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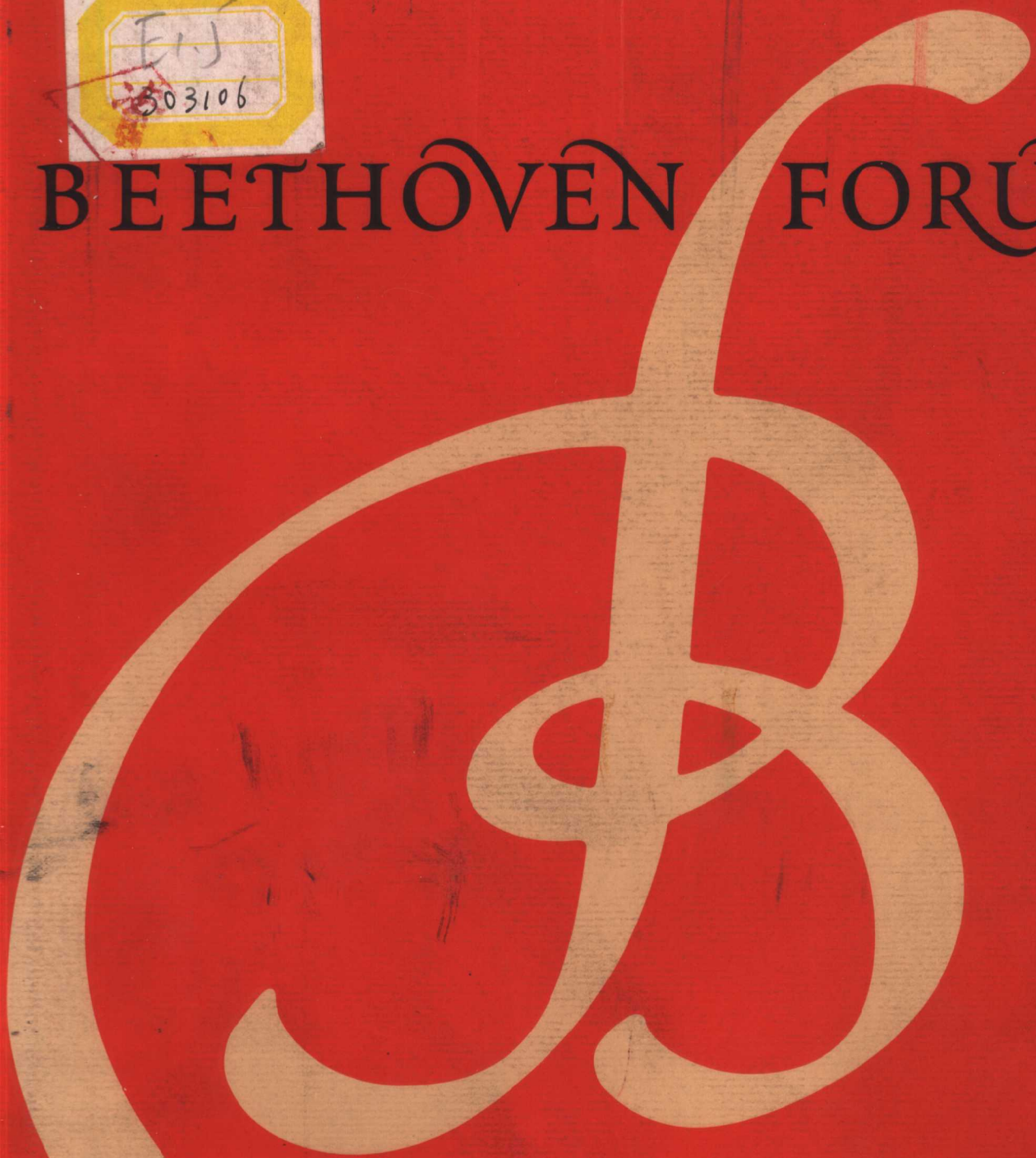
BEETHOVEN FORUM



VOLUME 1

BEETHOVEN

Christopher Reynolds, Editor-in-Chief *Lewis Lockwood & James Webster, Editors*

FORUM

1

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NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

Beethoven Forum, a series for new studies on the work, life, and milieu of Ludwig van Beethoven, is published annually by the University of Nebraska Press.

For matters of style contributors should refer to this volume of *Beethoven Forum*. Submissions should be double-spaced, with the notes following the text, and they should incorporate the abbreviations given at the beginning of this volume. Musical examples require captions that provide titles, bar numbers (in the case of published works), and complete references to the source of sketch material; these should be included both on the examples and on a separate page of Example Captions.

Please submit three copies of the text (no disks until requested) to Christopher Reynolds, Editor, *Beethoven Forum*, Department of Music, University of California, Davis, CA 95616.

Copies of books and materials for review should be sent to Michael Tusa, Review Editor, *Beethoven Forum*, Department of Music, University of Texas, Austin, TX 75229.

Preface

This inaugural volume of the annual publication *Beethoven Forum* appears almost two hundred years to the month after Beethoven's decisive move from Bonn to Vienna in November 1792. Although the three editors ascribe no specially "commemorative" significance to this conjunction, we do feel something akin to what must have been his own sense of expectancy and purpose on that occasion.

Our planning has been motivated by the belief that a new publication of this type is urgently needed. In distinction to many other composers of equal and lesser stature, no yearbook or other comparable outlet for original research devoted to Beethoven appears regularly today. The *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* (2nd ser.), published by the Beethovenhaus in Bonn, has included many fundamental contributions but has appeared irregularly (only ten volumes since 1953 and none since 1983). The occasional series *Beethoven Studies,* edited by Alan Tyson, ceased publication after three volumes (1973–82). Although the *Beethoven Newsletter,* published since 1986 by the American Beethoven Society, includes brief articles and reviews by authoritative experts, it cannot accommodate the longer or more technical articles characteristic of primary scholarship. Under these conditions the need for a new annual publication is clear.

We hope that *Beethoven Forum* will appeal to a broad, international spectrum of specialist and nonspecialist scholars, teachers, performers, and others interested in Beethoven and his music. We intend to publish the

widest possible range of material: biographical research and source studies, analytical and interpretative essays, and investigations of Beethoven's relations to earlier and later composers and to his social and cultural milieu as well as reviews and review essays on recent publications, recordings, and musical performances. As the title "forum" implies, we also hope not only to accommodate a wide variety of perspectives but to stimulate debate on current issues of general interest, such as the historiography of music, analytical methodology, and performance practice. In pursuit of these goals, we are fortunate to have assembled an editorial board whose members' international distinction and breadth of interests speak for themselves.

Since the most recent issue of the *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* (1983), the field of Beethoven studies has changed considerably—changes that reflect developments in musicology as a whole. Many fresh approaches to Beethoven's life and works are reflected in contributions to *Beethoven Forum* 1. Richard Kramer and William Kinderman take up issues of musical "narrative" in their analytical interpretations of two problematic works of Beethoven's last decade, the String Quartet in B♭, op. 130, and the Piano Sonata in A♭, op. 110. Scott Burnham's analysis of the *Eroica* Symphony reflects current interests in questions of musical reception, historiography, and hermeneutical interpretation, while James Webster's account of the finale to the Ninth contrasts earlier analytical searches for unity with a newer "multivalent" approach. And Julia Moore's essay on the economic forces that shaped Beethoven's career testifies to yet another aspect of the increasing tendency to contextualize the lives and works of even the greatest composers of the past.

But it should not be supposed that traditional approaches to Beethoven and his music are moribund. Source and sketch studies still flourish, as evidenced by Robert Freeman's study of newly discovered sources for Beethoven's piano cadenzas and David Smyth's account of Beethoven's revision of the scherzo of the String Quartet in F, op. 18, no. 1, as well as Nicholas Marston's review article devoted to the complex relations between Beethoven's sketching activity and the final, published work. Interest in literary and other extramusical sources for Beethoven's music, dormant since the 1930s but recently revived, receives a new impulse from Theodore Albrecht's suggestion regarding the "Tempest" Sonata. And Roger Kamien's investigation of enharmonic relations in the "Waldstein" Sonata stands in the mainstream of the Schenkerian analytical tradition.

The variety and quality of these essays demonstrate the continued vitality of Beethoven studies. Along with other contributions already offered for publication in future volumes, they provide the ultimate justification for *Beethoven Forum*.

The editors gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Carol Hancock.

CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS
LEWIS LOCKWOOD
JAMES WEBSTER

Abbreviations

Literature

Anderson	Emily Anderson, ed., *The Letters of Beethoven*, 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1961; rpt. New York: Norton, 1985)
BS I, BS II, BS III	*Beethoven Studies*, ed. Alan Tyson, vol. 1 (New York: Norton, 1973), vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982)
CB	Karl-Heinz Köhler, Grita Herre, and Dagmar Beck, eds., *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte* (= Conversation Books), 8 vols. (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, (1968–83)
GA	*Beethovens Werke: vollständige, kritisch durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe*, 25 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1862–65, 1888)
Hess	Willy Hess, *Verzeichnis der nicht in der Gesamtausgabe veröffentlichten Werke Ludwig van Beethovens* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1957)
JTW	Douglas Johnson, Alan Tyson, and Robert Winter, *The Beethoven Sketchbooks: History, Reconstruction, Inventory*, ed. Douglas Johnson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985)
Kinsky-Halm	Georg Kinsky, *Das Werk Beethovens: thematisch-bibliographisches Verzeichnis seiner sämtlichen vollendeten Kompositionen*, completed and ed. Hans Halm (Munich and Duisburg: G. Henle, 1955)
Klein	Hans-Günter Klein, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Autographe und Abschriften*, SPK, Ka-

	taloge der Musikabteilung, ed. Rudolf Elvers, Erste Reihe: Handschriften, vol.2 (Berlin: Merseburger, 1975)
N I	Gustav Nottebohm, *Beethoveniana* (Leipzig and Winterthur: J. Rieter-Biedermann, 1872)
N II	Gustav Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana: nachgelassene Aufsätze* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1887)
N 1865	Gustav Nottebohm, *Ein Skizzenbuch von Beethoven* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1865); English trans, in *Two Beethoven Sketchbooks* (London: Gollancz, 1979), pp.3–43
N 1880	Gustav Nottebohm, *Ein Skizzenbuch von Beethoven aus dem Jahre 1803* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1880); English trans. in *Two Beethoven Sketchbooks* (London: Gollancz, 1979), pp.47–125
New Grove	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980)
Schindler (1840)	Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1840); trans. into English as *The Life of Beethoven,* ed. I Moscheles, 2 vols. (London: H. Colburn, 1841)
Schindler (1860)	Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven,* 2 vols. (3rd edn. Münster: Aschendorff, 1860)
Schindler-MacArdle	Anton Schindler, *Beethoven as I Knew Him,* ed. Donald W. MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966)
SBH	Hans Schmidt. "Die Beethoven Handschriften des Beethovenhauses in Bonn," BJ 7 (1971), vii-xxiv, 1–443
SG	Joseph Schmidt-Görg, "Wasserzeichen in Beethoven-Briefen," BJ 5 (1966), 7–74
SV	Hans Schmidt, "Verzeichnis der Skizzen Beethovens," BJ 6 (1969), 7–128
TDR, I–V	Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Ludwig van Beethovens Leben,* vol.1 (rev.) continued by Hermann Deiters (Berlin: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901); vols.IV–V completed by Hugo Riemann (Leipzig, 1907, 1908); vols.II–III rev. Riemann (Leipzig, 1910, 1911); Deiters's 1901 edn. of vol.1 rev. Riemann (Leipzig, 1917); vols.II–V reissued (Leipzig, 1922–23)
Thayer I, II, III	Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Ludwig van Beethoven's Leben,* 3 vols. (Berlin: F. Schneider, 1866–79)

Thayer-Forbes	*Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, rev. and ed. Elliot Forbes, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964)
Thayer-Krehbiel	Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *The Life of Ludwig van Beethoven*, trans. into English and ed. Henry Edward Krehbiel, 3 vols. (New York: Beethoven Assoc., 1921)
Thayer, *Verzeichniss*	Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Chronologisches Verzeichniss der Werke Ludwig van Beethoven's* (Berlin: F. Schneider, 1865)
Wegeler-Ries	Franz Gerhard Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Coblenz: K. Bädeker, 1838), suppl. Franz Gerhard Wegeler (Coblenz, 1845)

Journals

Acta	*Acta Musicologica*
AfMw	*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*
AmZ	*Allegemeine musikalische Zeitung*
BJ	*Beethoven-Jahrbuch* (1908–09) and *Beethoven-Jahrbuch, Zweite Reihe* (1953–)
JAMS	*Journal of the American Musicological Society*
JM	*The Journal of Musicology*
JMT	*Journal of Music Theory*
ML	*Music and Letters*
MQ	*The Musical Quarterly*
NBJ	*Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch*
19CM	*19th-Century Music*

Libraries

BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
DSB	Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin
GdM	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna
PrStB	former Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin
SPK	Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

Contents

On the Programmatic Reception of Beethoven's Eroica *Symphony*

Scott Burnham

In his short novella *Ein Glücklicher Abend* of 1840, Richard Wagner probably thought he had made a definitive statement about the proper critical interpretation of Beethoven's Third Symphony. One of the interlocutors in Wagner's engaging dialogue argues with the borrowed warmth of a recently emptied bowl of punch that the *Eroica* Symphony is no portrait of Napoléon, or of any specific hero, but is itself an act of heroism:

> He [Beethoven], too, must have felt *his* powers aroused to an extraordinary pitch, his valiant courage spurred on to a grand and unheard of deed! He was no general—he was a musician; and thus in *his* realm he saw before him the territory within which he could accomplish the same thing that Bonaparte had achieved in the fields of Italy.[1]

The characterization of instrumental music as a separate world that could be ruled by a masterful composer in the same way that geographic

I owe much to Richard Kramer for the generous spirit and incisive vigor of his criticism in response to an earlier version of this essay.

1. "Auch *seine* [Beethoven's] Kraft musste sich zu einem ausserordentlichen Schwunge angeregt, sein Siegesmut zu einer grossen, unerhörten Tat angespornt fühlen! Er war nicht Feldherr,—er war Musiker, und so sah er in *seinem* Reiche das Gebiet vor sich, in dem er dasselbe verrichten konnte, was Bonaparte in den Gefilden Italiens vollbracht hatte" (Richard Wagner, *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* [2nd edn. Leipzig: E. W. Fritzsch, 1887], I, 147–48). (All translations are mine.)

realms could be ruled by a military genius was by no means original to Wagner. Music criticism from the earliest years of the nineteenth century increasingly tended to view Beethoven as the master of the realm of instrumental music. E. T. A. Hoffmann's famous review of the Fifth Symphony in 1810 provides an extroverted transcript of this recognition, infused with the aesthetic position on music established by the German *Frühromantik* in the 1790s. It had required a literary musician/critic like Hoffmann, and a composer like Beethoven, to transform the haunted fantasy of a few writers listening at the fringes of the ineffable into accepted music history and critical reception.

Wagner's essay presumes to mark the decisive campaign in which Beethoven attained undisputed sovereignty of this newly recognized realm of absolute music. The young enthusiast of his tale describes the *Eroica* as an "unerhörte Tat." This assessment lies behind all interpretations and analyses of the work—indeed, this uncontested perception is the fulcrum on which critics have succeeded in levering the subsequent stages of Western music history. No other musical work is regarded as having made a more radical leap into the future, and no other composer has ever attained the heroic laurels accorded to Beethoven for making this leap.

Despite the increasing valuation of the concept of absolute music, and despite Wagner's plea against the tendency of nineteenth-century music critics to look for reality-bound programs in the *Eroica,* many writers continued to seek the specific hero whose actions and thoughts might be represented by Beethoven's music. Its well-documented connection to Napoléon Bonaparte went a long way toward narrowing the search, of course. But several critics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries announced with confidence that there are other heros informing the musical world of the *Eroica*.[2] Even in our own age, the urge to understand this symphony as the musical encoding of an extramusical program lingers on (recently, a programmatic account invoking the legend of Prometheus was published in Germany).[3] Throughout its reception history, detailed pro-

2. See, e.g., Wilhelm von Lenz, *Beethoven: Eine Kunst-Studie,* vol.III, pt.2 (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1860), pp.290–300; Paul Bekker, *Beethoven* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1911), pp.170–79; and Arnold Schering, "Die Eroica, eine Homer-Symphonie Beethovens?" NBJ 5 (1933), 159–77.

3. This interpretation, by Peter Schleuning, claims that the story from Beethoven's ballet *The Creatures of Prometheus* forms the programmatic basis of all four movements. As analytic support for his thesis, Schleuning derives the thematic content of the first three

grams abound; cautionary scruples about the triviality of musical tone painting are tossed aside like yesterday's newspaper under the shadow of its title and presumed working premise.

To illuminate the persistence of this programmatic reception, I will examine the relation between the *Eroica*'s first movement and the various programs that have been proposed as aids to its understanding; in other words, I wish to find out what it is about the *Eroica* qua music that causes these critics, literate musicians all, to respond programmatically. By basing this essay on the first movement—treated by all programmatic critics as a whole unto itself—I hope to circumscribe a manageable subsection of the entire symphony without losing benefit of a meaningful totality. This investigation will involve a detailed discussion of several crucial musical passages—the first forty-five measures, the new theme, the horn call, and the coda—and some of the commentary that has swarmed around each. I will argue that the proposed programs make explicit metaphorically some of the same grammatical and stylistic aspects of the music that other analytical methodologies do formally and, further, that these programs respond to dramatic aspects that formalized methodologies do not make explicit. Such programs are metaphorically suggestive of the way this movement can be heard to project an engaging psychological process similar to the archetypal process depicted in mythological accounts of the hero's journey.

To formulate this thesis is to assume a validity for programmatic interpretations not generally acknowledged today. I believe that these programmatic interpretations can act as a type of analytical metalanguage, a language about another language, in this case instrumental music. In the early nineteenth century, metaphoric language was simply the way educated listeners sought to convey musical meaning. The continuing validity of a metaphoric approach to the analysis of music has been explored from various quarters in recent scholarship. Anthony Newcomb writes that "expressive metaphors are often shorthand versions of structural insights —insights which subsequent analytical work may allow us to expand and

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movements from that of the finale, whose theme was, of course, appropriated from the earlier ballet (see Schleuning, "Beethoven in alter Deutung: Der 'neue Weg' mit der 'Sinfonia eroica'," AfMw 44 [1987], 165–94). Schleuning recently coauthored an important book on the *Eroica* and its reception that, regrettably, appeared too late to be addressed in this study (see Martin Geck and Peter Schleuning, *"Geschrieben auf Bonaparte" Beethoven's "Eroica": Revolution, Reaktion, Rezeption* [Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1989]).

refine."[4] The work of Fred Maus seeks to establish a basis for a more humanistically oriented music analysis by appealing to the notion of dramatic agency as a way to account for musical process. Pieces act like people act; our analytic/critical interpretations involve the same sorts of judgments we use to understand the actions and motivations of each other.[5] The issue of metaphoric analysis is epitomized in Beethoven criticism because of the enduring tradition of such analysis. Even in periods characterized by a general reaction against extramusical, transcendent interpretations, such as the anti-Romantic reaction to Beethoven in German scholarship at the centenary of the composer's death[6] or the structuralist bias of the last thirty years, the impulse to practice criticism from the standpoint of extramusical narrative remains evident.[7]

The opening forty-five measures of the *Eroica* Symphony constitute one of the most raked-over pieces of musical property in the Western hemisphere. No one denies the overtly heroic effect of the two opening blasts, and it is almost comic to see programmatic interpreters inevitably rush off with the impetus of these two chords, only to stumble a few measures later when they realize that something distressingly less than expeditious heroism is implied by the much-discussed C♯ in m.7. The tendency for critical dis-

4. Anthony Newcomb, "Sound and Feeling," *Critical Inquiry* 10 (1984), 636.

5. Fred Everett Maus, *Humanism and Musical Experience* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1990).

6. Represented, e.g., by Arnold Schmitz's attempt to distance Beethoven from the heavily romanticized aspects of his reception in *Das romantische Beethoven-Bild* (Berlin and Bonn: F. Dümmler, 1927). See also Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Zur Geschichte der Beethoven-Rezeption: Beethoven 1970,* Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, no.3 (Mainz: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1972), pp.13–15.

7. The importance of an extramusical standpoint for the understanding of Beethoven's instrumental music is acknowledged in the work of Arnold Schering in the 1930s, Harry Goldschmidt in the 1960s and 70s, and Owen Jander, Maynard Solomon, Peter Schleuning, and Christopher Reynolds in the 1980s. See, among other works, Schering, *Beethoven und die Dichtung* (Berlin: Junker & Dunnhaupt, 1936); Goldschmidt, *Beethoven-Studien I: Die Erscheinung Beethoven* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1974); Jander, "Beethoven's 'Orpheus in Hades': The *Andante con moto* of the Fourth Piano Concerto," 19CM 8 (1985), 195–212; Solomon, "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: A Search for Order," 19CM 10 (1986), 3–23; Schleuning, "Beethoven in alter Deutung," pp.165–94; Reynolds, "The Representational Impulse in Late Beethoven, II: String Quartet in F Major, Op.135," *Acta* 60 (1988), 180–94.

course to slow down when passing this spot mirrors the *Eroica*'s inability to get started in a convincing fashion. What kind of a hero would pause so portentously at the very outset of his heroic exploits?

A. B. Marx and Aléxandre Oulibicheff offer a neat solution to this dilemma in their Napoléon-oriented programs, both dating from the 1850s: elements that impede the forward progress of the music or undermine its tonality are seen as external to the hero Napoléon and do not signify any weakness or vacillation on the part of the great general.[8] Napoléon himself is stuck in forward gear, and the heroic concept implied in these interpretations is that of a singularly obsessed hero fighting against a recalcitrant external world.[9] For Marx and Oulibicheff, the music of the first forty-five measures represents morning on the battlefield, thereby establishing a setting for the ensuing battle. Marx, for example, notes that the theme (which he explicitly associates with Napoléon) first sounds in a lower voice and is raised in three successive stages to an orchestral tutti statement. His program acknowledges this musical process by casting the entire section as a conflation of the sun rising on the battlefield with Napoléon rising onto his battle steed. Moments of tonal vacillation, such as the C♯ at m.7 or, in the next statement, the sequential move to F minor, are associated with shadows and mists—things that hide the light of the sun (and of the rising hero).[10] These moments are always followed by a more decisive statement of the theme, and a pattern of statement–liquidation–stronger statement is established. The hero not only persists; he grows stronger.

This pattern, noted in programmatic terms by both Marx and Oulibicheff, can help us identify one of the most striking features of this opening section: it functions simultaneously as an introduction (setting) and as an exposition of the first theme. That is why the theme cannot appear in full tutti splendor (Napoléon cannot appear in the saddle) until after the big dominant arrival and prolongation in mm. 23–36. The dual image of sunrise on the battlefield and the hero preparing to present himself to his troops captures an important aspect of the musical process.

8. A. B. Marx, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen* (3rd edn. Berlin: O. Janke, 1875), I, 245–86; and Aléxandre Oulibicheff, *Beethoven, ses critiques, ses glossateurs* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1857), 173–80. The first edition of Marx's biography appeared in 1859.

9. For more on this type of heroic concept and how it informs the criticism of A. B. Marx, see my "Criticism, Faith, and the *Idee:* A. B. Marx's Early Reception of Beethoven," 19CM 13 (1990), 191–92.

10. Marx, *Ludwig van Beethoven,* pp.247–48.

But there is also a sense of musical development in these first measures. Both Marx and Oulibicheff note that the ambiguity provided by the C♯ in the bass and the subsequent syncopated Gs in the first violins works to extend a simple four-measure phrase into a thirteen-measure *Satz*.[11] That the theme always veers away from E♭ through the introduction of chromaticism is a mark of developmental instability as well as developmental extrapolation.[12] In Marx's reading, this kind of vacillation contributes to a pattern of action and reaction that extends throughout the entire movement.[13] The identification of the main theme with the protagonist Napoléon, who must exhort his troops to victory, conforms to the theme's tendency to act more as a developmental force than as a melodic entity, even during its own exposition.

Several twentieth-century critics give the developmental and transitional features of this opening section a psychological reading. Paul Bekker and Arnold Schering center their interpretations on the dual nature of these opening measures, hearing the passage in the same way as Marx and Oulibicheff but construing it differently. For Bekker, the hero vacillates in his mind between "vorwärtsdrängende Tatkraft" and "klagend resignierendes Besinnen." He claims that these two facets of the hero's inner conflict can be followed throughout the movement (thereby matching the extent of Marx's narrative structure of actions and reactions).[14] Thus, Bekker has transferred the scene of the action from an actual battlefield to a psychological process. At first blush, Schering's controversial interpretation seems to place the conflict back on the battlefield—and not a battlefield from modern European history but the plains of ancient Troy. Hector is said to be the hero of the first movement, and the entire symphony consists of selected scenes from the *Iliad*.[15] Yet the starting point for Schering's

11. Ibid., p.247; Oulibicheff, *Beethoven,* p.175.

12. Alfred Heuss, writing in 1921, identifies the first theme with a hero of complex character whose strategic unpredictability translates into the potential for thematic development—even in the first measures of the theme's exposition. The first ten measures depict, for Heuss, the character of the hero; the entire first section (mm.1–45) represents the process by which the hero moves from his own inner world to the external world (see Alfred Heuss, *Beethoven: Eine Charakteristik* [Leipzig: R. Voigtlander, 1921], pp.37–41).

13. I discuss this aspect of Marx's program in my *Aesthetics, Theory and History in the Works of A. B. Marx* (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1988), chap.5, passim.

14. Bekker, *Beethoven,* p.171.

15. Except for the finale, which Schering associates with the Prometheus legend (Schering, "Die Eroica," p.163).