
Idea:	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Orchestration:	str/fl/ob	str	str/fl/ob	str	str/fl/ob	str	str/fl/ob	str	str/fl/ob	str	str/fl/ob	str	str/fl/ob	str	str/fl/ob	str	str/fl/ob	str	str/fl/ob
Harmony (D-flat):	I—V	—	I	—	V/ii	—	ii	—	ii	—	ii	—	ii	—	ii	—	ii	—	ii
Harmony (B-flat):	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Metric dissonance:	d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dynamics:	p	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	cre
Cadences:	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
							IAC	IAC	IAC	IAC	IAC	IAC	IAC	IAC	IAC	IAC	IAC	IAC	IAC
Measures:	53-56	57-58	59-60	61-62	63-64	65-66	67-70	71-74	75-78	79-80	81-82	83-84	85-86	87-90					
Idea:	1	2↑	2↓	2↑	2↓	2↑	2↑↓	2↑↓	1 ⁱⁱⁱ	—	—	—	—	1 ⁱⁱ					
Orchestration:	tutti	c/l/bs	str	c/l/bs	str	+fl/c/l/bs	+hn	—	tutti	(-c/l/bs)	—	(-c/l/bs)	—	—					
Harmony (B-flat):	I—V	V ^{b9}	—	V ^{b9/ii}	—	V ^{b9/V}	V ^{b9} $\frac{5}{3}$	—	V ⁷ vi	V ^{6\frac{5}{3}}	I	V ⁷	I	V ⁷	I	V ⁷	I	V ⁷	I
Metric dissonance:	d—c	c	—	—	—	—	—	—	d	c	d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	c
Dynamics:	f ff	p	—	—	—	—	—	—	<sf> p <sf	f	ff	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cadences:	PAC	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(DC)	PAC	—	(PAC)	—	(PAC)	—	(PAC)	—	(PAC)	—

In the second part (21-52), the tension between the opening idea and its contradiction is even more strongly felt. The opening gesture reappears (with smaller forces) in the remote key of D-flat (bIII), initiating a long, thirty-two-bar process in which the return to the tutti involves an ascent by fifth through no fewer than six minor keys (35-49), to D minor. In its adherence to flat-side tonality and its evocation of numerous minor keys, the second part addresses and amplifies the tension established in the dialogue between winds and strings in the first part. Indeed, the harmony passes through B-flat Minor (39) and F Minor (43), both of whose dominants were evoked earlier. (This recalls similar tonal processes in the first movement, in which dominant sonorities evoked in the slow introduction are later resolved in the development section).⁷² In the reprise section (53-90), the tension spills into an even more dramatic elaboration of the ascending and descending melodies, this time performed by flutes, clarinets, bassoons, and strings together, with horn pedal points (67-74). This new eight-bar interpolation further prolongs the reprise and delays the final cadence. As earlier, the structural disruption creates the impression that the opening tutti gesture is not self-evident but rather must be gained through a process of coming together. In this sense, one might characterize the entire form of the minuet/scherzo section as *didactic*, insofar as it metaphorically enacts an ideal of collective participation.

The trio presents a parallel scenario, but here more tongue in cheek. The principal melody—in the clarinet, bassoon, and oboe (over a tonic pedal in the

⁷² See Chapter II.

horns)—offers a stark contrast to the boisterous main idea of the minuet/scherzo section. Simple, ‘naive’, and pastoral in character, it traces an ascent from B-flat to G (natural rather than flat), and back down to D, over the course of fifteen measures. The rhythms are straightforwardly iambic, the melody easily singable, and the dynamic quiet. While, in the first part of the minuet/scherzo, the winds initiated the structural disruption, here the strings disrupt by prodding the winds’ new melody with short motives tipped with sforzando barbs. Although the strings complete the sixteen-measure phrase by descending from the winds’ final D to B-flat, they seem to do so begrudgingly, with a descending chromatic figure. The conflict between winds and strings both suspends and sets into relief the ideal of collective participation.

The second phrase, a variant of the first, leads to a bridge on the dominant (122-133). In the ensuing transition, the strings seem to recall the minuet/scherzo, evoking the troublesome G-flat from measure 5 and then descending to a murmur of apparent resignation on B-flat and A. The murmuring continues throughout the final repetition of the trio melody, and, sure enough, the barbed motives return as expected (141ff). Yet, along the way, the strings seem to become convinced by the winds’ persistent appeals, or at least convinced enough to participate in the final refrain. Violins and basses join the winds in a culminating tutti proclamation of the melody’s cadential phrase, marked fortissimo. The opposing character of the winds’ trio melody and the strings’ murmur seems to render them compatible but only temporarily: the two impulses continue to compete even as they cooperate.

(One feels the sense of competitive cooperation perhaps most strongly when the melody reaches its apex on G, and the strings' semitone motive has expanded to the interval of a fifth [E-flat—B-flat] to fill out the harmony [159]). The coda further celebrates this little drama of competition and cooperation, as strings and winds exchange a teasing two-note motive and the entire ensemble fades to a pianissimo (164-175). An ideal of collective participation is achieved, perhaps, but not without conflict.

As noted in Chapter I, the only surviving review of the December 27th, 1807 concert contains but a few scattered details about the performance of the Fourth Symphony. Of the third movement—described as a “minuet and trio”—the reviewer mentions only a “distinct, original character.” That Beethoven's contemporaries might have heard this movement along broadly political lines, however, may be inferred from a later response to the symphony, from Carl Heinrich Breidenstein, the first appointed academic music lecturer at a German university (the University of Bonn, 1826—the next would be A.B. Marx, at the University of Berlin in 1830). Writing for the *Bonner Wochenblatt* in the year of his appointment, Breidenstein offered the following remarks about the symphony's third movement:

The principal motive in the minuet actually falls into two-four time, but is here forced into three-four, producing a unique, one might say comically indignant, effect. In the trio the wind instruments begin a rich but earnest melody, which seems to be mocked by the violins and other string instruments, inasmuch as they interrupt it with isolated, playful motives, which completely decline participation and, by means of a

cheeky unisono, contend for victory. The reentry of the minuet ends and renews the struggle.⁷³

Die Hauptfigur im Menuett gehört eigentlich dem Zweivierteltakt an, ist hier aber in den Dreivierteltakt eingezwängt, was eine eigne, ich möchte sagen, komisch-unwillige Wirkung macht. Am Trio beginnen die Blasinstrumente eine reiche aber ernsthafte Melodie, die von den Violinen und übrigen Streichinstrumenten verspottet zu werden scheint, indem je dieselbe durch einzelne neckische Figuren unterbrechen, die Theilhahme gänzlich verweigern und durch ein keckes Unisono um den Sieg streitet. Der Wiedereintritt des Menuetto endigt und erneuert diesen Kampf.⁷⁴

Breidenstein's language—like my own in the above interpretation—not only animates the musical motives, it also inscribes them within a political discourse. Similar to Reeve's minuet-dancing shopkeepers, the principal motive in two-four meter is "forced" into the normative three-four framework of the minuet, creating a "comically indignant effect." Conversely, the playful motives in the trio "completely decline participation" in the winds' melody; they stand both outside the social frame and in opposition to it. In Breidenstein's reading, the *keckes unisono* fails to unite the trio's opposing impulses: strings and winds continue to "contend for victory." The notion that the minuet's return "ends and renews the struggle" suggests that the sense of tension created by the work's play of opposites ultimately remains unresolved. The work perpetually restages its own central conflict (indeed, Beethoven's use of a five-part ABABA structure emphasizes this point).

For the fifty-four amateur and professional musicians at the December

⁷³ Senner, Vol. 2, p. 65 (translation emended).

⁷⁴ Carl Heinrich Breidenstein, "Symphonie von Beethoven, Nr. 4. In B," in *Bonner Wochenblatt* (17 December 1826).

27th, 1807 concert, the *Allegro molto e vivace* provided an opportunity to perform the social tensions inherent in the institution of the Amateur Concerts. In its successive articulations and contradictions of different ‘musical ideals’ (the tutti gesture in the minuet/scherzo; the winds’ melody in the trio), the movement creates a space for the metaphoric exploration of an ideal state, one in which multiple agencies could coexist—in harmony or disharmony—within a structured framework.⁷⁵ On the notated page as well on the orchestral platform, these different agencies are made to compete, cooperate, and occasionally cross borders, resulting in a structured but fundamentally ambivalent whole.

Such structured ambivalence—musical and social—may be thought to resonate with the ideological program of the Amateur Concerts, insofar as the movement (like the series) inscribes the experience of collective action within the framework of a regulated and regulating authority—that of the composer, or the state. In this view, the movement’s didactic character—made manifest by the orchestra in performance—finds a comfortable place within the politics of absolutism. But other interpretations are possible. Indeed, as Breidenstein’s reading suggests, the “comically indignant effect” of the movement’s most oft-repeated gesture encourages one to read the movement as farce or satire—as a vehicle for critique rather than (or in addition to) edification. From this perspective, the notion of a ‘musical ideal’ makes sense in this context only because it is subject to contradiction; the movement’s sense of coexistence is

⁷⁵ For more on contemporary theories of the symphony as the projection of an ideal state, see

founded—like any democracy—on the promise of dissent.

The Allegro molto e vivace offers a particularly rich object for sociological inquiry, in part because of its ambiguous relation to the familiar categories of social dance. Yet many of the issues raised here might also be raised with respect to other movements of the Fourth (or other works altogether). In the context of the Amateur Concerts alone, Beethoven's first four symphonies suggest a broad palette of possible readings, each one potentially drawing together elements of performance, aesthetics, politics, and cultural history. As I hope I have shown, the material and social concerns that help shape a particular performance not only provide a valuable hermeneutic window, they also allow for a more fruitful understanding of the relational nature of Beethoven's instrumental music.

Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 63-78.

CONCLUSION: “KNOWING” BEETHOVEN

The familiar is what we are used to, and what we are used to is often the most difficult to “know”—that is, to view as a problem, to see as strange, as distant, as “outside us.”¹

For Nietzsche, the “unnatural sciences” were those fields in which the subject matter was so intensely familiar it was in some ways the most difficult to grasp. Unlike the natural sciences, the unnatural sciences took the quotidian—the “not strange” rather than the “strange”—as their object of study. While Nietzsche was thinking in particular of a field that combined the philosophy of mind with experimental science (one whose status as a distinct discipline eventually faded), literary scholar Michael Wood has suggested that the notion of “knowing” the familiar applies equally well across the humanities.² It has particularly important implications, it might be suggested, for the study of Beethoven—a composer who has in many ways come to exemplify the familiar.

Indeed, even without musicologists to remind us that Beethoven’s best-loved works have in some sense come to stand in for music itself,³ so familiar has he become that one readily expects to encounter his persona on movie screens, his image on coffee mugs and T-shirts, his music in car commercials, summer blockbusters, and sporting arenas. But Beethoven’s coveted place in

¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, trans. Josefine Nauckhoff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 215. Quoted in Michael Wood, “A World Without Literature?” in *Dædalus* 138/1 (Winter 2009), pp. 58–67.

² Wood, “A World Without Literature?”

³ As Scott Burnham has argued, “The values of Beethoven’s heroic style have become the

the popular psyche seems to reflect more than just the commodification of his artworks and image (though it certainly reflects this). It is not Beethoven but “Beethoven”—the deaf, struggling hero—who has become familiar to us, as scholars from Adorno to Knittel to Burnham (and beyond) have emphasized.

In many ways, it is precisely our familiarity with “Beethoven” that has impeded the study of the Fourth Symphony (among other of his compositions). If not for the iconic status of the heroic Beethoven, Victorian-era critics would hardly have needed to resort to the metaphoric oppositions of peaks and valleys, giants and maidens, to explain the Fourth (or explain it away). Against the familiar background of the storming, scowling Beethoven, the Fourth came to be viewed as an Other, not just un-heroic but un-Beethovenian, more a reflection of Haydn and Mozart than of its own composer. As I have argued in this study, this view is not only reductive, it also paints a bichromatic picture of Beethoven’s oeuvre—compelling us to hear in “black and white” instead of vibrant color. To be sure, the Fourth draws in numerous ways on the symphonies of Haydn and Mozart, but it also stands in a fascinatingly complex relationship both to this tradition and to the so-called heroic style. And as its early performance history attests, in Beethoven’s Vienna alone, the Fourth came to life within a rich multiplicity of contexts. From the experimental intimacy of the Lobkowitz Palace, to the politically-charged atmosphere of the Amateur Concerts, to the reverent monumentality of the Concerts Spirituels, the Fourth both reflected and helped to articulate a diverse array of social,

values of music.” *Beethoven Hero*, xiii.

political, and historical moments.

Paradoxically, “knowing” Beethoven implies distancing ourselves from what we already know, making unfamiliar the familiar. The diverse studies of cultural context that have emerged in the past few decades point decisively in this direction, but also leave open many promising avenues for research. Longstanding interpretations of Beethoven’s life and music, now more than ever, should be subject to interrogation, reconsideration, and where necessary, revision. The extraordinary wealth of new tools available to scholars of all disciplines has put us in a prime position not just to explore uncharted territory, but also to remap the existing landscape. For familiar though it seems, Beethoven’s music remains as strange and compelling as ever, offering endless possibilities for further understanding.

APPENDIX I

THE SKETCHES: INVENTORY AND DESCRIPTION

Beethoven's orchestral works of 1806–7—including the Fourth Piano Concerto (op. 58), the Fourth Symphony (op. 60), the Violin Concerto (op. 61) and the *Coriolan* Overture (op. 62)—are among the small number in his oeuvre after circa 1798 for which few (or no) sketches survive. It has generally been assumed that at least one sketchbook from this period has gone missing.¹ Even so, a handful of sketches for the Fourth Symphony have been identified. To the H.C. Bodmer collection at the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn belongs a single leaf featuring a pair of sketches for the symphony's finale. More significant is the miscellany sketchbook *Landsberg 12*, housed in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, which contains several leaves related to the symphony. However, these materials have been neither reproduced nor adequately described in the literature. The most important general discussions of Beethoven's sketches to date, Gustav Nottebohm's two volumes of *Beethoveniana* and Johnson/Tyson/Winter's *The Beethoven Sketchbooks: History, Reconstruction, Inventory*, largely overlook them.²

The purpose of Appendix I is to provide a working inventory and

¹ Douglas Johnson and Alan Tyson, "Reconstructing Beethoven's Sketchbooks," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25/2 (1972), pp. 137-156, 150.

² Nottebohm knew about at least some of these sketches, but was more concerned, perhaps, with works for which a clearer story could be told. When scholars turned to the sketches in the 1970s, the Fourth was again essentially absent. A driving force behind the sketch revival was the desire to reassemble dismembered sketchbooks; for this reason, many leaves whose provenance was unclear or impossible to determine (particularly those in the large miscellanies) were left out of the discussion. I am most grateful to Douglas Johnson for shedding light on this topic (email exchange).

description of all the sketches Beethoven made for the Fourth Symphony. I will draw on research I conducted in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin as well as a number of secondary sources. In addition to providing information on the content and paper types of the materials in question, I will establish a tentative chronology for the sketches and examine their musical content. This brief study represents a first step toward a more comprehensive examination of these sources.

Source Material. The miscellany sketchbook *Landsberg 12* (formerly *Notierungsbuch W 30*) contains seven pages of material, on four bifolia, relating to the Fourth Symphony. The most detailed description of these pages to date is that of Eveline Bartlitz, who identifies their content somewhat misleadingly as “3. Satz u[nd] a[ndere]” (third movement and others).³ In fact, only one side of one leaf is unambiguously related to the third movement (p. 47); another leaf contains material whose association with the third movement (and indeed, with the symphony as a whole) is probable but contested (p. 57; see below). The materials are in fact mostly related to the first movement (pp. 53-56, 58), the second and fourth movements being unrepresented. To the seven pages in *Landsberg 12* may be added the single leaf mentioned above, part of a three-leaf grouping belonging to the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn. Here, then, is the complete list of known sketch sources for op. 60, with details on watermarks and rastrology:

³ Eveline Bartlitz, ed., *Die Beethoven-Sammlung in der Musikabteilung der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek* (Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Berlin, 1970), 113.

- (a)** Bonn, Beethoven-Haus, *Bsk 17/65a*, page 2v. Single leaf of 16-staff paper. Letters VB under a crown or baldachin and three half moons, of which the largest has the profile of a face.⁴
- (b)** Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz), *Landsberg 12*, pp. 53/54, 55/56. Two consecutively bound leaves of 12-staff paper, which may constitute a bifolium. The music on the leaves is not continuous, and the binding makes it impossible to tell if the leaves were originally attached. Letters FS (upside-down and backwards) on pp. 53/54 and three half moons on pp. 55/56.
- (c)** Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (SPK), *Landsberg 12*, pp. 57/58. Bifolium of 16-staff paper, one leaf of which has been torn out (the stub, with notation on it, remains). Letters BV separated by fleur-de-lys.
- (d)** Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (SPK), *Landsberg 12*, pp. 47/48. Single leaf of 12-staff paper, which has been trimmed. Barred with a straightedge all the way down on both recto and verso, creating three large measures on each page. No visible watermark.

Table I.1: Sketch sources for Beethoven, Symphony No. 4

No two leaves share the same watermark, making their relationship to one another difficult to discern. However, the paper types provide some clues to the chronological order of the materials. The Bonn leaf (a), the second member of a three-leaf grouping, is part of a larger collection of ten loose leaves containing sketches for *Leonore/Fidelio*. As Alan Tyson has shown, these ten leaves—now scattered in Berlin, Bonn, Basel, and Vienna—share the same paper type. These leaves probably never belonged to a unified sketchbook but were used as loose sheets.⁵ The Bonn grouping contains, in addition to sketches for *Leonore/Fidelio* and the Fourth Symphony, copied-out portions of

⁴ I have not viewed this source in person and rely here on Alan Tyson's description of the watermark in "Das Leonoreskizzenbuch (Mendelssohn 15)," *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* 1977, 489.

⁵ Tyson, "Leonoreskizzenbuch," 489.

the Act I quintet from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (No. 5) and the Act I trio and finale from Cherubini's *Les deux journées*, both of which, as is well known, supplied important stimuli for Beethoven's opera. Tyson has plausibly associated these ten leaves with the year 1804, postulating that they were used between May (or June) and October.⁶ If this is the case, then these sketches for the symphony's finale were probably contemporary with Beethoven's work on his opera, although a later date up to 1806 cannot be excluded.

The watermark and number of staves of source (b) match with paper Beethoven used for the autographs of the "Appassionata" Sonata (op. 57), the First "Razumovsky" Quartet (op. 59 no. 1), the second movement of the Second "Razumovsky" Quartet (op. 59, no. 2), and the song "In questa tomba oscura."⁷ Tyson concludes that all these autographs "can be dated with some confidence to the spring, summer, or autumn of 1806."⁸ Source (b) appears itself to be part of an autograph score that Beethoven ultimately rejected. The parts are laid out in orchestral format with the melody in the uppermost staff, the bass in the bottom staff, and hints of inner parts in the intervening staves. It remains the only known fragment of this early orchestral score.⁹

Source (c) also makes use of a paper type Beethoven used for several 1806 autographs, including the Violin Concerto and the Second and Third

⁶ Ibid, 490-491.

⁷ Beethoven also copied excerpts from Handel's *Messiah* onto paper of this type. See Tyson, "In questa tomba oscura," in Harry Goldschmidt, ed., *Bericht über den Internationalen Beethoven-Kongress Berlin 1977* (Leipzig, 1978), 241.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ After he abandoned the draft, Beethoven filled in the empty space with elaborate sketches for the "Pastoral" Symphony and the Mass in C. See Gustav Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana*

“Razumovsky” Quartets. These autographs, in addition to several sketches, indicate that he used this paper in the second half of 1806.¹⁰

The watermark of source (d) was lost when the page was trimmed. Its layout and content, however, suggest that it is not a sketch but a rejected page from the autograph of the Fourth Symphony. Solid vertical lines divide the page into three large measures—the same format as the pages in the autograph manuscript. Moreover, (d) has a companion page in the autograph (p. 159, corresponding to Mvt. III/67-75). It appears Beethoven planned to insert (d) into the autograph, as indicated by the crossed circle in the top right-hand corner of the page, but decided to reorchestrate the passage, causing him to write it out anew.¹¹ The planned insertion of (d) was probably part of a larger revisionary stage in the preparation of the autograph (see Appendix II).¹²

In sum, the four sources described above represent a variety of preliminary materials. Sources (a) and (c) contain sketches in the usual sense; source (b) is a fragment of a rejected early score; source (d) is a rejected page from the autograph. The Bonn leaf (a) contains the earliest known sketches for the symphony, perhaps dating back to 1804. The other three sources cannot

(New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970), 369-370.

¹⁰ As Tyson explains, several sources for *Leonore* are also found on paper of this type. With respect to dating: “there is nothing to suggest that Beethoven obtained paper of type I *before* about August or September, 1806, or indeed that he used it *after* the end of the year.” “The Problem of Beethoven’s ‘First’ ‘Leonore’ Overture,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28/2 (Summer 1975), pp. 292-334, 312. The watermark is visible as his Fig. 6, pp. 310-11.

¹¹ The crossed circle appears on both the insertion point in the autograph and on the inserted page 159 as a signal to the copyist. In (d), the melody is scored for first violin and viola; in the final version it is scored for winds.

¹² Beethoven later filled in the empty space with sketches for the “Pastoral” Symphony and the Mass in C. See Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana*, 369-378.

be dated with certainty; however, the evidence suggests that they all date from 1806. An important conclusion to be drawn is that these materials do not necessarily indicate a clear progression from sketch to draft to score. Rather, as was his habit, Beethoven appears to have worked in multiple formats simultaneously, working out individual elements as necessary. The possibility that the sketch for the first movement's retransition section (c) postdates the orchestral draft of the exposition (b)—see below—is not incongruous, but rather attests to Beethoven's flexible approach in the early stages of composition.¹³ Beethoven may well have begun orchestrating the exposition before he had a clear idea of how the development was to proceed.

Musical Content. Given that sources (b) and (d) are not sketches but rejected autograph pages, my discussion here will focus mainly on the other two sources. Until now, the only sketches for the Fourth Symphony to receive significant attention in the literature have been those on the Bonn leaf (a). This leaf features two short sketches on an otherwise blank page. On the top two staves is a sketch corresponding roughly to measures 64-87 in the finale. In this early version, however, the four hammerstroke B-naturals do not repeat and the sixteenth-note figuration receives further (albeit indistinct) elaboration after the high D in bar 10.

¹³ On this topic, see Lewis Lockwood, "On Beethoven's Sketches and Autographs," in Lewis Lockwood, ed., *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), pp. 4-16.



Example I.1: *Bsk 17/65a*, page 2v, staves 1-2

Beneath this (on the fifth staff) appears an early version of the finale's main theme. The sixteenth-note scalar descent culminates in a series of nine chords with the rhythmic profile of an ending. The notation is again increasingly indistinct; however, it appears that Beethoven switched to two-voice shorthand to notate the chords. The rhythmic and harmonic profile suggests that the passage may be an early version of mm. 350-355.



Example I.2: *Bsk 17/65a*, page 2v, staff 5

Source (c) is more complex. On p. 58 of *Landsberg 12* (verso) appear two melodic sketches for the symphony's first movement. In the top staff is a four-bar sketch marked "Adagio," perhaps an idea for the symphony's slow introduction. Beneath this appears a longer sketch, an early conception of the first movement retransition into the recapitulation (Examples I.3 and I.4).

Example I.3: Transcription of Landsberg 12, p. 58

1 Adagio

5 [Allegro]

[Three blank staves]

16

27

35

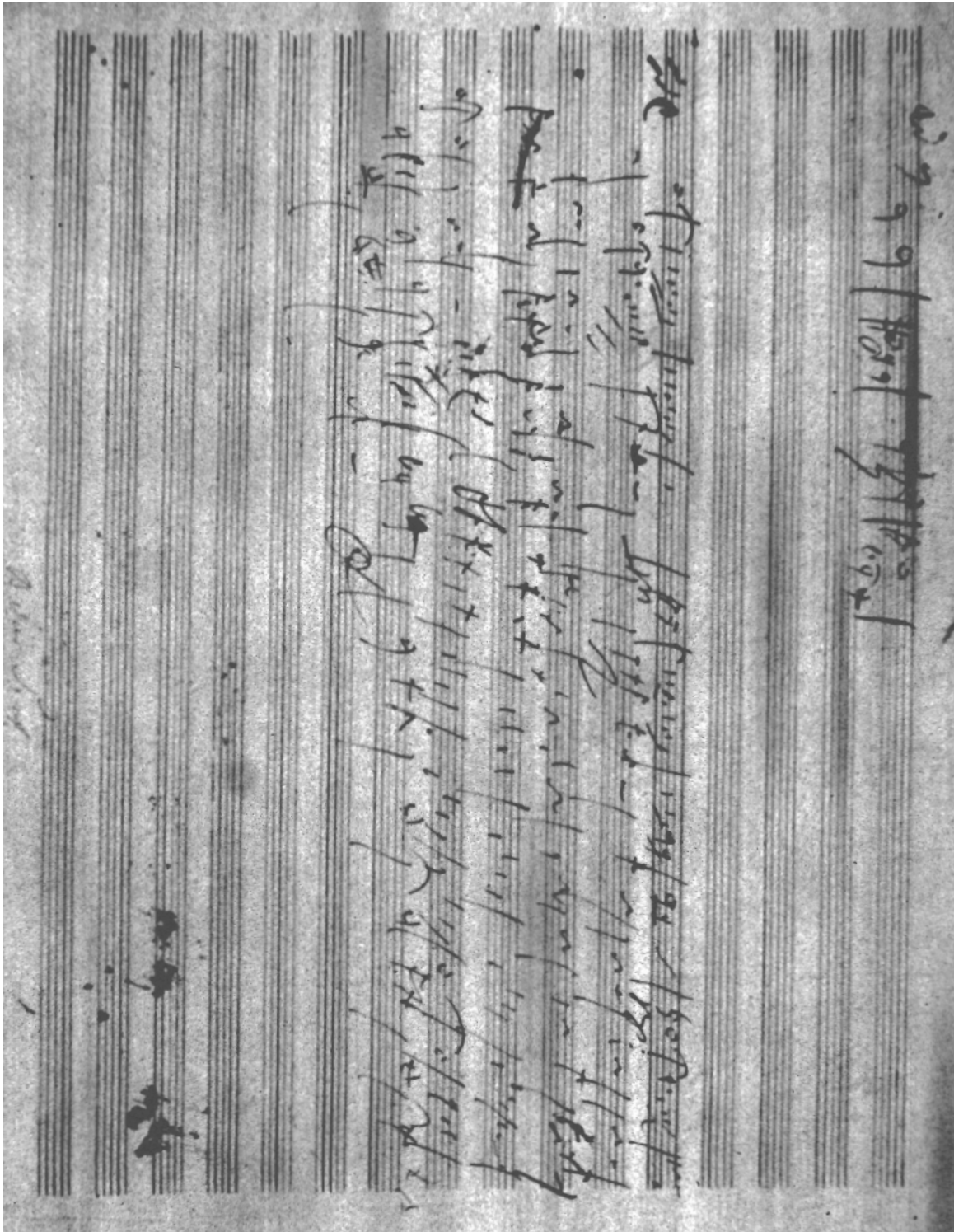
45

53

65

[Five blank staves]

Example I.4: Facsimile of Landsberg 12, p. 58



There are several points of contact between this early version of the retransition and its final instantiation. 1) Measures 5-12 appear to be a variant of Mvt. I, mm. 65ff, the long crescendo in the exposition. Although Beethoven ultimately excised this idea from the development section, the melodic trajectory from B-flat through (presumably) C-sharp to D hints at the extensive enharmonic passage in the final version. 2) Measures 9-32 of the sketch relate to measures 304ff in the final version: note that the tonic return of the tirade figure from the start of the Allegro is already marked as an important event by the *pianissimo* dynamic. The passage anticipates the finished product with the upward arpeggiation between phrases, and the marked use of silence (ultimately filled in by drumrolls). Although the pitches from m.16ff. are indistinct, the acceleration of surface rhythm from one quarter note per bar, to two, to four (with the return of the main melody) is essentially consistent with the rhythmic profile of the retransition. Notably, Beethoven's pitches before the return seem to be C's: if so, his original conception might have been to pass through the dominant rather than remaining on the tonic as in the final version. 3) In the sketch Beethoven twice reprises the main theme, once with no marked dynamic, once *fortissimo*. This may imply he was considering a recapitulation that began quietly: the double presentation of the theme would thus be a more direct recollection of the exposition. 4) The passage beginning at 53 relates to mm. 351ff; in the sketch the melody is embellished with passing tones that Beethoven ultimately decided to leave out.

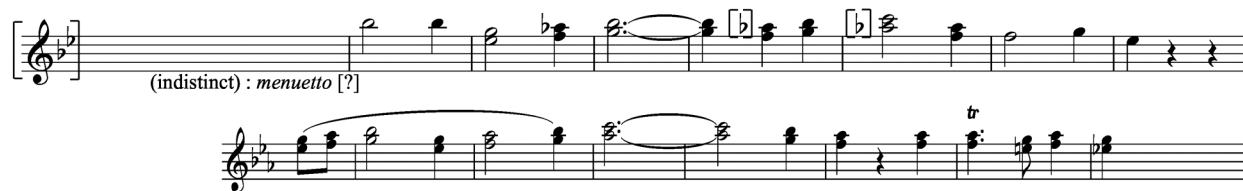
One of the most interesting aspects of this sketchleaf is that possible

sketches for the Adagio introduction appear together with sketches for the retransition. In the finished work, these two moments intersect in a number of ways (as discussed in Chapter II). Although the sketches show little trace of harmonic interconnections, the Adagio sketch ends on A major as dominant of D minor (as does the actual Adagio), a sonority that also figures prominently in the final version of the development section. The semitone descents in the sketch's alto part (F—E; B-flat—A) also seem significant: while they do not survive into the final version, they relate to the G-flat—F motive (and its transpositions), so characteristic of the introduction and of the work as a whole. Indeed, given the prominence of this motive throughout the symphony, it is interesting to note that the sketch for the retransition in effect begins where the “Adagio” sketch leaves off: the descent from B-flat to A gives way to rapid neighbor motion between these two tones.

On the recto of (c) (p. 57) is a seven-staff sketch in B-flat major and 3/4 time (facsimile included as Example I.11 at end of this appendix). A later hand relates this to the scherzo of the Sixth Symphony, although in light of both the key and the musical materials, the relationship seems unlikely. Tyson, in an article on the sketches for *Leonore*, suggests that the B-flat major sketch may in fact have been intended as an idea for the third movement of the Fourth.¹⁴ While the ambiguity of the notation makes a faithful transcription difficult, a few distinct ideas emerge to support Tyson's hypothesis. On the first staff, there appears a fragmentary melody in parallel thirds. Although the melody is

¹⁴ Tyson, “Beethoven's ‘First’ Leonore Overture,” 311.

in E-flat rather than B-flat, it is suggestive of the melodic apex in the trio section of the scherzo movement:



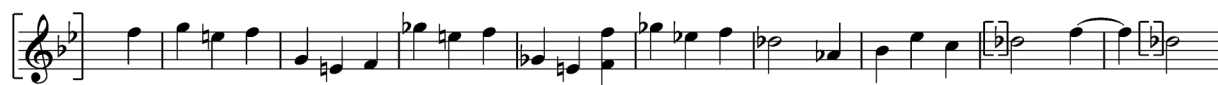
Example I.5: Landsberg 12, p. 57, staff 1, compared to Mvt. III, mm.157-163 (transposed to E-flat)

This raises the possibility that Beethoven was intending for the trio to be in E-flat major, rather than the symphony's B-flat; however, the passage is too short to draw any definitive conclusions. Indeed, the remainder of the sketch on p. 57—six staves, in which parallel thirds are no longer present—focuses on a second idea, which might have been intended as a main theme:



Example I.6: Landsberg 12, p. 57, staff 2

Further on, the three-note motive G—E-natural—F receives distinctive treatment in a brief passage juxtaposing natural-six with flat-six, and leading to a modulation into D-flat major:



Example I.7: Landsberg 12, p. 57, staves 2-3

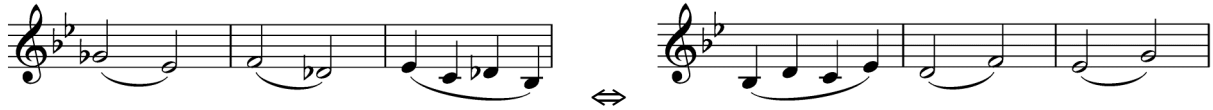
Both the motivic treatment and the modulation anticipate aspects of the

Fourth Symphony's third movement: the use of the pitches G-flat—E-natural—F to effect a transition recalls the end of the trio's first section (leading into the tutti repetition of the theme, cf. mm. 134 ff.). However, the appearance of the notional main theme in D-flat more nearly recalls the scherzo proper, the second part of which begins with the main theme in that key (m. 21). But perhaps the most striking aspect of this passage is the transformation of the four-note head motive G—E-natural—F—D to G-flat—E-flat—F—D-flat: not only does this reinterpretation allow for a modulation, it also relates to the Fourth Symphony's opening theme:



Example I.8: Mvt. I, mm. 1-3 compared to sketch

Ultimately, of course, Beethoven adopted a different set of thematic materials for the third movement. Nonetheless, the main themes of both the scherzo and the trio relate to melodic ideas from the symphony's first movement, suggesting a similarity of process to the sketch. In the trio section, as in the sketch, the main theme recalls the interlocking chain of thirds from the symphony's opening; in the final version, however, Beethoven conceals the relationship, basing the trio melody on the opening Adagio theme in major-mode retrograde form (Example I.9).

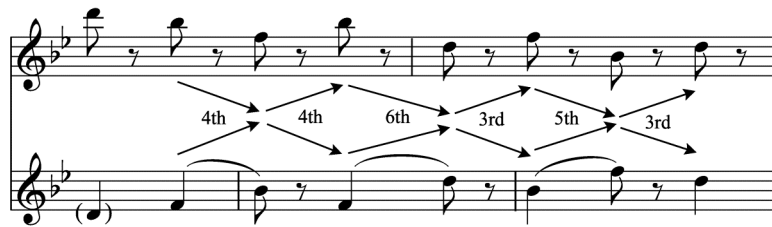


Example I.9a: Opening Adagio theme and its major-mode retrograde



Example I.9b: Mvt. III, mm. 91-105

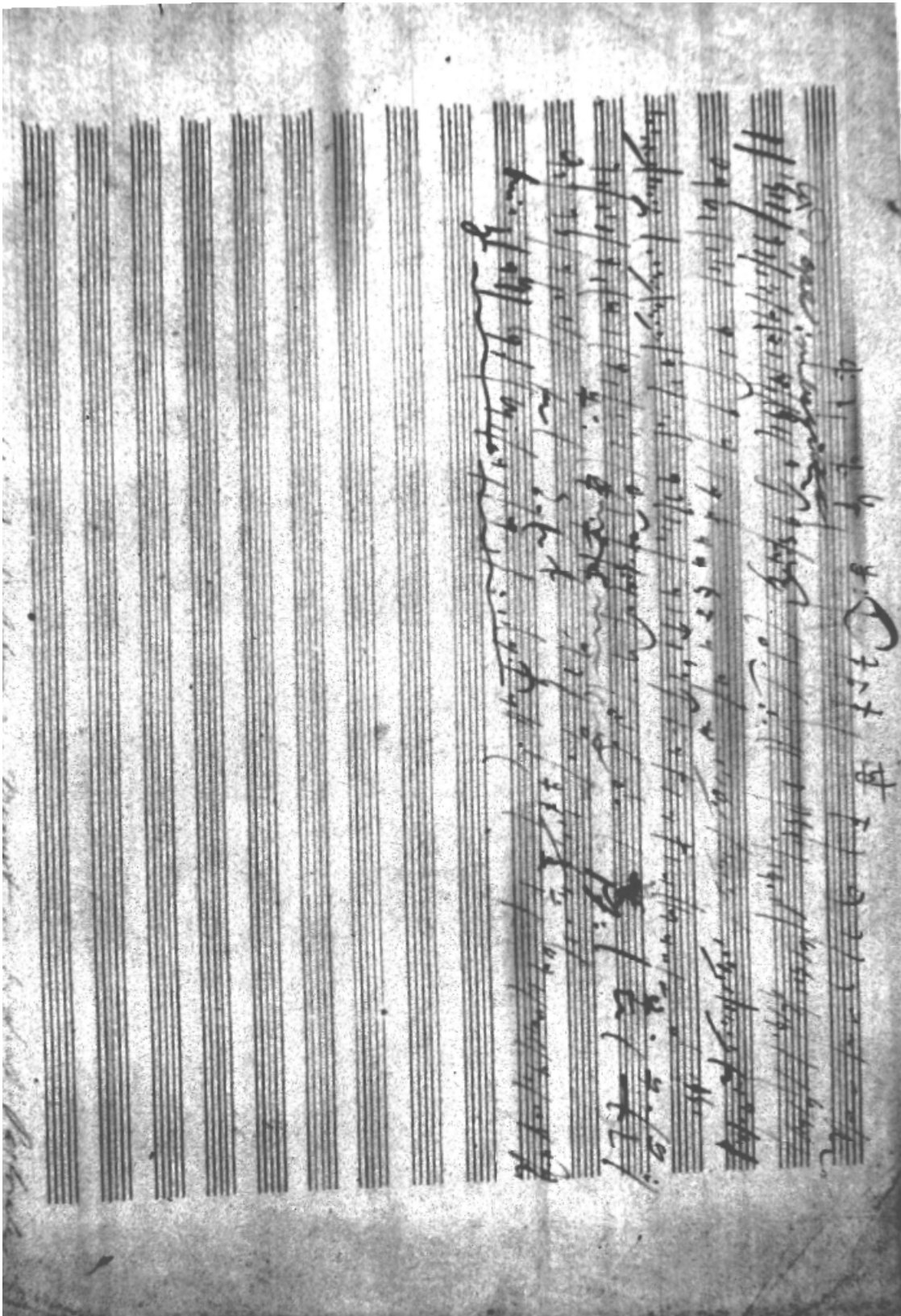
The opening theme of the scherzo also relates to the first movement, but again in a less obvious way than implied by the sketch; the theme is, in effect, an inversion of the arpeggiated main theme of the Allegro (Example I.10).



Example I.10: Opening themes of Mvts. I and III as inversions of each other

While these strategies of thematic integration are subtler than what the sketch implies, it is tempting to suppose that, even early in the symphony's composition, Beethoven was already experimenting with different ways to fashion links between movements. Taken together, the sketches in *Landsberg 12*, while fragmentary, offer a possible glimpse into his early conceptions of the symphony's cyclic design.

Example I.11: Facsimile of Landsberg 12, p. 57



APPENDIX II

THE AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT: SOME ASPECTS OF BEETHOVEN'S REVISION PROCESS

The autograph of op. 60 (Berlin Staatsbibliothek, SPK: *Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven Mend.-Stift. 12*) is the first surviving autograph score of a Beethoven symphony. It provides important details regarding not just the text of the symphony itself, but also Beethoven's methods of composition and revision. The unbound manuscript is a patchwork of loose leaves in various shapes and sizes. Leaves have been inserted, removed, cut, and recombined to form a multilayered document with a rich history. To date, there is no published study.¹ What I will offer here is not an extensive discussion of the orthographical and editorial corrections Beethoven made as he prepared his autograph to be copied. Rather, as a first step toward a more comprehensive study, I will focus on some aspects of the revision process as indicated by the distribution of paper types in the manuscript.

The manuscript comprises 254 pages in twelve-staff format, made up mostly of bifolia, but also including single leaves of various sizes and 'trifolia' (bifolia with single leaves sewn in the middle). There are five paper types as indicated by the watermarks:

¹ Alan Tyson conducted a study in the 1970s that will form the basis of the description of the autograph in the forthcoming Henle critical edition, edited by Bathia Churgin. I thank Professor Churgin for this information.

- (A)** Starfish, six arms/EGA : Half moon with face. 12 staves.²
- (B)** Crowned three-star crest with double border : VG. 12 staves.³
- (C)** Ship's wheel (?) with letter I : ?. 12 staves.⁴
- (D)** Baldachin/VB : Half moon with face. 12 staves.⁵
- (E)** S superimposed over perpendicular middle line. 12 staves.⁶

Table II.1: Paper types used in Symphony No. 4 autograph

The first movement makes use of paper types (A), (B), and (C). The second, third, and fourth movements make use of paper types (D) and (E).

The distribution of paper types suggests that Beethoven completed the manuscript in two stages, drafting and/or revising the first movement independently of the last three movements. This is not to say that there was necessarily a chronological break after the composition of the first movement. It is reasonable to assume that as soon as Beethoven ran out of one paper type, he immediately switched to another. But while the revisions to the last three movements are all on the same kind of paper, the revisions to the first movement are on paper not found anywhere else in the manuscript. This

² Paper type (A) is also used for the autographs of op. 48, nos. 5 and 6 (c. 1801–early 1802, publ. 1803). The paper type is Mold A of Douglas Johnson et. al, *The Beethoven Sketchbooks: History, Reconstruction, Inventory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 545, No. 6 (with a six- rather than seven-pronged starfish). See Johnson, p. 117, note 8.

³ Paper type (B) is also used in the sketchbook Mendelssohn 15 (1804-1805); see Johnson, pp. 146-155, and 549 (No. 17).

⁴ I have been unable to locate any further uses of paper type (C), of which only one leaf is used in the symphony's autograph (see Table II.2).

⁵ Paper type (D) is also used in the Mass in C Sketchbook (1807); see Johnson, pp. 156-159, and 547 (No. 12).

⁶ Paper type (E) is also used in the Mass in C Sketchbook; see Johnson, pp. 156-159, and 550 (No. 19).

suggests that even if Beethoven composed all four movements at around the same time, he revised the symphony in two distinct stages.

Table II.2 shows the distribution of paper types in the manuscript. For the first movement, the principal paper type is (A); individual corrections occur on leaves of (B) and (C) inserted later. For the last three movements, the distribution is more complex. The principal paper type is (D) from bar 1 of the second movement to bar 207 of the finale, at which point (E) is used for the remainder of the symphony. But (E) is also used at various points earlier in each of the three last movements. The music on these leaves largely coincides with major sectional divisions in the symphony:

Paper Type (D):	Mvt. II, Opening through start of Coda Mvt. III, Minuet and opening bars of Trio Mvt. IV, Exposition only
Paper Type (E):	Mvt. II, Coda Mvt. III, Trio Mvt. IV, Development through end of movement

To be sure, Beethoven might have drawn arbitrarily from the two paper stocks. However, the correspondence of paper types to discrete sections suggests a more systematic approach. One possibility is that he left the coda of the second movement and the trio of the third movement—both on paper type (E)—incomplete until reaching the finale, which changes to (E) after the exposition. Another, perhaps more plausible, hypothesis is that the second-movement coda and third-movement trio on (E) in fact represent replacements of earlier (now lost) versions, presumably on paper type (D).

Table II.2: Distribution of paper types in Symphony No. 4 autograph

Mvt.	Autograph Page Nos.	Corresponding Measure Nos.	Paper Type	Notes
I	1-10	1-38	A	
	11-12	39-42	B	p. 11 replaces p. 13; p. 12 (verso) blank
	13-19	39-66	A	mm. 39-41 superseded by 39-42 on p. 11; mm. 61-64 superseded by 61-64 on p. 19a
	19a/19b	61-64	C	p. 19a, a partial sheet, covers up (and replaces) first four bars of p. 19; p. 19b (verso) blank
	20-114	67-498	A	p. 114 blank
II	115-144	1-92	D	
	145-148	93-104	E	
III	149-156	1-50	D	
	157-8/163-4	51-66, 76-80	D	
	159-162	67-75	E	p. 159 is inserted; pp. 160-162 blank
	165-168	81-104	D	
	169-188	105-397	E	pp. 187-188 blank
IV	189-196	1-43, 52-54	D	
	197/198	44-51	E	p. 197 is inserted; p. 198 (verso) blank
	199-202	55-78	D	
	203-206	79-101a	D	
	207-210	102a-119	E	
	211-216	120-149	E	trifolium; p. 216 blank
	217-222	150-186	E	trifolium
	223-228	187-206, 209-211, 207-208	E	trifolium; p. 227 is an insertion of two bars; p. 228 (verso) blank
	229-248	212-326	E	
	249-254	327-355	E	trifolium; p. 254 blank

In addition to completing or replacing the second-movement coda and the trio section, Beethoven made two further changes to the existing manuscript using paper type (E). He added new passages to the third movement and finale, both of which could be interpolated without altering the existing music. To the third movement he added the mysterious swelling passage with its G-flat *sforzandi* (mm. 67-75). (Sketch source (d), described in Appendix I, is a rejected first draft for this revision). And in the finale, he added a new, varied repetition to the *dolce* theme beginning in measure 37. In the new passage (mm. 44-52) the melody shifts into the bass voice for the first four bars, then leaps back into the treble for the last four.

Both revisions are bona fide interpolations—the music would work perfectly well without them. Beethoven might have inserted these passages in the interest of proportions or to add variety. Both also emphasize motivic elements significant to each movement and to the symphony as a whole. The new passage in the third movement places strong emphasis on the G-flat—F motive discussed in Chapter II: not only is this motive played out horizontally (with added *sforzando* emphasis on G-flat) but vertically as well, the two pitches sounding against each other as the flute reaches an apex. The new passage in the finale places the *dolce* melody in counterpoint against a syncopated figure. The use of syncopation here recalls similar instances in the first and fourth movements. Both interpolations thus create contrast at the local level while emphasizing larger-scale motivic and rhythmic continuities.

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