



STEPHEN RUMPH

*Beethoven
after
Napoleon*

POLITICAL ROMANTICISM

IN THE LATE WORKS

Beethoven after Napoleon

CALIFORNIA STUDIES IN 19TH-CENTURY MUSIC

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Political Romanticism in the Late Works

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Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι· ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ
Χριστός· ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῆ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ
θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

Gal. 2:19–20

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Introduction

Beethoven was a political composer. Like few other musicians in the Western canon, he stubbornly dedicated his art to the problems of human freedom, justice, progress, and community. Beethoven found his voice in Bonn with a cantata memorializing the enlightened reforms of Joseph II, and he crowned his public career in Vienna with the Ninth Symphony's hymn to universal brotherhood. No intervening work drew more labor or revisions from him than *Fidelio* (née *Leonore*), the first political opera to remain in the permanent repertory. The Third Symphony, probably Beethoven's most influential work, centers around a funeral march evoking patriotic ceremonies from the French Revolution; and there remains, of course, the famous and problematic relationship of the symphony to Napoleon. In an entirely different vein come such ephemera as the *Ritterballett*, assorted patriotic songs, and the marches for various national militias. The biographer, unlike the critic, cannot fail to mention *Wellingtons Sieg* and the choral extravaganzas for the Congress of Vienna, works that, however trivial in modern estimation, swept Beethoven to a pinnacle of acclaim unsurpassed within his own lifetime. To this list we may also add the second Bonn cantata in honor of Leopold II; the incidental music to *Egmont*, *König Stephan*, and *Die Ruinen von Athen*; and the aesthetic utopias of *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* and the Choral Fantasy. Clearly, if we want to understand this music we need to learn something about the composer's politics. A political study of Beethoven can scarcely be regarded as a curiosity for interdisciplinary studies: it belongs squarely within musical criticism, alongside biography, sketch studies, and formal analysis.

The political note in Beethoven's music echoes the cataclysmic times in which he lived. Beethoven was eighteen when the Bastille fell. For the next

quarter of a century armies battled almost continuously throughout Europe; republics sprang up and withered; Napoleon rose and fell; the Holy Roman Empire vanished from the map. Beethoven twice suffered the French siege of Vienna and later regaled the allied victors meeting to engineer the Restoration. James Sheehan has described the impact of these events on Germans:

As a distant spectacle or, more often, as a forceful intrusion into their lives, revolutionary politics demanded contemporaries' attention, affected their careers, reshaped their sense of the possible. The romantics' awareness of emotional power, like the philosophers' search for an alternative system of belief, was a response to the political passions and commitments that swept across central Europe from the French side of the Rhine. Burden or opportunity, disaster or triumph, occasion for celebration or lament, politics in the revolutionary era was everybody's *Schicksal*.¹

"La politique est le destin . . ." The words belong to Napoleon Bonaparte, the man who appeared to incarnate every tendency, good or ill, of the age. Revolution and tyranny, enlightened reform and lawless violence, heroic striving and base egotism—these antipodes assumed flesh and blood in the Corsican conqueror, whose ambitions dictated European politics for some fifteen years. Napoleon seems also to have captivated Beethoven's imagination, engendering a sense of identification that, as Maynard Solomon has suggested, combined elements of hero worship, competition, and demonization. Striking affinities connect the two men, born just over a year apart. Both were possessed of enormous drive and ambition, and both rose far above their hereditary station. While Napoleon was gathering laurels in Italy and Egypt, Beethoven was conquering the salons and halls of Vienna, undertaking a "deliberate campaign to annex all current musical genres," as Joseph Kerman put it. Beethoven may have rent the dedication page of the *Eroica* Symphony on learning that Napoleon had crowned himself emperor, yet the synchrony between symphony and coronation remains fascinating: at precisely the same moment, composer and ruler were kicking away the ladder of the past, each claiming absolute power within his own domain. Felix Markham might as well have been describing the Beethoven of 1803 when he wrote that Napoleon "was not of the generation which made the Revolution, but was a product of the revolutionary age—a time when the mould of tradition and custom was broken, and nothing seemed impossible in the face of reason, energy and will."²

Not surprisingly, recent political studies of Beethoven have focused upon

the *Eroica* and the other “heroic” works from the Napoleonic years. Constantin Floros, Peter Schleuning, and Keisuke Maruyama have explored the political resonances of the Prometheus myth in the Third Symphony, whose finale Beethoven borrowed from his ballet *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* (The Creatures of Prometheus). Scott Burnham has traced intellectual trends from the “age of Goethe” in the heroic style, while Thomas Sipe has reexamined the Napoleonic dedication in light of Franco-Austrian diplomacy. Paul Robinson and David Charlton have connected *Fidelio* in different ways to the French Revolution, and Malcolm Boyd’s collection of essays has illuminated Beethoven’s French influences. The collection of political essays edited by Sieghard Brandenburg and Helga Lühning confines itself almost entirely to the Napoleonic years, as the subtitle *Zwischen Revolution und Restauration* makes clear.³

But what of Beethoven after Napoleon? What was the composer’s political outlook during the twelve years after Waterloo, the period during which he created the late piano sonatas and string quartets, the *Diabelli Variations*, the *Missa solemnis*, and the Ninth Symphony? Critical opinion, so vocal about the Napoleonic years, falls strangely silent on Beethoven’s career during the Restoration. The abstraction of the late works, coupled with the composer’s total deafness during his last decade, raised the suspicion that Beethoven had detached himself entirely from the outer world. Many, if not most, listeners would probably still agree with J. W. N. Sullivan’s claim from 1927 that “the regions within which Beethoven the composer now worked were, to an unprecedented degree, withdrawn and sheltered from his outward life. His deafness and solitariness are almost symbolic of his complete retreat into his inner self.” Donald Jay Grout canonized this view in his famous textbook: “By 1816, Beethoven had resigned himself to a soundless world of tones that existed only in his mind.”⁴

Those critics who have allowed the late works a political content have admitted only a negative relationship to the outer world. Most famously, Theodor Adorno interpreted Beethoven’s withdrawal from the affirmative manner of his heroic style as a negation of the false promises of the Enlightenment and Revolution: “The musical experience of the late Beethoven must have become mistrustful of the unity of subjectivity and objectivity, the roundness of the symphonic successes, the totality emerging from the movement of all the parts; in short, of everything that gave authenticity up to now to the works of his middle period.” Solomon wrote of the late quartets that “serious art flees to the margins of society and to the more private forms, where it sets up beachheads in defense of its embattled position in life.” Sieghard Brandenburg sounded the same gloomy note,

claiming that “the repressive, anti-liberal attitude of the Metternichian state finally drove [Beethoven], like other spiritual creators, into an inner emigration.”⁵

The reluctance of critics to associate the aging Beethoven with contemporary politics doubtless owes much to the unsavory reputation of the Restoration. To say the least, the epoch lacks glamour. Instead of the clash of ignorant armies, we hear the tinkling of a Biedermeier waltz; bereft of the swashbuckling grandeur of Napoleon, we must console ourselves with the oily diplomacy of a Metternich. The reactionary politics, the nostalgic medievalism, the theocratic mumbo jumbo of the Holy Alliance—all this seems not merely repressive, but historically doomed, a fragile dam against the floodtides of modernity. That the visionary Beethoven might have sympathized with such tendencies would be not only disappointing, but a bit embarrassing.

It is instead Gioacchino Rossini whom critics have elected musical representative of the Restoration. As if to atone for his worldly success, the opera composer has had to play Rosenkrantz to Beethoven’s Hamlet, cynical *collaborateur* versus alienated rebel. “The official *Zeitgeist*,” intoned Adorno, “was represented by Rossini rather than by [Beethoven].” Frida Knight compared the bel canto craze to “present-day pop festivals, which provide an outlet for the emotions of susceptible teen-agers (and perhaps the pressures of economic crisis, a decadent society and social emptiness in 1820 Vienna were similar to those of our day).” Carl Dahlhaus liked this dichotomy well enough to make it the basis for an entire history of nineteenth-century music, tracing the “twin styles” of late Beethoven and Rossini—the one high-minded and textual, the other frivolous and performance-oriented. All three critics could draw sustenance from Beethoven’s own appraisal of the Italian celebrity: “His music suits the frivolous and sensuous spirit of the time, and his productivity is such that he needs only as many weeks as the Germans do years to write an opera.”⁶

The comparison does not lack merit. Much in Rossini’s music does suggest the repressive climate of the Restoration—the strict codification of forms, the luxuriant ornamentation of a fixed melodic structure, the controlled catharses of chaos and anxiety. Nevertheless, the composer of *Guillaume Tell* did not wholly escape the progressive currents of the age. Nor did the composer of *Der glorreiche Augenblick* and the *Missa solennis* prove immune to its reactionary and mystical strains. The question is, How deeply was Beethoven stricken? Are the patriotic works for the Congress of Vienna mercenary ephemera, or do they mark a genuine shift in his political sympathies? Are the archaic ecclesiastical strains in the late works tokens

of an inward spiritual quest, or do they reflect the symbology of legitimist politics?

Such questions do not admit of easy answers. Any satisfactory argument must somehow bridge the ancient gulf between word and tone, between the explicit formulations of political thought and the more elusive patterns of musical creation. The political historian will expect a “thick” context in contemporary writings or other forms of concrete representation. The musician, meanwhile, will demand a due engagement with the notes in the score. The chasm yawns all the wider in Beethoven’s late works, which are notoriously (and gloriously) rarefied and complex. Not without reason have critics touted these works as paragons of “absolute music,” music emancipated from text, drama, or dance. The only convincing argument, it would seem, must educe some common denominator, some historical discourse that embraces both political and aesthetic meanings. It would be still more persuasive if it could be shown that Beethoven understood this discourse. Only with such a sturdy thread in hand would a political historian dare enter the labyrinth of late Beethoven.

The movement known as *politische Romantik*, “political Romanticism,” provides such a link. Led by such luminaries as the Schlegel brothers, Novalis, and Heinrich von Kleist, Romantic authors, philosophers, and painters evolved an aesthetic discourse in opposition to the French Revolution and its Napoleonic aftermath. Old grievances against French cultural hegemony, stoked by the fresh outrages of invasion and occupation, flared up in a virulent reaction to all things French and enlightened. Leading Romantics consecrated their pens and paintbrushes to anti-Napoleonic propaganda, while others distilled their political passions in novels, plays, or systematic philosophies. These artists were Beethoven’s exact peers (unlike Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Schiller, with whom he is more often compared). And he undeniably came into contact with their political ideas, as the briefest glance at his patriotic works from the last years of the Napoleonic era will show. The ideology of political Romanticism, this study will argue, was no passing fad for Beethoven. It exercised a profound and enduring influence on his later style.

This is not to say that Beethoven turned into a reactionary, or even that his later music replicates Restoration ideology. David Blackbourn has suggested that we view the years 1815–48 as “a series of cycles, in which political expectations rose to a high pitch, only to give way to repression.”⁷ Beethoven’s late works do fall within a repressive trough, the pessimistic decade following the 1819 Carlsbad Decrees. Yet, as this study will argue, every important element of the late style emerged between 1809 and 1816,

the years of the so-called Wars of Liberation. This was an era of optimism, reform, and patriotic engagement for many artists and intellectuals, including Beethoven, in which culture seemed vitally connected to political life. Thus, while Beethoven's late works certainly dampen the revolutionary tendencies of the heroic style, they nevertheless preserve a dynamism foreign to Restoration propaganda.

Recent studies, moreover, have questioned the simple equation of Romantic politics with Restoration reaction. The Romantics, it has been argued, gave a transcendent expression to ideals discredited by the Terror and Napoleonic imperium, thereby continuing the utopian trajectory of the early French Revolution. Even where Romantic artists directly abetted the Restoration, their writings could diverge from the official line: Friedrich Schlegel and Adam Müller, for instance, both worked for Prince Metternich, yet they idealized a Catholic medievalism far more reactionary than the prince's absolutist statescraft.⁸ Beethoven's later music presents a similarly complex tangle of tendencies progressive and conservative, dynamic and stabilizing. Indeed, the primary quality that emerges from this study is a profound sense of ambivalence. This ambivalence has nothing to do with the productive dialectics of Beethoven's heroic works, which battle through conflict to a higher unity. The late works create instead a sense of paradox, even deadlock, between irreconcilable opposites. The present study, however, departs from Adorno and company by suggesting that these fragmented, paradoxical works might actually affirm positive political ideals.

The colorful figure of E. T. A. Hoffmann emerges early in the inquiry. Equally at home in government, literature, and the music world, Hoffmann offers a serendipitous entry into the political thought of Beethoven's later years. Hoffmann witnessed the political events of the day at first hand, and, like Beethoven, he wrote propaganda for Napoleon's allied adversaries. Most importantly, Hoffmann served as Beethoven's first great critic and literary champion. His criticism offers a musical lexicon of Romantic political thought from which we can begin to construct a political semiotics for Beethoven's later music. Coincidentally, as one of the original proponents of "absolute music," he can serve as a reminder of the political motivations behind that creed.

Just as Romantic political thought makes sense only against the foil of the Enlightenment, so the novel currents in Beethoven's late music take on full meaning only against the measure of his earlier style. For this reason, two preliminary chapters will explore the ideological context of the heroic style—a style, it will be argued, that represents a high-water mark of enlightened cosmopolitanism. Readers bloated on the recent feast of *Eroica*

criticism face, alas, yet another helping. The later chapters, likewise, inevitably revisit the finale of the Ninth Symphony. On the other hand, particular attention is devoted to more neglected works—the six Gellert songs, the Sixth Symphony, the “Harp” Quartet, the *Grosse Fuge*, and *Wellingtons Sieg*.

Studying music and politics means practicing musical hermeneutics, which means steering a course between two perilous extremes. At one pole we find the naive interpreter, who uses music as an exotic thesaurus for some a priori narrative. This kind of critic will hear the disintegrating march in the *Eroica* as the death of Marat, or Hector, or the bourgeois individual—whatever corpse is needed. At the opposite pole stands the prim formalist, for whom the merest whiff of real meaning threatens to sully the musical artwork. This critic will begin an analysis of the *Eroica* with the story of the dedication page, a chronicle of Napoleon’s campaigns, perhaps a picture of the emperor on horseback—then dust off a sonata-form diagram of the first movement. The former plunders the musical text to adorn a political narrative; the latter scatters political meanings like tinsel onto the autonomous work. Neither approach seems very satisfying—not, at least, for Beethoven’s music and epoch. We would expect a deeper integration from a composer who so persistently leavened his music with political themes; from an era in which so many leading creative figures served as statesmen or professional propagandists; and from a generation of German artists who, imbibing their theory from Schiller and Edmund Burke, believed that the path to politics wound inescapably through aesthetics.

The present study seeks a *tertium via* by focusing on intellectual constructs that, while they partake of musical and political meaning, remain independent from both. The sublime, universal history, religious archaism, androgynous pairings, voice—none of these categories belongs exclusively to either music or politics. But all are junctures where the history of ideas and the history of composition might intersect. According to this method, for instance, we need claim neither that the *Eroica* illustrates Hegel’s dialectic nor that the structure of the *Phänomenologie des Geistes* evokes a philosophical sonata form. We can simply acknowledge that each work demonstrates, within its own métier, a similar faith in history as a dynamic, meliorative teleology. By focusing on the construction of history, we can indirectly study both music and political thought, without forcing the two into a hierarchical relationship.

There is no denying the epistemological vagaries such a venture entails. A comparative study can never match the kind of certainty that musical or historical analysis can achieve alone. At best, we can hope for some sugges-

tive sense of correspondence, or affinity, between unlike terms. As one historian who has explored Beethoven's political thought put it, "almost by definition, affinities never constitute proof, of either authorial intent or historical influence. Rather, their appeal must rest on their ability to illuminate, to explain matters that otherwise seem confused or unaccountable."⁹ This hybrid hermeneutic, moreover, involves the fugitive language of music, whose semantic dimension scarcely matches that of poetry, drama, or the visual arts. It is hard to imagine a less exact science. But there is no alternative, if we want to understand Beethoven's music.

The goal of this dubious quest is a mode of expression that embraces musical and political meanings yet transcends both. This quality might best be compared to what painters call a "new way of seeing"—that is, an inextricably artistic mode of patterning the world and its structures. Such a way of hearing cannot be reduced to pure structure, for it resonates too compellingly with its intellectual context. Nor can it be annexed to ideology, for it possesses too great an inner integrity. Since, moreover, it incarnates the ideological in specifically musical structures, its message speaks equally through texted and abstract works: the same patterns will appear in the *Gellert-Lieder* and the Fifth Symphony, *Wellingtons Sieg* and the late quartets.

Because ethical and musical values intertwine so closely in Beethoven's music, their priority must remain a matter of personal inclination. For some listeners, myself included, the political thought in Beethoven's music matters chiefly as it illuminates the expressive force of his musical thought. My sympathies are all with F. Scott Fitzgerald's Amory Blaine as he ponders the "Dark Lady" of the sonnets:

For what Shakespeare must have desired, to have been able to write with such divine despair, was that the lady should live . . . and now we have no real interest in her. . . . The irony of it is that if he had cared *more* for the poem than for the lady the sonnet would be only obvious, imitative rhetoric and no one would ever have read it after twenty years.¹⁰

Other listeners will doubtless take a deeper interest in the political thought surrounding the birth of Beethoven's works. Some may care even more about these shadowy ideals than the music that memorializes them. So be it. This study does not rank musical and political meaning but strives merely to give both steeds their head. The reader can decide how to steer the team.

1 A Kingdom Not of This World

Our kingdom is not of this world, say the musicians, for where do we find in nature, like the painter or the sculptor, the prototype of our art? Sound dwells everywhere, but the sounds—that is, the melodies—that speak the higher language of the spirit kingdom reside in the human heart alone.¹

This passage could head all E. T. A. Hoffmann's writings on music. In story, novella, essay, and review he championed the unique status of his beloved art. Music alone, claimed Hoffmann, slipped the shackles of imitation that bound the other arts to nature, the world of the senses. Such abstraction, however, did not render music mute. The most purely spiritual art, music soared above physical reality to express a realm of metaphysical experience. As the allusion to John's gospel indicates, Hoffmann credited music with religious revelation—and the composer with a messianic calling. Hoffmann did not labor in vain. Perhaps more than any other writer he helped propagate the doctrine of "absolute music," an idea that still holds sway among critics and audiences.

Nowhere did Hoffmann more eloquently proclaim this gospel than in his review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. In this landmark of Beethoven reception, published in 1810 in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, Hoffmann set a new standard for musical criticism, supporting the loftiest philosophical assertions with the keenest analytical precision. His exordium hails Beethoven as the high priest of a purified instrumental music, a music that "opens to mankind an unknown kingdom, a world that has nothing in common with the outer sensory world." And yet, Hoffmann argued, let no one mistake this abstraction for undisciplined frenzy, the "product of a genius who, unconcerned with form and the selection of thoughts, gave himself over to his passion and the momentary impulses of his powers of imag-

ination." Through a detailed analysis Hoffmann sought to show that, despite his eccentricities, Beethoven was "no less qualified, in regards to reflection [*Besonnenheit*], to stand beside Haydn and Mozart." The review thus purports to demonstrate the astounding claim of *Kreisleriana*: that music can detach itself utterly from physical reality, yet still communicate intelligibly about the spiritual realm.²

A paradox lurks at the heart of Hoffmann's argument. In order to discuss music at all, he had to use language, a sign system rooted in the natural, sensory world. Hoffmann himself was acutely aware of the chasm between music and language. As he contended in "Beethovens Instrumentalmusik" (*Kreisleriana*), music conveyed "a higher expression than mere words, fit only for confined, earthly pleasure, can signify." He begins the symphony review by confessing that "he is overwhelmed by the object of which he should speak," and he entreats the reader not to "begrudge it him if, overstepping the bounds of common judgments, he strives to contain in words what that composition has so profoundly stirred within his soul" (p. 34). As a Romantic idealist, Hoffmann preached the total separation of music and language; as a working music critic, he had to bridge the abyss. Indeed, Hoffmann's doctrine of absolute music did not prevent him from producing an imposing bulk of literature devoted precisely to illuminating the inner nature of music. He wanted it both ways, declaring the transcendence of music while dissecting its content.³

This contradiction caused a strain in Hoffmann's criticism that has not gone unnoticed. Robin Wallace pointed to a rigidity in the Fifth Symphony review, remarking that "everything works together to demonstrate the central thesis, which is driven home with an almost irrational consistency." Peter Schnaus has raised further doubts about Hoffmann's critical acuity by tracing much of his language to a well-worn journalistic vocabulary. Most troubling is the Fifth Symphony itself, which stubbornly resists repatriation in Hoffmann's *Geisterreich*. This symphony, which critics from A. B. Marx to Scott Burnham have heard as the epitome of heroic, humanistic striving, would seem to provide one of the least convincing examples of a music that "has nothing in common with the outer sensory world." Certain passages do evoke a spiritual, or at least ghostly, ambiance—the mysterious modulations in the second movement, the withered recapitulation of the scherzo, or the muffled drum beats before the finale. Offsetting these eerie moments, however, is the rampant kinesthetic appeal of the symphony, felt in the motivic propulsion of the first movement, the ubiquitous marches (that invade even the triple-time slow movement and scherzo), and the triumphant C-major finale, with its overtones of the French Revolutionary

éclat triomphal.⁴ Many musical works do match Hoffmann's ideal of an abstract, purely spiritual music (including some by Beethoven); but the Fifth Symphony hardly springs to mind.

A fissure thus opens in Hoffmann's doctrine of the musical absolute. If, as he claimed, music and language inhabit wholly separate realms, then his writing about music must be stained with extramusical meanings, including perhaps political meanings. A scrutiny of Hoffmann's critical language reveals that what he said (and left unsaid) about the Fifth Symphony indeed owes much to the political situation around 1810. Yet this study aspires to more than mere deconstruction. For Hoffmann's criticism contains a serendipitous wisdom, even where his Romantic aesthetic strains most noticeably against the heroic text. Indeed, it is precisely through such disjunctures that we can learn the most about Beethoven's political thought—if not in the Fifth Symphony, then in works yet to come.

HEROIC ROMANTICS

"My kingdom is not of this world." The words of Christ to Pontius Pilate, his imperial Roman captor, were painfully relevant in 1813. For Hoffmann, as for any Prussian citizen, the dominating historical fact was the subjection of his land to Napoleon. Although war had smoldered continuously in Europe since the French Revolution, Prussia had enjoyed eleven years of peace following the 1795 Treaty of Basel. In 1806 Prussia rashly took up arms against Napoleon and, after disastrous defeats at Jena and Auerstedt, lost half its population and territory in the reconstitution of the dissolved Holy Roman Empire. Napoleon occupied the country, installed French agents and officials, and levied enormous war reparations, further crippling the economy. With the traditional boundaries of their land liquidated by a foreign power and their leaders vacillating between resistance and collaboration, Prussian subjects might well have wondered if they possessed a kingdom of this world.

No disinterested bystander, Hoffmann experienced the direct impact of the French occupation. Ousted from his government post in 1806 for refusing to swear an oath of allegiance to Napoleon, Hoffmann found himself in severe financial straits, forced to hawk trivial compositions and give music lessons. The lean conditions of the war years also account for his work as a music critic. His short (and rather unsuccessful) stint as a full-time musician—from 1806 until 1814, when he resumed judicial work—exactly coincides with the Napoleonic occupation and so-called *Befreiungskriege*, or Wars of Liberation.

Hoffmann's early *Ritter Gluck* (1809) registers the politicized mood of Napoleonic Prussia. The fantastic tale begins with this description of occupied Berlin: "Soon all the places are occupied at Klaus and Weber; the carrot coffee steams, one argues about king and peace . . . about the closed commercial state and bad *Groschen*." Benedikt Koehler has unpacked the constellation of political codes: "Mohrrüben-Kaffee" was the ersatz beverage forced upon the Berliners by Napoleon's blockade, the Continental System; the argument "über König und Frieden" refers to the debate between nationalist proponents of an uprising against Napoleon and the royal cabinet, which was steering a course of accommodation with France; the "geschlossener Handelsstaat" was the protosocialist treatise of Johann Gottlieb Fichte, who had emerged as an outspoken nationalist with his *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (Addresses to the German Nation), delivered in Berlin the previous year; and "schlechte Groschen" alludes to the inflationary economy.⁵

In 1813, after Prussia resumed the war against France, Hoffmann began to voice openly patriotic sentiments. His grisly fantasy *Die Vision auf dem Schlachtfeld bei Dresden*, inspired by his first-hand experience of the famous battle, savagely attacks Napoleon and ends with a paean to "the resplendent heroes, the sons of the gods, [Czar] Alexander and Friedrich Wilhelm." (The allied victory at Dresden also inspired a joyful entry in his journal: "Freedom!—Freedom!—Freedom! My dearest hopes are fulfilled, and the steadfast faith to which I clung through the darkest times is proven true.") Two years later, after hearing of Napoleon's escape from Elba, Hoffman penned the tale *Der Dei von Elba in Paris*, an apotheosis of German liberation that ends on a note of pious nationalism: "We have built a mighty fortress; the banner of the fatherland waves high, terrorizing the cunning enemy. However much the dark powers may enter into our life, we, who are born to pious trust and firm faith, shall banish the fearsome shadows."⁶

More intriguing than these propaganda pieces are the patriotic themes that dot Hoffmann's writings about music. In the Fifth Symphony review he ridicules Louis Jadin's *Bataille des trois empereurs*, a characteristic symphony written to celebrate Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz; political and aesthetic polemics here unite, as Hoffmann simultaneously condemns French imperialism and mimesis. The "Höchst zerstreute Gedanken" of *Kreisleriana* contains even more pointed barbs. A panegyric to Gluck ends with a call to arms that clearly extends beyond the operatic dispute with the Piccinists: "Be of good cheer, you unrecognized ones, you who are bowed down beneath the frivolity and injustice of the spirit of the age; you are as-

sured of certain victory, and it is eternal, since your exhausting struggle was but fleeting." The four italicized words are "Euch," "gewisser," "der," and "Kampf." David Charlton has suggested that this acrostic may encode a patriotic message; one solution that might be hazarded is "Erhalte Gott der König," or "God save the King." Hoffmann has again fused aesthetics and politics in the figure of Gluck, who championed solid Germanic values in the decadent French capital. This sort of double entendre appears still more clearly in Hoffmann's vicious review of Boïeldieu's *Nouveau seigneur* (1814), which concludes with

the heartfelt wish that the paltry genre of operetta, with its cloying sweetness, with its insipid buffoonery, just as it came from the French stage to ours, as something wholly uncongenial to our spirit, to our view of music, might, together with the blind reverence—admittedly extorted sword in hand—for everything else that comes from there, disappear as soon as possible.

Hoffmann spelled out the connection between artistic and political aims in his operatic manifesto *Der Dichter und der Komponist* (1813). The union of the operatic arts, symbolized by the poet Ferdinand and the composer Ludwig, intertwines with the ideal of patriotic unity:

Ferdinand pressed his friend to him. The latter took up his full glass: "Eternally united in a higher cause through life and death!" "Eternally united in a higher cause through life and death!" repeated Ferdinand, and in a few minutes his impetuous steed was carrying him into the host that, rejoicing in their wild lust for battle, drove toward the enemy.⁷

Hoffmann's musical writings and activities suggest not only patriotic fervor, but the spirit of the reform movement that sprang up in Prussia during the Napoleonic occupation as well. Following the 1806 debacle, a faction among Friedrich Wilhelm II's ministers sought to infuse new ideas and organization into every aspect of Prussian national life. Spearheading the movement was Baron Stein, who seized on the wartime crisis to realize his longstanding plans for modernization. After Napoleon exiled Stein in 1808 for subversion, leadership fell to the less effective Count Hardenberg, under whom the reform movement fizzled out, capitulating to entrenched aristocratic interests. The reformers recognized that Prussia could survive only by broadening political involvement in the French manner. The collapse of the celebrated Prussian army had revealed the rot in the absolutist state and the contrasting power of the French *nation aux armes*. Stein believed that vic-

tory against Napoleon depended on rousing Prussia to a similar *levée en masse*, which meant revamping the paternalistic *Obrigkeitsstaat*. As Walter Simon put it, Stein's "formula for the salvation of Prussia penetrated into all departments of public life: it was no less than the restoration and mobilization of the nation's resources."⁸ Generals Scharnhorst, Boyen, and Gneisenau set about restructuring the army, working for universal conscription, limits on corporal punishment, and the establishment of a *Landsturm* or citizen militia. Albrecht Thaer labored to replace the feudal agricultural system with more productive capitalist methods imported from England. Stein's Emancipation Edict of 1807 freed the peasants and opened land ownership to all classes, and under Wilhelm von Humboldt national education underwent a revolution, culminating in the establishment of the University of Berlin in 1810. Less successfully, Hardenberg worked to introduce a constitution and representative branch into the monarchy.

Close contacts link Hoffmann to this optimistic movement. His best friend, Theodor von Hippel, was a prominent reformer and the author of Friedrich Wilhelm's wartime appeal "An mein Volk." Hippel was the model for the poet-warrior Ferdinand in *Der Dichter und der Komponist*, whose setting was inspired by a chance meeting between the two friends in Dresden. During the war years Hippel served as counselor to Hardenberg, who reappointed Hoffmann to the Berlin judiciary in 1814 and made him an honored guest at his home after the war. It is not certain how well Hoffmann knew Stein, but the baron personally extended him financial assistance in 1807 after Hoffmann was ousted from his judicial post. While languishing in Berlin during 1807–8, Hoffmann also met Fichte and Friedrich Schleiermacher, two of the most outspoken literary proponents of national reform.⁹

The reforming spirit animates every sphere of Hoffmann's activity during the Napoleonic years. As director of the Bamberg Court Theater and, later, the Dresden Seconda Opera Troupe, he fought for an organic conception of opera uniting music, drama, and spectacle. This proto-Wagnerian crusade took theoretical form in *Der Dichter und der Komponist* and "Der vollkommene Maschinist" (*Kreisleriana*) and found practical expression in *Undine* (1816), in which he answered his own call for a German Romantic opera. Hoffmann also campaigned to reform church music, a project culminating, on the one hand, in the nine-voiced *Miserere* of 1809 and, on the other, in the essay "Alte und neue Kirchenmusik" (1814). In this essay Hoffmann forayed into the realm of practical governmental reform when he prescribed for the bourgeois choral societies that, "should these societies prove to be a genuine influence on church music, they must not remain pri-

vate enterprises, but rather should be directed and supported in religious form by the state."¹⁰

With this proposal, Hoffmann joined in the foremost cultural demand of the reform movement, education. *Bildung*, the neohumanistic ideal of inner formation, beckoned to the reformers as a potent source of national strength. As Rudolf Vierhaus explained,

The political and spiritual excitement of the Napoleonic age had created a propitious situation for essential educational reforms, but also for the notion that the resurgence of Germany, her national rejuvenation and greater unity, the overthrow of absolutism, and the "participation" of the people in the state could be neither solely nor decisively effected politically, but must rather be a matter of the education and *Bildung* of all. . . . With powerful optimism, numerous philosophers, pastors, government officials, teachers, political writers, and journalists busied themselves with special and general problems of *Bildung*.¹¹

The pages of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* give a taste of this enthusiasm. Between 1809 and 1811 no fewer than eleven issues featured articles devoted to the *Gesangsbildung* of Heinrich Pestalozzi, the Zurich pedagogue whom Fichte had hailed in his *Reden* as the guiding light of German education. Pestalozzi himself contributed a brief column to the paper in 1811. In February and September 1810, straddling Hoffmann's July review of the Fifth Symphony, a two-part essay appeared, "Über die ästhetische Bildung des componierenden Tonkünstlers," which prescribed the proper nurturance for Germany's future composers.

Hoffmann addressed the subject of education most explicitly in *Kreiseriana*, through a pair of antithetical epistolary essays. The "Nachricht von einem gebildeten jungen Mann" sets forth a letter from a monkey who has been trained in all the graces of human speech, behavior, and culture. Hoffmann thus pilloried the mechanical, cosmopolitan notion of education, which merely taught the pupil to "ape" an adopted culture. He countered such sterile imitation in "Johannes Kreislers Lehrbrief." The imitation of a journeyman's certificate of mastery pays tribute to Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, and the essay itself centers around a miniature *Bildungsroman*. The youthful composer, Chrysostomus, finds himself drawn to a bloodstained rock, from which issue mysterious shapes and melodies. Years later, after undergoing a rigorous musical education, Chrysostomus returns to the childhood spot; he now finds that his academic training allows him to grasp with perfect clarity the hidden figures and sounds. The narrator draws the moral that the composer's art depends inti-

mately upon the development of inner powers of concentration and creative formation, a central goal of *Bildung*: "The more lively, the more penetrating his recognition becomes, and the greater his ability to hold fast his exertions as with special mental powers and to conjure them into signs and symbols, the higher the musician stands as composer."¹²

The marriage of inspiration and technique that distinguishes the mature Chrysostomus returns as the central thesis of Hoffmann's review of the Fifth Symphony. Hoffmann's praise of Beethoven's *Besonnenheit*, his ability to impart shape and logic to his musical fantasies, echoes an ideal that Goethe had proclaimed in his famous manifesto of Weimar Classicism, the sonnet "Natur und Kunst" (published 1807):

. . . So ist's mit aller Bildung auch beschaffen,
Vergebens werden ungebundne Geister
Nach der Vollendung reiner Höhe streben.
Wer Großes will, muß sich zusammenraffen,
In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister,
Und das Gesetz nur kann uns Freiheit geben.

(. . . Thus is all *Bildung* accomplished;
In vain shall unbound spirits
Strive toward the perfection of the pure heights.
Whoever seeks greatness must control himself;
Mastery first appears in limitations,
And only law can give us freedom.)

The voice of the pedagogue also speaks in Hoffmann's remark that Beethoven's contrapuntal treatment "testifies to a deep study of the art" (p. 43), or in the claim that *Besonnenheit* is "inseparable from the true genius and is nourished through the study of the art" (p. 37). Hoffmann's review itself epitomizes the union of genius and self-possession, wedding the most rarefied metaphysical speculation to the most concrete technical analysis. In both matter and manner, his review reflects the educational ideal of the reformers: it exalts a paragon of *Bildung*, even as it models the kind of well-formed sensibility worthy of such culture.

While the optimistic spirit of the reform movement certainly affected Hoffmann, his musical writings resonate still more deeply with the mystical strains of Romantic political thought. The essay "Alte und neue Kirchenmusik" leads to the heart of this political-aesthetic program. Hoffmann begins the essay with an unveiled attack on France:

It is clear that this frivolity, this wicked denial of the Power ruling over us that alone gives prosperity and strength to our works and deeds, this mocking contempt for wholesome piety stems from that nation that, incredibly, stood for so long before a bedazzled world as a model of art and science. . . . The unutterable sacrilege of that nation led finally to a violent revolution that rushed across the earth like a devastating storm.

This passage epitomizes the characteristic compound of *politische Romantik*: the old struggle against French cultural imperialism coupled with the new campaign against French military imperialism. The slap at Gallic frivolity and immorality resonates with a long polemical tradition in Germany, reaching back to Herder, Lessing, and other early advocates of an autochthonous literary culture. The native writers took aim at the Frenchified court culture, in which each petty prince aspired to a little Versailles. Proponents of a native German culture championed the values of profundity, spirituality, and intuition, in opposition to French elegance, sensualism, and classicism—*Kultur* versus *Zivilisation*.¹³ When the French Revolution spilled across the Rhine and devolved into Napoleonic imperialism, German artists had a literary arsenal at hand.

Romantic political discourse attracted such members of the original Jena circle as the Schlegel brothers, Novalis, and Schleiermacher, but especially the later generation of Romantic writers including Heinrich Kleist, Clemens Brentano, Adam Müller, Achim von Arnim, and Baron de la Motte-Fouqué, Hoffmann's operatic collaborator. Many became actively involved in political activities, like Friedrich Schlegel, who worked as a paid propagandist for the Hapsburgs; or his brother August Wilhelm, who produced propaganda for the Swedish court; or Franz Baader, who helped formulate the Holy Alliance. Patriotic passions could also take artistic form, in Kleist's historical plays, the folklore collections of Arnim, Brentano, and the Grimm brothers, or the "neu-deutsche, religiös-patriotische Kunst" of the Nazarene painters. Adam Müller, the most systematic political thinker among the Romantics, formulated a theory of the state based upon the synergy of male and female principles. The twin epicenters of political Romanticism lodged in Hoffmann's Berlin, home to Kleist, Arnim, Schleiermacher, Fichte, and the fortnightly "Christlich-deutsche Tischgesellschaft"; and Beethoven's Vienna, host to the Schlegel brothers, Müller, the Nazarene painters, and a robust Catholic Romanticism led by Zacharias Werner and Clemens Hofbauer.

The Romantics portrayed themselves as defenders of an embattled

Christendom, besieged by the pagan Enlightenment and Revolution. Novalis began his lecture *Die Christenheit oder Europa* (1799) with a fairy-tale evocation of the Middle Ages: "There once were beautiful, shining times when Europe was a Christian land, where *one* Christendom inhabited this humanly fashioned part of the world; *one* grand common interest bound the most distant provinces of the wide spiritual realm." The wave of Catholic conversions among the Romantics impelled the Nazarene painters away from the pagan subjects of neoclassicism toward the sacred art of the Italian Renaissance; in 1808 Franz Overbeck wrote to his father that the true artistic path led "through religion, through a study of the Bible that alone made Raphael into Raphael." The Protestant tradition also lent itself to propaganda purposes, as in Fichte's *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, modeled on Luther's *Reden an die deutsche Ritterschaft*. Kleist sanctified his patriotic sentiments in a *Catechism for the Germans* (1809):

QUESTION: What do you think of Napoleon, the Corsican, the most famous emperor of the French?

ANSWER: My father, forgive me, but you have already asked me that.

QUESTION: I've already asked you that? Tell me once again, with the words that I taught you.

ANSWER: A detestable man; the beginning of all evil and the end of all goodness; a sinner whose condemnation would surpass the scope of human language, and rob the angels of breath on Judgment Day.

Hoffmann joined this tradition in "Alte und neue Kirchenmusik," which links the revival of old church music to victory in the temporal sphere:

The old, great masters live on in spirit; their songs have not ceased to echo: it is just that they cannot be heard amid the roaring, raging tumult of the events that have broken over us. May the time of our fulfilled hopes not tarry longer, may a pious life in peace and bliss begin, and may music spread her seraphic wings freely and powerfully, once more to begin the flight into the Beyond, which is her home and from which beam comfort and salvation into the human heart!¹⁴

The Romantic veneration of history extended to both feudal Christendom and the glory days of the Germanic nation. Hoffmann thus praised Bach and Handel together with Palestrina, just as the Nazarenes enthroned Albrecht Dürer beside Raphael. A few strophes from Beethoven's song *Der*

Bardengeist, WoO 142 (1813), will capture the spirit of this mystical Teutonicism:

1. Dort auf dem hohen Felsen sang
Ein alter Bardengeist;
Es tönt wie Aeolsharfenklang
Im bangen schweren Trauersang,
Der mir das Herz zerreist.
.....
5. "Ich suche wohl, nicht find' ich mehr
Ach! die Vergangenheit.
Ich sehe wohl so bang und schwer,
Ich suche dort im Sternenheer
Der Deutschen goldne Zeit"
.....
7. "Ja, herrlich, unerschüttert, kühn
Stand einst der Deutsche da;
Ach! über schwanke Trümmer ziehn
Verhängnißvolle Sterne hin.
Es war Teutonia."
- (1. There on the high cliff sang
an ancient bard's spirit;
it sounded like the music of an Aeolian harp
in a fearful, heavy dirge
that tore my heart apart
.....
5. "I am seeking, indeed, but find no longer,
Alas! the past.
I see, indeed, so fearfully and heavily,
I seek there in the host of stars,
the golden age of the Germans"
.....
7. "Yes, noble, unshaken, bold
the German once stood here;
alas! over frail ruins
fateful stars travel past.
Teutonia is no more.")

In these Romantic sagas, France frequently suffers an invidious comparison with Rome, another rapacious pagan empire. Kleist's play *Die Hermannschlacht* glorifies Arminius, the turncoat German mercenary who ambushed Caesar Augustus's legions in the Teutoburg Forest. Fichte's *Reden*

conjures up another Roman foe, Luther's "Whore of Babylon." The same trope appears in *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, Beethoven's triumphal cantata for the Congress of Vienna:

Heil Vienna dir und Glück!
Stolze Roma, trete zurück!

(Hail to you, Vienna, and good fortune!
Proud Rome, fall back!)

Years later Beethoven toyed with an oratorio text, *Der Sieg des Kreuzes*, whose subject was to have been Constantine's establishment of Christianity in pagan Rome. Hoffmann's quoting of Christ's words to Pilate uses the same code, adding another covert patriotic message to *Kreisleriana*.

Critics of German Romanticism have drawn different conclusions as to its concrete political program. Heinrich Heine summed up the mood of the leftist *Vormärz* in *Die romantische Schule* (1833–35), which savaged the Romantics as reactionary propagandists. As Heine bitterly noted, their theocratic medievalism lent itself easily to Restoration propaganda. Tsar Alexander I drew on Romantic ideas in formulating the Holy Alliance, and Ludwig I of Bavaria enthusiastically embraced the Nazarenes. During the 1830s Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia embarked on a deliberately Romantic cultural program, summoning the mystical Schelling to teach philosophy at the University of Berlin and rebuilding the Cologne cathedral—efforts that earned him David Strauss's lampoon *Ein Romantiker auf dem Throne des Cäsars* (1847). Yet the *Vormärz* critics painted an incomplete picture. Romantic evocations of Germany's past could equally well serve radical purposes, as in the Wartburg Festival of 1817. The *völkisch* nationalism that the European monarchs had encouraged during the wars against Napoleon came under suspicion during the Restoration. Romantic authors who had served the allied cause fell from grace during the Restoration, like Schleiermacher, whose nationalist "Historical School" at the University of Berlin suffered repeated government harassment after the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819.¹⁵

Carl Schmitt indicted this ambivalence within Romantic politics in his influential 1925 study *Politische Romantik*. Writing in the objectivist climate following World War I, Schmitt castigated the "subjective occasionalism" of Romanticism: by adapting to any and every political reality, Romanticism betrayed its affinity with bourgeois individualism. Paul Kluckhohn and Jakob Baxa, on the other hand, sought to resuscitate Romantic political thought for the right wing by emphasizing its organic,

statist strains. Studies by Jacques Droz and Klaus Epstein confirmed this conservative bias, showing how Romantic political thought continued an authoritarian, antiliberal discourse whose roots reached back well into the eighteenth century.¹⁶

A growing number of studies have challenged this interpretation. Political Romanticism, especially in its early phase, appears instead as a genuinely utopian project that transmuted the Revolutionary ideals into a “transcendental poetry,” imbued with history and mysticism. Such studies insist upon the literary quality of Romantic documents and the need, as Richard Brinkmann urged, “to read them as poetic texts and not as unmediated exposition.” One commentator, impressed by this literary alchemy, actually pondered “whether Romantic texts in general can be reduced to their character as artworks, or whether they can also be interpreted as historical documents of political theory.”¹⁷

Such arguments rest, often precariously, upon generous imputations of authorial intent. The perils of this special pleading appear in William Arcander O’Brien’s excellent study of Novalis:

Hardenberg’s suggestion of a patriotic state religion is the most extreme of many extreme suggestions in *Faith and Love*, and it provokes a question as to the extent to which Hardenberg’s poetical politics leads to a theocracy of the modern state—to a Romantically pagan totalitarianism. The humorlessness of Hardenberg’s suggestion signals a drift from irony toward political cynicism—precisely the kind of cynicism that led disappointed Romantics to embrace a reactionary cult of the fatherland during the Wars of Liberation.

It is unclear why humorlessness should imply cynicism, rather than (more obviously) sincerity. The same sort of equivocation haunts discussions of Beethoven’s patriotic works. Solomon admits that “there is no reason to question the genuineness of Beethoven’s patriotic feelings”; he even quotes Beethoven’s words, apropos of *Wellingtons Sieg*, that “I had long cherished the desire to be able to place some important work of mine on the altar of our Fatherland.” Nevertheless, Solomon dismisses Beethoven’s Congress of Vienna works as “parody and farce.” William Kinderman likewise acknowledges Beethoven’s unalloyed affection for *Der glorreiche Augenblick* yet complains that “in historical retrospect, at least, the ideological content of this work is blatant and cynical.”¹⁸ Faced with unsavory politics, the critics simply dismiss the texts as insincere.

These contradictions result from measuring the Romantics against modern political definitions. It seems inconceivable to us that Novalis or

Beethoven could clamor for freedom and the end of tyranny and simultaneously defend aristocracy and the divine right of hereditary monarchs. Yet conservative and progressive tendencies mix freely throughout Romantic thought, especially before 1814 when the fate of post-Napoleonic Europe was an open question. Assaults on Enlightened liberalism, moreover, could support either reactionary or radical ends, as in the affinities Ernst Hanisch has noted between Adam Müller and the young Karl Marx. Regressive ideas adulterate the thought of even so decided a liberal as Heinrich Theodor von Schön, a leading reformer in Baron Stein's cabinet. An ardent champion of Adam Smith, Schön nevertheless defended the feudal guilds, both as pillars of social stability and as protection for unskilled labor: "In a guild system there is no slavish relationship between workers and masters. The ties are certainly milder and more humane than those that exist between a factory owner and his employees. The guildmaster is head of a family."¹⁹ Given this fluidity of ideas, it makes most sense to view political Romanticism simply as a system of tensions and potentialities. The Romantics found themselves caught between two worlds: traditional feudalism, based upon faith, corporatist bonds, and personal relationships; and an emerging secular and industrial society, based upon reason, abstract law, and mechanical principles. Their political writings offer a wide variety of solutions to this dialectic.

The tensions and ambiguities of Romantic political writing come to light in Hoffmann's operatic manifesto *Der Dichter und der Komponist*. The final exchange between the composer Ludwig and the poet Ferdinand merits a lengthy excerpt:

Ludwig jumped up and, sighing deeply, took his friend's hand and pressed it to his bosom: "Oh, Ferdinand, dearest, beloved friend!" he exclaimed, "what will become of the arts in these rough, stormy times? Will they not wither like delicate plants that in vain turn their tender heads toward the dark clouds behind which the sun disappeared? Oh, Ferdinand, where have the golden days of our youth gone, what has come of our struggles? All that's finer in life is inundated by the raging torrent that tears along, devastating our fields. From its black waves there are flashes of bloody corpses, and in the horror that seizes us we lose our footing—we have no support—our anguished shriek is lost in the dread air—victims of untamable fury, we sink without hope of salvation!"

Ludwig, turned inward, kept silent.

Ferdinand arose, took his saber and helmet; armed for battle like the god of war, he stood before Ludwig. Astounded, Ludwig looked at him; then a glow suffused Ferdinand's face, his eyes radiated a burning fire, as he spoke, his voice raised: "Ludwig! What has happened to you? Has the prison air you have breathed here for so long preyed upon you to the

point where, sick and ailing, you can no longer feel the glowing breath of spring that moves through the clouds, shining in the golden glow of morning? The children of Nature wallowed in lazy idleness, and the most beautiful gifts she offered them they trampled under foot in stupid wantonness. Then the angry Mother awakened War, who had long been asleep in the fragrant flower garden. Like a bronze giant he stepped into the dissolute crowd. Fleeing from his terrible voice resounding from the mountains, they sought the protection of their Mother, in whom they had ceased to believe. But with belief there also came realization: Only strength brings success—the divine element radiates forth from the battle, like life from death! Yes, Ludwig, ominous times have come upon us, and, as in the eerie depth of the old legends which we hear like wonderfully murmuring thunder in the distant twilight, we perceive clearly once more the voice of the eternal, ruling power. In evidence, striding through our lives, it awakens in us the belief to which the secret of our being unfolds. Dawn breaks, and inspired songsters take wing into the fragrant air, proclaiming the Divine and praising it in song. The golden gates are open and with *one beam* Science and Art inspirit the whole striving that will unite mankind into one Church. Therefore, Friend, lift up your gaze! Courage! Trust! Faith!”²⁰

Hoffmann’s correspondence reveals a curious ambivalence toward this lofty speech. In his cover letter to the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, he confides to Christoph Härtel, “I just recently managed to finish an essay that I have promised to Herr Rochlitz for a long time; the setting, which bears the trace of current events, and the comforting final words that I have given the poet should arouse greater interest than if I had given the article the form of a dry dissertation.” Only a few days later, however, Hoffmann copied out the entire dialogue in a letter to his friend Carl Friedrich Kunz, confessing that “when in an evil time I penned those comforting words of Ferdinand I felt a great encouragement. May you also, friend, feel the truth of my allusions within yourself, and take comfort in them!”²¹ The first letter gives the portrait of an apolitical artist, cynically glamorizing his aesthetic program; the second reveals a sincere patriot. Which is the real Hoffmann?

Like Ludwig, Hoffmann remained remarkably immune to political or ethical thought throughout his early life. He managed to pass through the University of Königsberg without taking the slightest notice of Kant and studied with the most notorious Jacobin musician in Germany, Johann Friedrich Reichardt, without inhaling a whiff of republicanism. On the other hand, Hoffmann clearly conceived a violent hatred of Napoleon and the French and pinned high hopes on an allied victory. His journal entry for 11 November 1813 records his reaction to the allied victory at Leipzig:

A wholly unusual, magnificent feeling—yes, it is true! *Freedom!* In the evening at Eichelkraut's read about the surrender French are prisoners of war—Very pleasant feeling Composed joyfully.

On 1 December he wrote his friend Hitzig of the French occupation of Dresden:

Already on the 10th we had learned of the capitulation agreement, and my mood was really indescribable when I saw the proud, arrogant French leave ignominiously and disarmed! You have no idea how those scoundrels deliberately devastated and ruined our magnificent Dresden. . . . Now, dear friend, one breathes freely again and I think better times lie just ahead!²²

Hoffmann's opposing attitudes to Ferdinand's speech seem to mirror a genuine schism in his artistic persona—mirrored in the fictional composer and poet—between disengaged aesthete and committed patriot.

This ambivalence mirrors a new dichotomy in Hoffmann's work. A week after writing these letters he began work on *Der goldne Topf*, a classic Romantic expression of the dualism between real and ideal worlds. Thereafter, the inner and outer realms maintain an unresolved conflict in Hoffmann's fiction and life. The conflict remains inherently insoluble: Anselmus embraces the bourgeois world in *Der goldne Topf* and winds up trapped in a bottle; Elis pursues the ideal in *Die Bergwerke zu Falun* and, as Rudiger Safranski has pointed out, winds up equally "crystallized" in the vitriol water of the mines.²³ Like the perfect fusion of music and poetry in opera, the inner and outer worlds remain in a perpetual state of tension.

Such tension, however, renders the dualism dynamic. The opposition between the gentle Ludwig and the bellicose Ferdinand passes into the poet's narrative, which describes a complacent humanity torn from the womb of nature by warfare. The concluding reference to "one Church" alludes tellingly to Schiller's dialectical prototype *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (On the Aesthetic Education of Man). Schiller had compared his chimerical "aesthetic State," which reconciled the opposing impulses of sense and reason, to "the pure Church and the pure Republic." Hoffmann's mysticism differs from Schiller's idealism, but the same dialectical engine drives both narratives. A similar dynamism runs through much of Romantic political thought. Novalis's *Die Christenheit oder Europa*, often cited as the epitome of regressive medievalism, actually portrays a restless vision of history:

Moreover, we are dealing with times and periods, and is not an oscillation, a fluctuation of opposite movement not essential to these? and is not a limited term peculiar to them, a growth and a decline to their nature? but also a resurrection, a rejuvenation equally to be expected? progressive, ever increasing evolutions are the stuff of history.

Nor does Adam Müller's *Elemente der Staatskunst* demand a total restoration of power from the bourgeoisie to the aristocracy but urges instead a balance between the two "elements." While political Romanticism could certainly descend to legitimist propaganda, the most thoughtful examples accommodate the positive gains of the Enlightenment and Revolution, whether in Novalis's cyclical model, Müller's theory of opposites, or Hoffmann's dialectic. The same balance, as Uwe Schadwill has shown, would also characterize Hoffmann's political views as a jurist: "He rejects the Restoration state, with its indolent society, yet places no greater faith in violent revolutionary changes."²⁴

In the end Hoffmann's personal political beliefs do not particularly matter to this study—any more than his religious beliefs matter to his discussion of Catholic church music. Whatever his private convictions, he participated in the public transmission of a discourse that intimately linked political and aesthetic thought. Indeed, he extended the Romantic political code by translating its ideals into musical terminology. Let us return to the Fifth Symphony review and see how such an aesthetic came to terms with Beethoven's heroic style.

A ROMANTICIZED HERO

In a recent survey of patriotic literature in Napoleonic Prussia, Otto Johnston has identified a common paradigm underlying the patriotic writings of the authors sponsored by Baron Stein: "A program of national education, a focus on the language bond uniting the national group and a portrayal of the contemporary citizen as a link between a nation's past and future development—became the blueprint for the work of those authors who cooperated with Stein's political faction."²⁵ While Hoffmann's muted political overtones scarcely match the bombast of a Fichte or Kleist, Johnston's trinity of education, language, and history proves an accurate template for the Fifth Symphony review.

The second element, language, comes into play with Hoffmann's opening

assertion of music as a higher, spiritual language. From the outset he claims for music a realm in which humanity “leaves behind all feelings capable of conceptual definition, in order to give itself over to the unspeakable” (p. 34). As foils to Beethoven’s art, he offers the *Batailles des trois empereurs* and Dittersdorf’s imitative symphonies. These examples of musical iconism exemplify two prominent targets of nationalist polemics, France and her imitators in the German courts. Indeed, Hoffmann’s argument replicates the claim of the nationalist authors that the German tongue possessed a unique power of expressing philosophical abstractions, as opposed to the shallow sensuality of French. As Fichte put it in the *Reden*: “The German speaks a language which has been alive ever since it first issued from the force of nature, while other Teutonic races speak a language which has movement on the surface only but is dead at the root.”²⁶

Hoffmann’s argument proceeds to Johnston’s third element, history, establishing Beethoven’s art within a proper Germanic lineage. While his famous apotheosis of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven has received much attention for its “romanticization” of the Viennese classicists, the actual literary form has escaped notice. Hoffmann locates the three composers within a dialectical progression, structured around the temporal metaphor of nightfall. He begins with Haydn, whose music dwells in the “splendor of sunset”: “The expression of a childlike, serene sensibility reigns in Haydn’s compositions. His symphonies lead us unto unbounded, green groves, in a cheerful, motley throng of humanity. . . . A life full of love, of bliss, as if before the Fall, in eternal youthfulness” (p. 35). The phrase “before the Fall” probably refers to Haydn’s most famous work, *The Creation*, whose famous evocation of light fits neatly with Hoffmann’s diurnal conceit.²⁷ Mozart leads the way from Haydn’s naive paradise into the “night of the spirit-world.” Yet Mozart’s music arouses only a “premonition of the infinite.” It is Beethoven who penetrates to the inner darkness,

the realm of the monstrous and the immeasurable. Fiery beams shoot through the deep night of this realm, and we become aware of giant shadows that wave up and down, draw closer in upon us, and annihilate everything in us, except the pain of infinite yearning in which every desire that rushed upwards in jubilant tones sinks down and perishes; and only in this pain, in which love, hope, joy are consumed, but not destroyed, and which must burst our hearts with a full-throated chorus of all the passions, do we live on as enraptured spiritual visionaries. (p. 36)

Hoffmann’s history of the Viennese instrumental style thus traces a path from the light of nature to an inner spiritual enlightenment. Imagery drawn

from Christian mysticism emphasizes this redemptive path: the pain in which the emotions are “consumed, but not destroyed” recalls the holy fire of the medieval esoteric tradition, as does the *via negativa*, whereby the Absolute is approached solely through the elimination of positive, earthly traits. Hoffmann’s spiritual history not only presents a “Romantic” cast of characters, but also follows a distinctively Romantic path of spiritual transcendence.

Hoffmann’s chronicle of the musical spirit follows a narrative much beloved of his philosophical compatriots. Fichte’s *Characteristics of the Present Age* (1804–5) had narrated a history of the human spirit in five stages, passing from instinctual behavior to the reign of “reason-art.” Two years later Hegel published his landmark *Phenomenology of Spirit*, tracing the odyssey of *Geist* from sensory immediacy to absolute knowledge. Schelling’s *Philosophy and Religion* (1804) and *The Ages of the World* (1811) trace the same redemptive history, drawing heavily upon the mystic tradition. Ernst Moritz Arndt proposed the most explicitly nationalist history of spirit in his *Geist der Zeit* (1806–13), in which Germanic culture plays the leading role. In common with these treatises, Hoffmann’s musical history proceeds from an original state of nature (Haydn’s pastoral world) to a redeemed “second nature” (Beethoven’s higher spiritual reality). The narrative exemplifies what M. H. Abrams has termed the “circuitous journey,” the path by which alienated spirit spirals toward a higher state of revelation;²⁸ thus, Beethoven’s music, having left behind all earthly light, ends by ushering in a mystical light, the “fiery beams (which) shoot through the deep night.”

Johnston’s final component, education, arrives with the central thesis of Hoffmann’s review, Beethoven’s *Besonnenheit*. The concept of *Besonnenheit*, as shown above, belongs to the ideals of Germanic *Bildung* advocated by the reformers. Hoffmann’s argument takes on a familiar Francophobia as he sneers at those “aesthetic geometers” (*Messkünstler*) who “have often complained of the complete lack of true unity and inner coherence in Shakespeare” (p. 37). The defense of Shakespeare against the rigid unities of French Classicism had become a battleground for the German Romantics, most famously in A. W. Schlegel’s *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* published only the year before. As an antidote to such sterile theories, Hoffmann marshals a favorite Romantic metaphor, comparing Beethoven’s musical thought to the way “a lovely tree grows, with its blossoms and leaves, flowers and fruit, bursting from a single seed” (p. 37).

Proceeding to the actual analysis, we may gain a clearer picture of Hoffmann’s *Reich des Unendlichen*. A term that recurs with almost hyp-

notic regularity throughout the review is *das Ganze*, the whole. No word better sums up Romantic political theory, whose central axiom was the spiritual totality of the state. The Romantics universally criticized the atomizing, mechanistic tendencies of enlightened liberalism, as expressed in laissez-faire economics, natural law, and contractual theories of the state. They idealized instead the interdependent, hierarchical relations of the medieval *Ständestaat*. From Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (widely circulated in Friedrich Gentz's translation) they derived the notion of the "organic state," a metaphor developed in Novalis's *Glauben und Liebe* (1797), Schelling's *Vorlesungen über die Methode des akademischen Studiums* (1803), and, especially, Müller's *Elemente*. In opposition to liberalism, the Romantics upheld a vision of the state as an interconnected whole, in which each individual's interest was subordinated to the articulated structure of the whole organism. In this spirit Novalis had declared the state a "Makroanthropos," while Müller protested that

the state is not a mere factory, a farm, an insurance, institution or mercantile society; above all, it is the inward association of all physical and spiritual needs, of all physical and spiritual riches, of all the inner and outer life of a nation into one great, energetic, infinitely moving and living whole.

Even Hegel, proceeding from the different premises of idealism, promoted a similarly totalizing view of the state:

Since the state is mind objectified, it is only as one of its members that the individual himself has objectivity, genuine individuality, and an ethical life. Unification pure and simple is the true content and aim of the individual, and the individual's destiny is the living of a universal life.

Hoffmann himself professed a similar creed in a letter of 8 September 1813 to Kunz: "Don't dismiss my second motto, 'All is part of the whole,' from your mind and heart! Our faith in the hand that extends over the universe and knows, like a clever puppeteer, how to move every thread at the right time is very necessary in these times."²⁹

Hoffmann's celebrated thematic analysis suggests the clearest musical correlate to this totalizing Romantic doctrine. "It is particularly the inner relationship of the individual themes to one another," he explains, "that produces the unity that holds fast *one* feeling in the listener's sensibility" (p. 50). He remarks of the opening of the symphony that

there is no simpler idea than that on which Beethoven has based his entire Allegro, and one perceives with astonishment how he was able to link all the subsidiary ideas and episodes to this simple theme by their rhythmic relation, so that they serve to unfold more and more the overall character of the movement, which that theme by itself could only hint at. (p. 43)

It is interesting that, for all his fascination with Beethoven's theme, Hoffmann remarks only on its negative qualities: its lack of harmonic definition ("even the key is not yet certain; the listener assumes E \flat major"), and incompleteness ("one would believe that from such elements only something fragmentary and difficult to grasp could arise"). Likewise, his description of the second theme concerns not the character of the theme, but its larger role in the movement: "It is indeed melodious, yet still remains true to the character of anxious, unrestful yearning which the whole movement projects . . . with the result that the new theme becomes wholly woven into the whole texture" (p. 39). Hoffmann cares not about themes themselves, but how they develop; he neglects the part, but favors the whole.

Hoffmann's conception of theme admirably fits some of Beethoven's music. The Violin Concerto, for instance, begins with an indistinct, barely audible tympani motive that rises to startling prominence over the course of the movement. Yet the head motive of the Fifth Symphony is another matter entirely. Etched in stark unison and marked off by fermatas, it veritably shrieks to be heard for its own sake and not merely as a part of some greater whole. Hoffmann's account registers none of the traits that lend the theme its impact: the impetuous upbeat rhythm, the unsettling pauses, the fatalistic downward pull of the line from dominant towards the tonic, the insistent hammering on one pitch, which Beethoven could liken to fate beating on the door. No mere "hint," the opening theme defines, nay, creates the character of the movement. Something crucial to Beethoven's work goes glimmering in Hoffmann's pursuit of *das Ganze*.

While Hoffmann shows little interest in thematic character, he pays close attention to thematic construction and development. He remarks of the various ideas in the finale that they "are more broadly treated than the preceding ones; they are less melodious than forceful and susceptible to contrapuntal imitation" (p. 48). Of the scherzo he notes that "it is primarily the singular modulations; cadences in which the major dominant chord, whose root the bass takes up as the tonic of the following minor theme; the theme itself that continually expands by several measures—that project the character of Beethoven's music posited above" (p. 45). Describing the second theme of the finale, Hoffmann homes in on a trivial harmonic detail, claim-

ing that “through this theme and its further development through A minor to C major the sensibility is plunged again into that foreboding mood that receded but momentarily amid the rejoicing and jubilation” (p. 48). The overall design of the whole—counterpoint, harmony, phrase structure—matters to Hoffmann, not the character of the individual parts.

Hoffmann’s bias makes sense in the light of “Alte und neue Kirchenmusik,” where he draws a distinction between two opposing musical aesthetics. The “pagan-antique” aesthetic, based upon Aristotelian mimesis, treats music as a vehicle of human expression; the “Christian-modern,” following the Pythagorean model, treats music as the reflection of a higher supernatural order. (This distinction, as Carl Dahlhaus has pointed out, revives not only the recent *querelle des anciens et modernes* but the hoary debate over *prima* and *seconda pratica*.) “Pagan-antique” music exalted melody above all, as the representation of human speech. Jean-Jacques Rousseau best summed up this mimetic aesthetic: “By imitating the inflections of the voice, melody expresses pity, cries of sorrow and joy, threats and groans”; harmony, he declared, “shackles melody, draining it of energy and expressiveness. It wipes out passionate accent, replacing it with the harmonic interval.” “Christian-modern” music, on the other hand, aspired to the transcendent unity of harmony. As Hoffmann rhapsodized,

The love, the consonance of all things spiritual in nature that is promised to the Christian, expresses itself in chords that first awoke to life with Christianity; and thus chords, harmony become the image and expression of the spiritual fellowship, of the union with the eternal, the ideal, which reigns over us yet embraces us.³⁰

Hoffmann stays true to his aesthetic convictions in the Fifth Symphony review. He ignores the mimetic, gestural content of Beethoven’s themes and focuses instead on the underlying sources of musical unity. The Pythagorean bias also helps to explain his seemingly inexhaustible fascination with harmonic analysis.

A distaste for neoclassical aesthetics may also explain Hoffmann’s almost total indifference to the dramatic structure of Beethoven’s symphony. He passes nonchalantly over the most electrifying events in the symphony. Of the catastrophic recapitulation of the first movement he merely notes that “the whole orchestra with tympani and trumpets enters with the main theme, in its original form” (p. 42). He ignores entirely the extraordinary return of the scherzo. Hoffmann fully understood the principles of sonata form (as demonstrated, for instance, by his review of Friedrich Witt’s Fifth

Symphony), but his spiritualized conception of Beethoven's work has no room for such earthly drama. His conception of "infinite longing" precludes any demarcations of form whatsoever; as Robin Wallace notes, "at no point does Hoffmann distinguish an actual thematic statement . . . [but only] connecting material, separating and developing the important thematic events of the movement."³¹ This appears in his peculiar reaction to the finale coda. Unlike most critics, he heard no sense of finality in the incessant tonic chords, but only "a fire which flares up in bright flames after one had believed it extinguished" (p. 50). From Hoffmann's "Christian-modern" viewpoint, the Fifth Symphony appears less as a linear trajectory than as a state of timeless, spiritual yearning. If this seems a peculiarly static reading, we must recall that he is approaching Beethoven's text with an aesthetic best suited to a Palestrina motet.

The one formal event that impresses Hoffmann is the beginning of the C-major finale, which he describes as "a beaming, dazzling shaft of sunlight that suddenly illuminates the depths of the night" (pp. 47–48). This passage, however, echoes his earlier history of the Viennese school, which narrative had culminated in Beethoven's "realm of the monstrous and immeasurable," where "fiery beams shoot through the deep night of this realm." Hoffmann has conflated music history with musical form, mapping his spiritual chronicle onto the course of the symphony. Thus, paradoxically, he can interpret the most visceral, dramatic event in the symphony as a moment of purely spiritual transcendence.

This passage exposes a central problem of Romantic political writing—how to inscribe an eternal Absolute within a dynamic modern discourse. Hoffmann wants to portray the climax of the symphony as a mystical transcendence of the temporal realm. Yet his language partakes of images of violence, revolution, and force—images, moreover, that are clearly inspired by Beethoven's score. Hoffmann's metaphysics is betrayed by the very artwork he seeks to canonize. The same paradox appears in Novalis and Schlegel, Müller and Kleist. They propound a timeless medievalism, yet argue in the dialectical modes of the late eighteenth century; they preach against the Revolution, but cannot (or will not) escape its tug in their writing. From this tension between idea and expression, eternity and history, Romantic political thought takes its convoluted shape.

The *unendliche Sehnsucht* that so moved Hoffmann in the Fifth Symphony assumed explicitly political connotations elsewhere in his writings. In the conclusion to "Alte und neue Kirchenmusik" he contrasts the base worldly desires of the present age with pure spiritual yearning, in which "the obliviousness of all our inverted strivings, of all our captivity to

earthly drives after earthly goals is so plainly revealed, in which the spirit, as though illuminated by a heavenly bolt, recognizes its home, and in this recognition gains courage and strength to bear, even to resist, its earthly travails.³² Spiritual *Sehnsucht* becomes a call to arms against an enemy whose identity can scarcely be mistaken. Similar imagery reappears in the rousing finish of *Der Dichter und der Komponist*, where the soldier-poet Ferdinand exults that “the golden doors are open, and with a single ray knowledge and art enkindle that holy striving that unites mankind into one church.” In *Die Vision auf dem Schlachtfeld bei Dresden*, Hoffmann inverts the imagery to portray the diabolical tyrant, Napoleon. As the emperor wanders about the battlefield, a host of fallen soldiers rise in judgment:

Then the voices shrieked again:

“Depraved one! Do not mock the power that sends death. Look above you!”

Yet still the tyrant directed his gaze downward; staring instead at the earth, he spoke:

“Madmen, what do you seek over my head?—nothing above me!—the dark space up there is empty, for I myself am the power of vengeance and death.”³³

The “dark space up there” is precisely the realm that Hoffmann sought to reclaim, with Beethoven as explorer and conquistador.

Hoffmann’s *Geisterreich* has taken shape thus far as an organic collective, subordinated in every detail to totalizing structures and inspired throughout by a pure heavenly yearning. Not surprisingly, Hoffmann disdains democracy. Haydn, he concedes, “romantically apprehends the humanity in human life; he is more congenial to the majority;” not so Beethoven, whose instrumental music “rarely appeals to the crowd” (p. 36). In his reworking of the symphony review in *Kreisleriana*, Hoffmann admires the way “Beethoven’s mighty genius oppresses the musical rabble; they rebel in vain against it;” a few sentences later he asserts that Beethoven “separates his Ego [*Ich*] from the inner realm of sounds and rules over it as unlimited lord [*unumschränkter Herr*].” Hoffmann is resorting here to Fichte’s *Wissenschaftslehre* (as filtered through Jean-Paul Richter), which portrayed the *Ich* in a constant struggle for mastery over the *nicht-Ich*. While the radical young Fichte of 1794 had once compared the *nicht-Ich* to the structures of the ancien régime, Hoffmann has turned the *Ich* inward against the subjects of the realm. But, again, by 1811 Fichte’s own outlook had shifted so far to the right that he could write, “Good governments make good majorities.”³⁴

In Hoffmann's musical autocracy, criticism assumes a vital new role. No longer a guardian of public taste, the critic now mediates the mysteries of an elite art to the unwashed. In another borrowing from Jean-Paul (himself paraphrasing Lessing), Hoffmann declares that "Romantic taste is rare, Romantic talent rarer," turning the tables on enlightened criticism:

But the wise judges, gazing about with a self-important air, offer assurance: one may trust their judgment as men of great understanding and deep insight. . . . But how is it, that the inner, deep structure of all Beethoven's compositions escapes your feeble gaze? Has it not dawned upon you that *you* do not understand the master's language, understood only by the initiated, when to you the portals of the most holy sanctuary remain shut?

The true critic has become an initiate in a priesthood, capable of interpreting the "hieroglyphs" (Hoffmann's favorite term for musical notation) of the genius. The role Hoffmann assigns the critic might best be compared to the Prussian civil servant. Charlton has noted the "legalistic rigor and detail" of Hoffmann's analysis, and his meticulous argumentation shows the hand of the professional jurist. Critic and civil servant alike mediate between the absolute monarch and his people. And in both cases, the process flows in one direction—*von oben nach unten*.³⁵

The contours of a political model thus emerge from the language of Hoffmann's criticism. We behold a harmonious, spiritually unified collective ruled over by an absolute monarch and mediated by an elite intelligentsia. It is a fair prediction of the course that German political life would take in the nineteenth century. The culture of German art music also developed along the same lines, giving rise to the cult of the autonomous genius who composes in disregard for public opinion, and whose wishes must be reverently interpreted by an elite class of conductors, performers, and critics. To the extent that this model retains its hold on modern musical life, we remain Hoffmann's heirs.

THE PREMATURE PORTRAIT

"Our kingdom is not of this world, say the musicians." So said Hoffmann, and so have said generations of musicians to this day. Yet the very act of saying belies the claim. To limn his mystical *Geisterreich*, Hoffmann had to dip his pen in the sordid inkpot of human language. When we fixate on the description of his spirit realm, an earthly image comes into focus—a tapestry

of wars, nations, political strivings, and cultural polemics. Ironically, Hoffmann's myth of the musical absolute founders on the very work he proposes as the paragon of metaphysical music. The sheer materiality of the Fifth Symphony, with its unrelenting rhythms, triumphal marches, and dramatic trajectory, exposes the cracks and fissures in Hoffmann's impossible aesthetic.

Yet Hoffmann's review pays unexpected dividends toward our understanding of Beethoven's music. In 1809, only months after the premiere of the Fifth Symphony, Austria began its own *Befreiungskrieg*, and the composer who had once dedicated a symphony to Napoleon began working on patriotic works for the allies. During this same year new currents entered Beethoven's musical language, drawing the heroic style in a decidedly Romantic direction. By the 1820s Beethoven had perfected a style that uncannily matches the specifications of Hoffmann's critical model. The late works operate at the highest level of metaphysical abstraction; they draw on the archaic resources of the "Christian-modern" past; they exhibit the most rigorous contrapuntal learning; and they teem with esoteric motivic networks running beneath the surface of theme and form. Hoffmann's portrait of Beethoven is not so much inaccurate as premature.

Indeed, Hoffmann's review proves most illuminating at precisely those spots where his aesthetic model seems most to conflict with Beethoven's text. As we watch the critic forcing the Fifth Symphony into his Romantic mold, we get a preview of the way the composer himself would modify his style under the spell of Romanticism. The same tensions and paradoxes that appear in Hoffmann's reading will appear in Beethoven's late works, as new and old aesthetic ideals collide. While it may seem absurd to view the Fifth Symphony through the lens of the Palestrinan *ars perfecta*, the same approach makes all kinds of sense for the Ninth Symphony or late quartets.

And in Hoffmann's prescient criticism lies the key to a new political interpretation of Beethoven's late works. We need no longer trace the abstraction and spirituality of Beethoven's late works to a disillusionment with the Restoration, or a retreat from Metternich's police state. By 1810 a musical aesthetic matching the late style had already crystallized, long before any cynicism had set in. Forged from German Romanticism as a cultural weapon against France, this aesthetic emerged during a time of widespread patriotism, an age that intimately connected spiritual reform and political meliorism. This study of Hoffmann may therefore serve as prolegomenon to the task ahead: to discover in the "absolute music" of Beethoven's late works a kingdom that is of this world.

2 The Heroic Sublime

While Hoffmann and Beethoven may have reached a common destination, they started from distant origins. Beethoven grew up in Bonn, a hub of enlightened thought ruled by the brother of Joseph II. His companions included intellectuals from the newly founded university, a forum for the most liberal strains of philosophy, theology, and jurisprudence (where Beethoven enrolled briefly in 1789). He associated with a progressive *Lesegesellschaft*, or reading society, whose members included his patron Count Waldstein, as well as his teacher Christian Gottlob Neefe, himself a member of the free-thinking *Orden der Illuminaten*. On a commission from the *Lesegesellschaft* Beethoven composed the Cantata on the Death of the Emperor Joseph II, in which he joined his librettist in praising the absolutist reformer and denouncing religious fanaticism. Around the same time the composer conceived the idea of setting Schiller's *An die Freude*, with its indictment of tyranny and call for an egalitarian society. It is safe to say that the young Beethoven embraced an ideological worldview diametrically opposed to the ethos of political Romanticism.

By the time Beethoven reached Vienna, the liberal mood of the Josephine era had already swung far to the right in the wake of the French Revolution. The sudden death of Leopold II cut short the final chapter of the Austrian Enlightenment.¹ Franz II, under the thumb of a reactionary cabinet, reversed the attainments of the previous decades, while Count Pergen and the new Ministry of Police stifled a lively tradition of free speech. Yet Beethoven by no means abandoned the ideals of his youth. As is well known, he recycled a melody from the first imperial cantata in *Leonore*, at the moment of Florestan's liberation, a strain that originally accompanied the quintessentially enlightened words "Da stiegen die Menschen ans Licht" (Then mankind ascended to the light). A verse from Schiller's ode

also surfaces in the finale of the opera. These reminiscences represent only the tip of an iceberg. The following two chapters will argue that Beethoven continued to give musical expression to his early convictions long after many of his peers had retreated into mysticism and reactionary medievalism. As late as 1808 he remained a steadfast, even anachronistic, proponent of *Aufklärung*.

Such an argument requires a mediator between music and political thought, a link that partakes of both yet remains separate from either. The sublime, *das Erhabene*, beckons. This central category of eighteenth-century aesthetics moved within Beethoven's lifetime to the forefront of ethical and political thought. The sublime also figures in contemporary writing on music and has recently accumulated a substantial musicological literature. Here is a sturdy bridge over which even the most skeptical reader might be persuaded to cross from music into the realm of political thought.

Beethoven has attracted students of the musical sublime ever since Paul Henry Lang claimed of the late works that "Beethoven was the musician who found the way to the last confines of Classicism and thus passed from the realm of the beautiful into that of the sublime." Carl Dahlhaus has identified the rhetoric of the sublime in E. T. A. Hoffmann's criticism of Beethoven, noting the association between the symphony and the exalted Pindaric ode in German music criticism. Eberhard Müller-Arp more recently invoked the theory of the sublime in his discussion of the *Pathétique* Sonata, and Richard Taruskin has marshaled it in the "authenticity" debates, opposing the rugged grandeur of the Ninth Symphony to the anti-septic beautification projects of Beethoven's early-music enthusiasts. William Kinderman made the Schillerian dialectic of the sublime and beautiful the heart of his recent survey of Beethoven, while Roland Schmenner has devoted an entire book to the sublime thunderstorm in the Sixth Symphony. And Beethoven's shadow doubtless looms behind James Webster's suggestion that "we think of the entire great flowering of music between 1780 and 1815 as the age of Haydn's sublime."²

Given this burgeoning literature, it seems odd that nobody has examined the one movement that Beethoven actually marked "sublime." The words *Majestätisch und erhaben* head the famous fourth song from the *Sechs Gellert-Lieder*, op. 48, "Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur" (known to Anglophone musicians as "The Heavens Are Telling the Glory of God"). The neglected Gellert songs contain intriguing clues to Beethoven's conception of the sublime. Completed in 1802, on the cusp of the *Eroica* breakthrough, they also suggest broad ramifications for the heroic style in general.

HUMANITY AT THE LIMITS

Beethoven culled the texts for op. 48 from Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's 1757 collection *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*, a favorite source for such early *Lied* composers as Kirnberger, Quantz, and C. P. E. Bach. Beethoven was perhaps put onto this strange project by his patron, Baron van Swieten, the Viennese apostle of serious northern German music. Beethoven began work on the songs in 1798, the year in which Haydn's *Creation* appeared with libretto by van Swieten. The celebrated chorus "Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes" (another version of Psalm 19) clearly served as the model for the fourth song; Beethoven's tribute extends beyond key and meter to general melodic contours and even specific phrases. If, as his compositions from the turn of the century indicate, Beethoven was bent on producing a masterpiece of Haydn's caliber, the high-minded Gellert poems must have seemed a promising vehicle.

Beethoven's decision to return to the songs perhaps owes to the lukewarm reception of his ballet *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* in 1801. Like his other major vocal work before the *Eroica*, *Christus am Ölberge*, Beethoven's Gellert songs bid for the religious sublimity that Haydn had made his signature. The pervasive *alla breve* meter (rare in Beethoven's *Lieder*), the hymnlike melodies, the piano textures recalling the Lutheran chorale prelude, and the splashes of Handelian counterpoint all draw upon that elevated style that Elaine Sisman has traced in eighteenth-century descriptions of the musical sublime.³ Beethoven's allusion to the Recordare from Mozart's *Requiem* in the last song (see the left-hand figure in the *Allegro ma non troppo*) pays homage to another monument of the exalted style.

Op. 48 should rank as Beethoven's first song cycle. While the six songs do not advertise their unity so obviously as the six members of *An die ferne Geliebte* (1816), and while they remain indebted to the traditional strophic song, they do evidence a clear poetic and musical design.⁴ Beethoven considered several orderings of the six songs, whose texts he plucked from different parts of Gellert's collection. The order he settled on reveals a definite verbal and musical logic. Its overall structure takes the shape of a chiasmus, a sort of ABC/CBA form. There is thus a symmetry between songs 1 and 6, 2 and 5, and 3 and 4. At the same time, as in many of J. S. Bach's chiasmic designs, the cycle projects a competing sense of teleological direction; it descends in songs 1–3 and reascends in 4–6, not unlike the Credo of the Mass in B Minor.

The first and last songs suggest the overall “plot,” a quest for forgiveness and salvation. In “Bitten” the believer seeks God’s grace, praying “Vernimm mein Flehn, merk auf mein Wort” (“Hear my supplication, give heed to my words”). In “Bußlied” the supplicant wrestles his way to forgiveness, concluding triumphantly, “Der Herr erhört mein Flehen, und nimmt sich meiner Seelen an” (The Lord hears my supplication, and accepts my soul). These framing songs are the only actual prayers in the cycle, the only poems that address God in the vocative.⁵ The choice of keys—E major for the first song, A minor/major for the last—suggests a V–I resolution matching the spiritual progression from supplication to grace. Beethoven clinches the connection between the outer songs with a motivic reminiscence: the sequence of descending scales with which “Bitten” opened returns in the coda of “Bußlied” (bars 105–9).

The second and fifth songs, “Die Liebe des Nächsten” and “Gottes Macht und Vorsehung,” are fleeting and aphoristic, like interludes between weightier numbers. They are also the only poems found next to each other in Gellert’s collection. Beethoven seems to have been attracted by the phonemic affinity between the lines “Gott ist die Lieb” (no. 2) and “Gott ist mein Lied” (no. 5), for he set both to a similar melodic contour and, as Günter Massenkeil has pointed out, with a characteristically Handelian counterpoint.⁶ In both songs this counterpoint spills over into a pianistic postlude, the only such passages in the cycle. Each song also seems curiously to quote the preceding number in the cycle. “Die Liebe des Nächsten” begins with a parody of the opening phrase of “Bitten” and its unctuous *appoggiatura*, as if to satirize the hypocrite who honors God only with his lips. “Gottes Macht und Vorsehung” starts by retracing the climactic melodic trajectory of “Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur,” from C to high G, then proceeds to quote the descending dominant-seventh arpeggio from the second phrase. Thus, as the singer declares “Gott ist mein Lied,” he or she takes up an actual song.

The emotional gravity of op. 48 centers on the weighty inner pair. The ominous “Vom Tode,” first of the songs sketched, evokes humanity’s crawl to the grave, ending with a musical interment worthy of Bach. “Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur” reverses the descent with the soaring opening chords of the piano and culminates in a glorious musical sunrise. The polar opposition of the two songs appears in the keys, F# minor and C major—a tritone, incidentally, that straddles A, the tonal destination of the cycle.⁷ The choice of F# minor (a change from the D-minor sketch of 1798), with its three *Kreuze* (“crosses,” or sharps), may have been intended as a symbol of crucifixion, while the dazzling modulation to C major certainly evokes light, cre-

ation, and resurrection. Those familiar with *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, *Christus am Ölberge*, the *Eroica*, or *Leonore* will not be surprised to find a drama of death and rebirth at the heart of the Gellert cycle. The confessional Heiligenstadt Testament of 1802 traces the same odyssey, and Massenkeil has pointed out affinities with the third Gellert song, such as “Mit Freuden eil ich dem Tode entgegen” (Testament) and “Stündlich eil’ ich zu dem Grabe” (“Vom Tode”).⁸

We thus find Beethoven’s lone reference to the sublime at the crux of a drama of redemption, following a contemplation of human mortality. Beethoven set only the first two quatrains (out of six) of “Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur”:

Die Himmel rühmen des Ewigen Ehre;
Ihr Schall pflanzt seinen Namen fort.
Ihn rühmt der Erdkreis, ihn preisen die Meere;
Vernimm, o Mensch, ihr göttlich Wort!

Wer trägt der Himmel unzählbare Sterne?
Wer führt die Sonn’ aus ihrem Zelt?
Sie kommt und leuchtet und lacht uns von ferne
Und läuft den Weg gleich als ein Held.

(The heavens extol the honor of the Eternal One;
Their sound perpetuates His name.
The earth extols Him, the seas praise Him;
Hear, oh man, their divine word!

Who bears the numberless stars of the heavens?
Who leads the sun out of its pavilion?
It comes and shines, and smiles upon us from afar,
And runs its course like a hero.)

In this truncated form, the text assumes a characteristically dynamic, Beethovenian shape. The first quatrain opposes the heavenly and terrestrial realms, with the stars pouring down knowledge of God’s glory and the earth echoing back praise. The second quatrain connects the two realms through the image of the rising sun, which surges into the sky from the distant horizon. Beethoven would set similar words, derived from the same psalm, in the Ninth Symphony finale:

Froh, wie seine Sonnen fliegen,
Durch des Himmels prächt’gen Plan,
Laufet, Brüder, eure Bahn,
Freudig, wie ein Held zum Siegen.

(Gladly as his suns flying
 Through the mighty plain of heaven,
 Run your course, brothers,
 Like a hero to the conquest.)

Gellert's version evokes a more dramatic and humanistic vision than Schiller's revolving heavenly bodies, emphasizing the earthly perspective on the sun that "comes and shines and smiles upon us from afar."

Beethoven succinctly marks out a musical heaven and earth with the massive chords that frame the song (see Example 1). The melody plays between these extreme registers in the opening quatrain: it descends in arpeggio to depict the heavenly glory beaming down (bars 3–4); hovers high to suggest the "honor of the Eternal One" (5–6); sinks low to portray the awestruck earth and seas (11–14); and climbs back up to apprehend the "divine word" (15–18). For the final image of the rising sun (29–40), the opening melody returns, driving past its previous ceiling of F to a triumphant high G. Emphatic chords fill out the bare octaves, while secondary dominants etch each step of the ascent.

The hushed setting of lines 5–6 (bars 19–28) commands the greatest interest. The proportions and tonal plan of the song identify this as the "development" of a binary form. As Hans Boettcher noted, it also evokes the more static effect of a *da capo* B section. In either case, something transpires in this hovering interlude that transforms deadlock into victory, prompting the heroic line at the end. We need not search long for a catalyst. The sudden common-tone modulation to E \flat at the beginning of this section gives us the first instance of what Kinderman has identified as Beethoven's "symbol for the deity"; not only the key but also the voicing and preparation of this numinous chord match Kinderman's examples from the Ninth Symphony.⁹ The song even forecasts the pulsing stars in the Ninth Symphony, whose finale evokes the same heavens.

The questions in lines 5–6, like God's questions to Job, actually serve as answers. The exhortation in line 4, "Vernimm, o Mensch, ihr göttlich Wort," neatly inverts the plea of the first song, "Vernimm mein Flehn, merk auf mein Wort": it is not God who must listen to the word of man, but man who must heed the Word of God, proclaimed through nature. The point is driven home by the last line of "Vom Tode," which immediately precedes "Die Ehre Gottes": "Säume nicht, denn Eins ist Noth" (Tarry not, for one thing is needful). The final phrase comes from the Gospel story of Martha and Mary. Jesus is staying at the home of Martha, who busily prepares the

EXAMPLE 1. "Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur," *Six Gellert Songs*, op. 48

Majestätisch und erhaben

Singstimme

Die Him-mel rüh-men des E-wi-gen Eh-re, ihr Schallpflanz

Pianoforte

ff *sf* *p* *f*

8

sei-nen Na-men fort. Ihn rühmt der Erd-kreis, ihn prei-sen die Mee-re; ver-

15

nimm, o Mensch, ihr gött-lich Wort! Wer trägt der

f *sf* *sf* *sf* *sf* *pp*

22

Him-mel un-zähl-ba-re Ster-ne? Wer führt die Sonn' aus ih-rem Zelt?

cresc. *pp*

(continued)

EXAMPLE 1 (continued)

The image shows two systems of a musical score. The first system starts at measure 28. The vocal line (treble clef) has the lyrics: "Sie kömmt und leuch-tet und lacht uns von fer-ne, und läuft den Weg, gleich". The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features a piano introduction with a *cresc.* marking, followed by dynamic markings of *f*, *sf*, *p*, and *f*. The second system starts at measure 35. The vocal line has the lyrics: "als ein Held, und läuft den Weg, gleich als ein Held." The piano accompaniment continues with dynamic markings of *f*, *ff*, *sf*, *sf*, and *ff*.

meal; her sister Mary, meanwhile, sits at his feet listening to his teaching. When Martha complains, Jesus replies, "Martha, Martha, you are anxious and troubled about many things; *one thing is needful*. Mary has chosen the good portion, which shall not be taken away from her" (Luke 10:41–42, RSV). Righteousness, in other words, comes not from endless acts of human labor, but from attending to the word of God. It is this "göttlich Wort" that speaks through the numinous lines 5–6 and that somehow inspires the heaven-storming ascent in lines 7–8. Beethoven draws the connection tighter by ending the third and fourth songs with an almost identical melodic phrase, forging a musical link between the call to the word ("Denn eins ist Noth") and the heroic sunrise ("Gleich als ein Held").

While the most obvious model for "Die Ehre Gottes" is the corresponding setting of Psalm 19 from *The Creation*, Beethoven seems to have remembered another C-major number from Haydn's oratorio, the tenor aria "Mit Würd' und Hoheit." The aria, which hails the creation of humanity, begins like both Haydn's "Die Himmel erzählen" and Beethoven's "Die Ehre Gottes," pushing upwards against the fourth degree of the scale. While the earlier chorus never breaks through this ceiling, the tenor's line drives

to the high G with a stepwise climb and cadential formula that closely resembles Beethoven's song. Haydn's heroic gesture makes perfect theological sense. This is no inanimate creature, but "a human being, a man, and king of nature" (ein Mensch, ein Mann, und König der Natur), the image of the Creator whose rational nature outshines even the stars of the firmament. Van Swieten's text goes on to laud the "widely arched, sublime brow" (breit gewölbt' erhab'ne Stirn), that "announces the deep mind of wisdom" (verkündigt der Weisheit tiefen Sinn). This humanistic vision, I would suggest, provides the key to understanding the role of the sublime in Beethoven's Gellert cycle. To grasp this meaning we shall need to consult the most eminent German theorist of the sublime, Immanuel Kant.

BIRTHING THE HERO

Critics and biographers have generally taken for granted Kant's influence on Beethoven, and with good reason. The sense of ethical struggle in the heroic style, whether made explicit in *Christus* or *Leonore* or felt implicitly in the instrumental works, suggests Kant's exaltation of rational duty above physical inclination. The inner turning point of *Leonore*, for instance, arrives with Leonore's resolution to press through physical danger and do her wifely duty: "Ich folg' dem innern Triebe, ich wanke nicht, mich stärkt die Pflicht der treuen Gattenliebe" (I follow the inner urging, I do not waver, the duty of true connubial love strengthens me). Florestan likewise achieves inner resolve in his aria, finding inner clarity and comfort amid his confinement in having fulfilled his political duty: "Willig duld' ich alle Schmerzen, ende schmäählich meine Bahn; süsse Trost in meinem Herzen: meine Pflicht hab' ich gethan" (Willingly I endure all pains, through my pains, though my path end in disgrace, with this sweet comfort in my heart: I have done my duty). The same sense of moral compulsion speaks through the Heiligenstadt Testament, where Beethoven bemoans the embarrassments of his encroaching deafness: "Such incidents drove me almost to despair; a little more of that and I would have ended my life—it was only my art that held me back. Ah, it seemed to me impossible to leave the world until I had brought forth all that I felt was within me."¹⁰ These phrases indicate a rudimentary grasp of Kant's moral philosophy, such as any intelligent German of this time might have enjoyed. We can do better than this, however, for a brief look at Beethoven's intellectual surroundings in Bonn will show that he almost certainly came into contact with the critical philosophy.

In 1789, the year before Kant published his discussion of the sublime in the *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (Critique of Judgment), Beethoven matriculated for an unknown duration at the University of Bonn. The early *Hochschule*, founded in 1785 by the elector and later reconstituted as part of the University of Berlin, reveals a pervasive Kantian influence. The leading light of the philosophical faculty, Peter Joseph van der Schnüren, was a passionate advocate of Kant who offered private seminars in critical philosophy during 1790–92. Van der Schnüren was converted to the Kantian cause by the head of the university himself, Franz Wilhelm Freiherr von Spiegel, who had studied under Kant's foremost apostle, Carl Leonhard Reinhold. Under Spiegel's influence, van der Schnüren's colleagues Neeb and Apel also became outspoken proponents of Kant; their influence apparently reached beyond the philosophy faculty, for in 1793 Bartholomäus Fischenich, professor of natural law, reported to his friends in Jena that in Bonn the jurists, theologians, and philosophers alike were propounding the Kantian gospel.¹¹ Both van der Schnüren and Spiegel, moreover, belonged to the *Lesegesellschaft*.

It is Fischenich who provides the most intriguing link between Beethoven and Kant. A native of Bonn only two years older than Beethoven, Fischenich studied jurisprudence at the Hochschule and in 1790 was appointed both to a judicial bench and to a chair in natural law. Before assuming these posts, he was sent for a further year of study in Leipzig and Jena, where he formed a close friendship with Schiller and his wife Charlotte. Schiller introduced Fischenich to Kant's philosophy during the summer of 1792, with the two friends poring over the *Critique of Practical Reason* for hours each day. On his return to Bonn that fall Fischenich set about propagating the Kantian ideas to enthusiastic audiences. He described the effect of his packed lectures in a letter to Schiller of 26 January 1793: "While I have been fortunate in general to have earned close attention, I believe myself to be in a crypt when I explicate some passage out of the Kantian philosophy; such a silence reigns that not a breath can be heard." The impact of Kant, he claimed, had spread far beyond his classroom: "Several merchants (be it for some only out of a vain rivalry) devote their idle hours to [Kant's philosophy]. The loyal teachers of philosophy are ardent adherents, and the professor of theological morality explains the morality of the Königsberg philosopher."¹²

The charismatic new lecturer met Beethoven during this time. In the much-quoted letter of 1793 to Charlotte Schiller, which first reports the composer's intention to set *An die Freude*, Fischenich comments of

Beethoven, "I expect something perfect for, as much as I know of him, he is set completely upon the great and sublime [*das Grosse und Erhabene*]." The conversations between Beethoven and Fischenich, aglow from his studies with Schiller, may well have included Kantian ideas. And even were Fischenich merely projecting his own enthusiasm for the great and sublime, his remark gives a clear idea of the sort of ideas he would have urged upon his musical friend.

While we may never know exactly what Beethoven discussed with his learned friends of the *Lesegesellschaft* or amid the convivial company at Madame Koch's *Haus am Markt*, it is certain that the composer came into contact with many proselytizing Kantians, and that the intellectual world of Bonn was saturated with the new philosophy from Königsberg. Possibly Beethoven was even privy to Schiller's evolving reception of Kant. It would be astounding if Beethoven were not exposed to at least the rudiments of critical philosophy. We would not expect him to understand the subtleties of the Table of Categories or schematism. Yet there is every likelihood that he absorbed some notion of the moral law, the distinction between noumena and phenomena, and perhaps even the idealist basis of aesthetics. The evidence is circumstantial, to be sure, but it lends plausibility to a comparison between a song marked *erhaben* and Kant's theory of *das Erhabene*.

Kant developed his theory of the sublime in the first half of the *Critique of Judgment* the "Critique of Aesthetic Judgment." Aesthetic philosophy, as originally proposed by Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, concerned far more than art. As in Kant's famous "Transcendental Aesthetic," the aesthetic referred more generally to the process through which sensory intuition passed into cognition. In the *Critique of Pure Reason* Kant had analyzed the way understanding (*Verstand*) brought empirical knowledge under the categories of cognition, and in the Second Critique the way reason (*Vernunft*) submitted the will to the moral law. In the *Critique of Judgment* he switched directions from deduction to induction, studying the way in which judgment (*Urteilkraft*) sorted out the diversity of nature. Kant posited a "purposiveness of nature" (*Zweckmässigkeit der Natur*), the principle that nature contains a rational order susceptible to discovery by human understanding. The different feelings for the sublime and beautiful arise from the perceived confirmation or failure of this principle.

When we find natural purposiveness confirmed, claimed Kant, we experience pleasure, as, for instance, in the satisfaction of scientific discovery. The same pleasure underlies aesthetic appreciation. Beauty, by virtue of its abstraction from conceptual content, presents a purified form of purposive-

ness, a “purposeless purposiveness” (*zwecklose Zweckmässigkeit*). In contemplating an object of beauty we feel a pleasurable assurance of the harmony of mind and nature:

The very consciousness of a merely formal purposiveness in the play of the subject’s cognitive powers, accompanying a presentation by which an object is given, is that pleasure. For this consciousness in an aesthetic judgment contains a basis for determining the subject’s activity regarding the quickening of his cognitive powers, and hence an inner causality (which is purposive) concerning cognition in general, which however is not restricted to a determinate cognition. Hence it contains a mere form of the subjective purposiveness of a presentation.

This formal purposiveness, like the formal moral law, excludes any feeling of interest on our part. “Disinterested beauty” thus encourages moral behavior, exemplifying the freedom of the rational subject from sensual nature:

Taste makes, as it were, the transition from the charm of sense to habitual moral interest possible without too violent a leap, for it represents the imagination, even in its freedom, as amenable to a final determination for understanding, and teaches us to find, even in sensuous objects, a free delight apart from any charm of sense.¹³

The sublime does not give us this comforting assurance of natural purposiveness. On the contrary, powerful and overwhelming objects serve as painful reminders of nature’s chaotic, uncontrollable aspect:

Bold, overhanging, and, as it were, threatening rock, thunderclouds piled up in the vault of heaven, borne along with flashes and peals, volcanoes in all their violence of destruction, hurricanes leaving desolation in their track, the boundless ocean rising with rebellious force, the high waterfall of some mighty river, and the like, make our power of resistance of trifling moment in comparison with their might.

Nevertheless, the sublime does not lead us to despair, but to a higher pleasure than beauty affords. Reduced to helpless insignificance as creatures of nature, we yet sense within ourselves, as rational beings, a moral nobility surpassing all nature. Even as the sublime shatters our harmony with the phenomenal realm, it awakens us to a deeper harmony with the noumenal sphere:

Hence the feeling of the sublime is a feeling of displeasure that arises from the imagination’s inadequacy, in an aesthetic estimation of magni-

tude, for an estimation by reason, but is at the same time also a pleasure, aroused by the fact that this very judgment, namely, that even the greatest power of sensibility is inadequate, is [itself] in harmony with rational ideas, insofar as striving towards them is still a law for us. For it is a law (of reason) for us, and part of our vocation, to estimate any sense object in nature that is large for us as being small when compared with ideas of reason; and whatever arouses in us the feeling of this supersensible vocation is in harmony with that law.

As Kant put it more emphatically, “*sublime is what even to be able to think proves that the mind has a power surpassing any standard of sense.*”¹⁴

By awakening us to our rational vocation, the sublime teaches us freedom. For in the noumenal sphere we discover the moral law, whose pure form guarantees autonomy from the drives and compulsions of the phenomenal realm. Kant immortalized the ethical power of the sublime in the last pages of the *Critique of Practical Reason*, a famous passage that returns us smoothly to Beethoven and his Gellert songs. The imagery again derives from Psalm 19:

Two things fill the mind with ever new and increasing admiration and awe, the oftener and more steadily we reflect on them: the starry heavens above me and the moral law within me. . . . The former view of a countless multitude of worlds annihilates, as it were, my importance as an animal creature, which must give back to the planet (a mere speck of dust in the universe) the matter from which it came, the matter which is for a little time provided with vital force, we know not how. The latter, on the contrary, infinitely raises my worth as that of an intelligence by my personality, in which the moral law reveals a life independent of all animality and even of the whole world of sense—at least so far as it may be inferred from the purposive destination assigned to my existence by this law, a destination which is not restricted to the conditions and limits of this life but reaches into the infinite.¹⁵

It is this conception of the sublime that Beethoven seems to have had in mind with “Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur.” The song begins, like the Kantian sublime, at the outer limit of the phenomenal self, even death itself. Beethoven resurrects his hero (and *Held* is the very word used) in a blaze of Haydnesque light, an *Aufklärung* that matches the rational epiphany described by Kant. The mortal subject of “Vom Tode” rises to new life—that is, moral freedom—in the kingdom of the noumenal. “Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur” translates the pious verses of Gellert into the secularized gospel of Kantian idealism, preaching a salvation by reason alone.

If we wanted to pinpoint the sublimity of the fourth Gellert song, I believe we would find it neither in the exalted *religioso* style, nor in the massive piano chords, nor in the huge span of the registers, nor even in the climactic sunrise. According to Kant, at least, the sublime could not be represented at all except negatively: "For what is sublime, in the proper meaning of the term, cannot be contained in any sensible form but concerns only ideas of reason, which, though they cannot be exhibited adequately, are aroused and called to mind by this very inadequacy, which can be exhibited in sensibility."¹⁶ Beethoven's song contains two particular moments of "inadequacy." The first is the E \flat chord that begins the middle section (bar 18). The sublime shock arises not from the chord itself but from the unexpected common-tone modulation. This tonal non sequitur, where the harmony seems to slip its trolley, awakens precisely that sense of cognitive dismay that distinguishes the sublime from the beautiful. This modulation is itself the "göttlich Wort" that jolts the mind out of its accustomed groove and into a higher awareness. The second, still greater discontinuity occurs at the very beginning of the song. Beethoven pushes contrast to an extreme with the tritone modulation, the switch from minor to major, triple to duple time, *piano* to *fortissimo*, low to high register. He had learned from Haydn's *Creation* how revolutionary a simple C major chord could sound: it is not the sonority itself that counts, but the shocking rupture.

Haydn's musical *Aufklärung* surely echoes in "Die Ehre Gottes" and through the series of triumphant C-major sunrises culminating in the Fifth Symphony finale. As David Wyn Jones has stressed, *The Creation* received no less than thirty-two public performances in Vienna between 1798 and 1808: Beethoven must have had Haydn's C-major chord ringing in his ears throughout the years between the Gellert songs and the Fifth Symphony.¹⁷ To this extent, Webster's "age of Haydn's sublime" makes good sense. Yet the same musical signs can assume quite different functions and meanings from one generation to the next. In particular, the Gellert songs partake of a dialectical teleology characteristic of the new century and wholly foreign to the *Creation*. To understand this more dynamic conception of the sublime, the writings of Schiller prove invaluable.

Schiller and his generation refused to accept Kant's static, dualistic view of humanity that sundered mind and body and prescribed an unending battle between moral duty and physical inclination. The opposition of the sublime and beautiful, the aesthetic correlates to the noumenal and phenomenal, crystallized the conflict for Schiller. In *On the Sublime and the Beautiful* Schiller followed Kant in assigning an ethical value to the two aes-

thetic categories but protested that human civilization can and should work toward a reunion of the two opposing realms:

Without the beautiful there would be a ceaseless quarrel between our natural and rational vocations. In the attempt to be equal to our spiritual mission we should be false to our humanity, and prepared at every moment for departure out of the world of sense, we should always remain strangers in the sphere of action to which we are after all committed. Without the sublime, beauty would make us forget our dignity. The enervation of uninterrupted enjoyment would cost us all vitality of character and, irremediably shackled to this contingent form of existence, we should lose sight of our immutable vocation and our true patrimony. Only if the sublime is wedded to the beautiful and our sensitivity for both has been cultivated in equal measure are we perfect citizens of nature without thereby becoming her slaves and without squandering our citizenship in the intelligible world.¹⁸

In the *On Aesthetic Education of Man* Schiller treats the contest between the noumenal and phenomenal nature in terms of opposing human “drives.” The “form-drive” (*Formtrieb*) seeks to impose timeless shape upon experience; the “sense-drive” (*Sinntrieb*) seeks immediately to gratify the senses. Schiller resolves this opposition dialectically in the celebrated “play-drive” (*Spieltrieb*), which Kinderman has so eloquently compared to Beethoven’s music. The play-drive inhabits the realm of art, and its aim is beauty, a “living form” (*lebende Form*) that reconciles the rational and sensual. The categories of the sublime and beautiful resurface in Schiller’s distinction between “energizing” (*energische*) and “melting” (*schmelzende*) beauty, which alternately tense and relax human nature. Again, Schiller both affirms the ethical value of these aesthetic qualities and insists on the need for a balance between them:

Energizing beauty can no more preserve man from a certain residue of savagery and hardness than melting beauty can protect him from a certain degree of effeminacy and enervation. . . . The man who lives under the constraint of either matter or forms is, therefore, in need of melting beauty; for he is moved by greatness and power long before he begins to be susceptible to harmony and grace. The man who lives under the indulgent sway of taste is in need of energizing beauty; for he is only too ready, once he has reached a state of sophisticated refinement, to trifle away the strength he brought with him from the state of savagery.¹⁹

Beauty thus serves as the schoolroom for utopia: in the playful realm of art humanity discovers the integration that alone can lead to freedom and a just

society. So fundamental is the play-drive that Schiller could claim, “man only plays when he is in the fullest sense of the word a human being, and he is only fully a human being when he plays.”

The climactic final song exudes this ludic spirit. Indeed, after the austere miniatures that precede it, “Bußlied” sounds almost extravagant. It dwarfs the other songs with a new spaciousness of form, setting for the first time an entire poem. The form not only broadens but deepens into multiplex layers. The overall shape follows the two-part operatic *rondò* (although closer to Mozart than anything in *Leonore*); the *Allegro ma non troppo* revives the chorale variation, with changing accompaniments beneath a strophic hymn; while the brilliant keyboard accompaniment approaches a variation set. *Musica da teatro, da chiesa, da camera*—no clay can resist the joyful hands of the artist. The title word *Lied* sums up the new atmosphere of the finale, which abandons hortatory gravitas to soar with lyrical abandon. The cycle may begin in prayer, but it ends in song.

The *rondò* in A major (or A minor/major) frequently served composers for duets of amorous persuasion, as in “Là ci darem la mano” (*Don Giovanni*), “Crudel perchè finora” (*Le nozze di Figaro*), or “Jetzt, Schätzchen, jetzt sind wir allein” (the opening number of *Leonore*). A decadent Pietist might perhaps read “Bußlied” as the soul’s seduction of God. But if there is a pair of lovers here, it is surely the performers themselves. The final song achieves a perfect marriage between piano and voice, allowing each partner to shine idiomatically. The pianist, who has doubled the singer throughout the entire cycle, shakes free in the *Allegro ma non troppo* and enjoys a romp in the *stile brillante* (this is the first song that could not have been written on the two staves customary in early *Lied* notations and that Beethoven used for the 1798 sketch of “Vom Tode.”) The singer, liberated from the fussy text painting and declamation of the earlier songs, rejoices in a soaring, long-breathed melody. Beethoven’s secular *Heilsgeschichte* culminates in a communion of free individuals, fully realized yet harmoniously integrated.

It is tempting to identify Schiller’s *Formtrieb* and *Sinntrieb* with the intertwined partners of “Bußlied,” as Thomas Sipe has done with the *basso* and *tema* of the *Eroica* finale.²⁰ The two performers do mark out a sort of mind-body division, the voice with its lofty chorale, the piano with its hedonistic passagework. Beethoven enhances this duality through a deliberate play with rising and falling melodic lines. The piano’s chief motive is a descending scale, recalled from the opening bars of “Bitten” but also found in the postlude of “Die Liebe des Nächsten” and the drooping coda of “Vom Tode.” The vocal melody, on the other hand, seems to return to the melodic trajec-

tory of “Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur” and the conquest of the fifth degree. The *Allegro ma non troppo* belongs to that class of melodies (consummated by the *Arietta* of the last piano sonata, op. 111) that dramatize the ascent of the tonic triad as an almost heroic deed: the first two phrases of the chorale climb the triad, a third at a time; the third phrase falls away from the goal in a plaintive appoggiatura; and the fourth retraces the path, firming up the high note with a strong cadential formula and even circling above the peak to F#.

The coda reconciles the two melodic directions. Beethoven takes the descending octave through a fivefold rising sequence, accenting each step of the *Quintzug* (bars 105–9). The sequence reaches a peak on E^{'''}, the highest note in the cycle, which has been touched only once before at the conclusion of “Die Ehre Gottes.” The coda thus reconciles the earthbound, “mortal” direction of the first half of the cycle with the heaven-bent, “resurrected” path of the second half. The first hint of synthesis occurs even earlier, in the song that follows and quotes the sublime vision of “Die Ehre Gottes.” “Gottes Macht und Vorsehung” begins by retracing the path to high G, climbing stepwise up the octave; the bass, meanwhile, descends the same octave in contrary motion (bars 2–6). The words “Gott ist mein Lied” even suggest a transition from theology to the realm of art, where the sensual and rational balance one another. Fittingly, Beethoven derives his representation of the mind-body synthesis from a fundamental musical principle—the ideal of contrary motion between contrapuntal voices. The whole conception shows a brilliant marriage of technique and idea that epitomizes, if not illustrates, Schiller’s *Spieltrieb*.

The Gellert songs provide a new glimpse into the ideological meanings of Beethoven’s heroic designs, especially the *Eroica*. The pivotal function of the sublime, as the gateway to a supersensible realm of moral freedom, sheds new light on the *Marcia funebre*, the dungeon scene of *Leonore*, and the slow movements of the “Waldstein” Sonata, first “Razumovsky” Quartet, and Fourth Piano Concerto, as well as the scherzo of the Fifth Symphony. The drama of death and resurrection that Alan Tyson detected at the heart of the heroic works can be heard to resonate not only with Beethoven’s own biography, but also with one of the central issues of contemporary philosophical debate. This philosophical dimension may in turn connect to more specifically political meanings. Paul Robinson, reflecting on Beethoven’s operatic dramaturgy, has remarked that “the principal affinity between *Fidelio* and the French Revolution is their common right-angled conception of history”²¹—the sense, that is, of a radical break with the past. The chiasmic structure of the Gellert songs suggests that the rupture Robinson detected

in the historical axis corresponds to a similar revolution in the vertical axis of reason. Beethoven's heroic catastrophes can evoke the birth pangs of either a temporal republic or a timeless noumenal realm. Finally, the aesthetic synthesis of "Bußlied," which reconciles the opposing claims of nature and mind, illuminates a whole line of utopian endings, of which the *Eroica* finale is only the most obvious.

THE TRIUMPH OF MAN

From the Gellert cycle we may extrapolate several further examples of Beethoven's heroic sublime. Let us start close to home, with two C-major examples that actually include the word *erhaben*. A trivial case: the 1797 song for the Austrian militia "Ein grosses deutsches Volk sind wir" (WoO 122) includes the phrase "erhaben unser Muth!" (sublime is our courage!). Beethoven sets this phrase as a unison fanfare, touching high G for the only time in the song (bars 10–12). Sublime is the willingness of the soldier to sacrifice his life for the higher call of duty. An important case is *Christus am Ölberge*, which ends with an angelic chorus, praising "the sublime Son of God":

Welten singen Dank und Ehre
Dem erhab'nen Gottes-sohn.
Preiset ihn, ihr Engelchöre,
Laut im heil'gen Jubelton!

(Worlds, sing thanksgiving and honor
To the sublime Son of God.
Praise him loudly, you angelic choirs,
In holy songs of rejoicing.)

Again, the music of the spheres calls forth from Beethoven a *majestätisch* marking and the elevated *stile antico*, this time in the form of a Handelian *ouverture*. On the words "Dem erhab'nen Gottes-sohn," the sopranos soar above the dominant to high A, then settle into a cadential phrase seemingly lifted from the militia song. Sublimity here resides in Christ's resolution to die for humanity. The oratorio hinges on the moment of decision, as Jesus addresses death itself:

Willkommen, Tod, den ich am Kreuze zum Heil der Menschheit blutend
sterbe! O seid in eurer kühlen Gruft gesegnet, die ein ew'ger Schlaf in
seinen Armen hält; ihr werdet froh zur Seligkeit erwachen.

(Welcome, death, that I shall bloodily die upon the cross for the salvation of humanity! Oh, be blessed in the cold tomb, you who are held in the arms of an eternal sleep; you shall gladly awake to bliss.)

Christ, like the penitent in the Gellert cycle, transcends death by awakening to his vocation in the eternal life of humanity.

Some less explicit examples, still in C major, invite comparison. The Gellert songs clearly have much to teach about the *Eroica*, presaging the symphonic odyssey through death to aesthetic rebirth. If the model of op. 48 holds true, the sublimity of the *Eroica* would seem to lodge in the middle of the *Marcia funebre*, in the C-major trio and succeeding fugato. Here are the familiar elements from “Die Ehre Gottes”: the fanfare ascent to high G, the triumphant accents, the exalted *stile antico*. Here, too, is the transcendence of death, as the heroic *citoyen* becomes transfigured in the light of the nation. *Leonore* also has its obvious moments of Kantian transcendence, and perhaps its *Augenblick* of sublimity: the final C-major chorus, “Heil sei dem Tag,” begins with the expected fanfare to high G, along with the familiar solar imagery.

The most faithful emulation of “Die Ehre Gottes” comes in the Choral Fantasy, the polymorphous finale that Beethoven cobbled together for his *Akademie* of 22 December 1808. This *pièce d’occasion* repays the closest attention. For not only does the Fantasy provide the most obvious model for the Ninth Symphony finale, it also summarizes with encyclopedic rigor the achievements of the heroic style up to 1808. Beethoven revisits his C-minor pathos and his C-major triumphs; he remembers the evolutionary discovery of naive melody in the finales to the *Eroica* Symphony and Quartet in F major, op. 59, no. 1; and, as Steven Moore Whiting noted, he pays homage to every genre on the *Akademie* program (piano improvisation, concerto, symphony, string quartet, aria, and mass), itself a comprehensive sampling of his accomplishments to date.²² And Beethoven capped this musical compendium with one last instance of the heroic sublime.

Christoph Kuffner’s text celebrates the Orphic power of art to bring order out of chaos. The first two strophes end with images of artistic transcendence, as the sensual world takes on enduring form:

... Und dem Schönheitssinn entschwingen
Blumen sich, die ewig blühen.
... Was sich drängte rauh und feindlich,
Ordnet sich zu Hochgefühl.

(. . . And from a sense of beauty arise
 Flowers that bloom eternally.
 . . . What crowded together in rude enmity
 Orders itself into exalted feeling.)

The third and fourth quatrains portray artistic transcendence as the dawning of light—an image that complements the C-major *Aufklärung* of not only the Choral Fantasy, but still more of the Fifth Symphony that premiered just ahead of it on the program:

Wenn der Töne Zauber walten
 Und des Wortes Weihe spricht,
 Muß sich Herrliches gestalten,
 Nacht und Stürme werden Licht.

Äuß're Ruhe, inn're Wonne
 Herrschen für den Glücklichen.
 Doch der Künste Frühlingssonne
 Läßt aus beiden Licht entstehn.

(When the magic of tone reigns
 And the consecration of words speaks,
 Glorious things must take shape,
 Night and storms grow light.

Outer peace, inner bliss
 Rule for the happy man.
 But the springtime sun of the arts
 Makes light arise from both.)

The penultimate strophe introduces the sublime, in the religious-erotic imagery of a “greatness” that penetrates the heart to give birth to a new spiritual life. The exaltation of the sublime leads the individual, as in the Gellert cycle, into a higher communion of spiritual individuals:

Großes, das in's Herz gedrungen,
 Blüht dann neu und schön empor;
 Hat ein Geist sich aufgeschwungen,
 Hallt ihm stets ein Geisterchor.

(Greatness that has penetrated the heart
 Blooms then anew and beautifully on high;
 If a spirit has soared aloft,
 It is always echoed by a chorus of spirits.)

The final quatrain envisions the marriage of love and strength, the beautiful and the sublime. This Schillerian synthesis will bring about the godlike perfection of mankind:

Nehmt denn hin, ihr schönen Seelen,
Froh die Gaben schöner Kunst.
Wenn sich Lieb' und Kraft vermählen,
Lohnt dem Menschen Götter-Gunst.

(Take them, then, you beautiful souls,
Happily these gifts of beautiful art.
When love and force are wedded together
Mankind is rewarded with divine grace.)

The C-major coda, which dwells solely upon this final strophe, returns explicitly to the heroic gestures of “Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur.” While the melody of the Fantasy has also strained insistently against F, the final ascent to high G awaits the coda, where Beethoven painstakingly dramatizes the event. After sallying above the fifth degree to high A, the sopranos begin a chromatic climb to the dominant [E–F–F#–G]. As in the Gellert song, Beethoven punctuates each step with a series of muscular chords, reinforced with secondary dominants. On the high G the earth suddenly drops out from under the sopranos, as the key pivots around the common tone to E♭. Here is another of Kinderman’s “Deity” chords—the missing link between the Gellert cycle and the Ninth Symphony (see Example 2). The word that leaps out is *Kraft*, or force.²³ This stunning *éclat* propels the lyrical Fantasy into the realm of the sublime, crowning the evening with a great lunge into the empyrean. The *Akademie* ends with a raised fist, a conqueror’s shout. It is the triumph of reason, of art, and of man.

And it all happens light-years away from E. T. A. Hoffmann. We now stand in a better position from which to judge his reading of the symphony that preceded the Choral Fantasy in the frosty Theater-an-der-Wien. For the Fantasy draws its strength from the Fifth Symphony, glossing its drama of C-major victory. The hard, bright, pagan ethos of Beethoven in 1808 has nothing in common with Hoffmann’s Romantic aesthetic, neither with his narcotic *Sehnsucht* nor with his world-renouncing mysticism. The story of Beethoven’s heroic sublime points to an entirely different kind of transcendence in the Fifth Symphony than what Hoffmann imagined— not a flight into some mystical *Geisterreich*, but a four-stage rocket blast

EXAMPLE 2. Choral Fantasy, op. 80 (coda)

501

Ga-ben schö-ner Kunst, Wenn sich Lieb' und

Ga-ben schö-ner Kunst, Wenn sich Lieb' und

506

Kraft, und Kraft, und *più f*

Kraft, und Kraft, und *più f*

8

510

Kraft

Kraft

EXAMPLE 2 (continued)

The musical score consists of three systems. The first system features a vocal line in the treble clef and a piano accompaniment in the bass clef. The vocal line begins with a box containing the number 514 and a *ff* dynamic marking. The notes are *ver* - *mäh* - - - . The piano accompaniment also starts with a *ff* dynamic and features a long, sustained note in the bass register. The second system continues the vocal line with *ver* - *mäh* - - - . The piano accompaniment continues with a similar sustained bass note. The third system shows a more active piano accompaniment with a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the bass and chords in the treble, all marked with a *ff* dynamic.

into the noumenal sphere; not an immolation in the perfumed night of Romanticism, but a pilgrimage on bloody knees up Mount Olympus. The composer and his critic would certainly draw closer in spirit and outlook—and quite rapidly at that. But as late as 1808 they occupied opposite sides of an aesthetic battlefield.

3 Promethean History

The touchstone for Beethoven's early ideology remains the *Eroica* Symphony, namesake and glory of the heroic style. A host of political interpretations has marched alongside the Third Symphony for nearly two centuries now. Each generation, from Beethoven's age to our own, has wrung new meanings out of the Napoleonic dedication, the French Revolutionary march, and the "heroic" title. The critic who would join this long parade might well despair of finding any unturned stone, any unbeaten path. Yet one source seems to have escaped attention, a related work that at first seems wholly removed from political concerns—the Sixth Symphony. This mildest offspring of Beethoven's heroic impulse has rested in the shade of its more bellicose siblings, disarming political criticism with its motley country charms. Nevertheless, the *Pastoral* quietly preserves the legacy of the *Eroica*, pointing to a level of meaning more telling perhaps than all talk of emperors, battlefields, or even heroes. A brief study of the later symphony will lead, by a somewhat roundabout route, into the political context of the *Eroica*.

The *Pastoral* ends on a conspicuously meditative note as, near the end of the finale, a *sotto voce* idea subdues the jubilant coda (see Example 3). The eight-bar fragment (bars 237–44), like the main theme of the finale, derives from the rustic *ranz des vaches* that follows the thunderstorm. The four-part chorale setting identifies the new theme as a hymn, a characteristic style familiar from such movements as the *Molto adagio* of the Quartet in E Minor, op. 59, no. 2, or the *Heiliger Dankgesang* of the Quartet in A Minor, op. 132. The finale of the Sixth Symphony is itself a hymn of thanksgiving—literally, a "shepherd's hymn" (*Hirtengesang*), expressing "glad and thankful

feelings after the storm" (*Frohe und dankbare Gefühle nach dem Sturm*). The original concertmaster's part for the movement even bears the inscription *Gebeth. 4 Stimmen* (Prayer. 4 voices).¹ By transforming the principal theme into a strict chorale in the final bars of the coda, Beethoven effectively distills the character of the movement.

Two features of the chorale, however, point beyond the finale. The melody stresses both the sixth degree, D, and the subdominant. In the first statement, a II[♯] underlies this special note; in the second statement, the orchestra supplies a sonorous IV chord. The sixth degree and its subdominant harmony, given such stress only bars from the end of the work, cannot help but arouse interest. To understand the significance of these two details, we shall have to go back and take a close look at the opening bars of the symphony. The time will by no means be wasted. For in tracing the history of this brief chorale, we shall discover a narrative paradigm that transcends the program of Beethoven's *sinfonia caratteristica* and makes contact with the most urgent concerns of contemporary German philosophy.

Had Beethoven happened upon Schiller's treatise *On Naive and Sentimental Poetry* (*Über naive und sentimentale Dichtung*, 1795–96), he would have read this opening description of "naive" objects:

There are moments in our lives when we dedicate a kind of love and tender respect to nature in plants, minerals, animals, and landscapes, as well as to human nature in children, in the customs of country folk, and to the primitive world, not because it gratifies our sense, nor yet because it satisfies our understanding or taste (the very opposite can occur in both instances), rather, simply because it is nature. Every person of a finer cast who is not totally lacking in feeling experiences this when he wanders in the open air, when he stays in the country, or lingers before the monuments of ancient times; in short, whenever he is surprised in the midst of artificial circumstances and situations by the sight of simple nature.

Schiller, who had just emerged from his study of Kant, defines the naive in idealistic terms: "It is not these objects, it is an idea represented by them which we love in them. We love in them the tacitly creative life, the serene spontaneity of their activity, existence in accordance with their own laws, the inner necessity, the eternal unity with themselves." Such harmony holds a precious charm for modern "sentimental" subjects, who suffer the disjuncture between thought and being, mind and nature, individual and cosmos. In a naive object modern man recollects the unconscious innocence of childhood and, by extension, the premodern innocence of the human race. Yet if the naive points nostalgically backwards, it also lights the way to

EXAMPLE 3. *Pastoral Symphony*, finale (coda)

237

Fl. *pp*

Ob. *pp*

Cl. *pp*

Fg. *pp*

Cor. (F) *pp*

Vl. *pp sotto voce* *cresc.* *p*

Vla. *pp sotto voce* *cresc.* *p*

Vc. *pp sotto voce* *cresc.* *p*

Cb. *pp*

(continued)

a higher “second nature,” a synthesis that will recover the lost wholeness of antiquity while preserving the rational gains of modernity. Naive subjects, Schiller claimed, “are what we were; they are what we should once again become. We were nature just as they, and our culture, by means of reason and freedom, should lead us back to nature.”²

The first page of the *Pastoral*, marked “Awakening of cheerful feelings upon the arrival in the country” (*Erwachen heitere Empfindungen bei der Ankunft auf dem Lande*), could serve as a musical illustration of Schiller’s narrative. The first four bars present a familiar example of a naive musical object, a scrap of folksy melody above a bagpipe drone. In bar 9, however, the texture shifts to a hymn, with a four-part chorale that foretells the last pages

EXAMPLE 3 (continued)

245

Fl. *f*

Ob. *f* *p dolce* *p*

Cl. *f* *p*

Fg. *f* *p dolce*

Cor. (F) *f* *p dolce* *p*

Vl. *f* *sotto voce*

Vla. *f* *sotto voce*

Vc. Cb. *f* *sotto voce*

of the finale (see Example 4). This is a puzzling juxtaposition of musical signs. Perhaps we are meant to imagine the strains from a village church mingling with the bagpipe tune. More likely, Beethoven wanted to suggest different inner states, in accordance with his claim that the *Pastoral* was “more expression of emotion than painting” (*Mehr Ausdruck der Empfindungen als Mahlerey*). Heard thus, the hymn would symbolize the inward, spiritual response to the rustic music, the serene feeling awakened by nature. Describing the passage in Schiller’s terms, we would say that the opening fifteen bars progress from the naive to the sentimental, from surprised discovery to inner epiphany.

Yet, following the Schillerian model, we should expect not merely a progression from naive to sentimental, but a higher synthesis of the two states. Leafing ahead to the finale, we discover the identical musical signs from the opening page: a rustic tune (even, it seems, an authentic *ranz*

EXAMPLE 4. Pastoral Symphony, first movement (first theme)

Allegro ma non troppo ($\text{♩} = 66$)

2 Flauti
2 Oboi
2 Clarinetti in B
2 Fagotti
2 Corni in F
Violino I
Violino II
Viola
Violoncello
Contrabbasso

8

Cor. (F)
VI.
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

des vaches)³ piped over a musette drone, which leads into the shepherd's hymn of thanksgiving. The two musical types now interpenetrate, as the hymn absorbs the melody of the *ranz des vaches*, rounding the crude material into a shapely theme. The finale thus achieves a synthesis between the naive and sentimental, a musical version of Schiller's "second nature."

This reading so far has merely mapped literary ideas onto the surface of Beethoven's symphony, a facile and inconsequential game. It remains to ground the interpretation in a more technical, musical process. The crucial element is harmony or, better, the relationship of harmony to melody. The opening bagpipe tune and hymn present opposing versions of this relationship. In the bagpipe tune the pedal point overrides all harmonic independence in the tune; the second bar in particular jars the ear, with the implied V⁷ of the melody clashing with the I in the bass (a dissonance that foreshadows the more overt stratification of I and V in the finale, bars 5–7). In the hymn, on the other hand, melody reigns supreme, leading the other voices in its train. In the "naive" musette tune, melody is but a ripple on the surface of an unchanging natural harmony. In the "sentimental" hymn, melody becomes the motive force dictating the harmonic progression.

The transition between these opposing textures hinges on the harmonic implications of the opening motive in bar 1. The first three notes [a'-b'-d''] imply a move to IV—an implication that is realized in the coda (bars 422–23), where separate chords underlie every note of the bagpipe tune. This implicit subdominant harmony begins to surface in bars 5–8. As the second violins reiterate the opening motive, the viola supplies an inner line (f-d-e), fleshing out the melody with a I-IV⁶-V⁶ progression. In bars 9–15 the subdominant moves squarely into the foreground, now in root position. The hymn returns to the four crucial notes of the opening motive (a'-b'-c''-d''), and in bars 11 and 15 the d'' at last receives its proper subdominant harmony. The dynamics underline the point, with a swell to *forte* for the first IV chord and a *subito piano* for the second. Here is the rationalization for those puzzling accents in the chorale that ends the finale: Beethoven was recalling not merely the hymn from the opening bars of the symphony, but the pivotal harmony (IV) and note (D) through which that hymn emerged.

The subdominant, featured at both ends of the symphony, plays a prominent role throughout. Philip Gossett has shown how the first movement foregrounds this harmony, whether in the secondary theme group, the opening of the development and coda, or, most strikingly, the retransi-

tion.⁴ Other salient examples occur in the emphatic run from B \flat to F that ends the first movement, the trio sections of the scherzo, and the development of the finale. The tranquil, pious tone of the IV chord presides over the entire symphony. This pervasive chord also becomes the hinge in the transition to the finale, connecting the worlds of folksong and hymn just as it did in the opening bars of the symphony.

Before considering the harmony, however, let us linger over the artful way in which Beethoven ushers his rustic *objet trouvé* into the polite society of a symphonic finale. The process begins timbrally, as the tune migrates from the realistic country instruments, clarinet and horn, into the neutral string choir. Repeated twice, the theme sinks more deeply into the strings each time, descending an octave into the second violins at bar 17 and yet another octave into the violas and cellos at bar 25. In the climactic third statement, having permeated the strings, the theme returns to the clarinet and horn—nature, dissolved in the ideal, arises transfigured. Not only does the finale clothe the *ranz des vaches* in the rich apparel of the symphony orchestra, it draws it from its Arcadian languor into the flux of dialectical history—in Richard Will’s terms, from “idyllic” to “symphonic” time. Where the folksong once circled aimlessly, tonic and dominant harmonies stacked vertically, the finale theme unfolds purposefully as a periodic phrase. The periodic structure bestows direction to the rustic fragments, drawing them into the graceful dance of *galant* periodicity. This phrase structure also avails of philosophical interpretation. Rose Rosengard Subotnik has drawn a parallel between periodicity and a logical (that is, causal) proposition; according to this analogy, the beginning of the finale might suggest the movement by which a simple perception (the *ranz des vaches*) enters the understanding as cognition. We might sum up these various transformations of the *ranz des vaches* into the *Hirtengesang* as the transition from objective, naive experience to subjective, sentimental response—in Adorno’s bon mot, “holidays as a phenomenology of mind.”⁵

Returning to the harmony, we will note one idiosyncrasy in the finale theme. The first phrase cadences not on the dominant, but on the subdominant. More precisely, the cadence falls on a IV⁶ chord, part of a I–IV⁶–V⁶ progression, with the cello tracing the line (f–d–e). This is the exact harmonic progression found in bars 5–7 of the first movement, the passage connecting the bagpipe tune and hymn. Beethoven has recalled not only the same musical signs, but the exact harmonic bridge between them as well. The crucial harmony that frames the symphony also plays the pivotal role in introducing the triumphant finale.

The harmonic process that began in the opening bars of the symphony reaches consummation in the finale recapitulation. The finale has taken shape as a sonata-rondo (although, as David Wyn Jones cautions, it lacks a true development section),⁶ and in the recapitulation the theme returns for its third and climactic appearance (bars 117–40). The retransition again reenacts the original transition into the finale, reprising the *ranz des vaches* in the horn and clarinet and bringing back even the juxtaposed I and V chords. But now, at the all-important moment of reprise, the theme disappears! The figuration that has swathed the melody swallows it altogether. The rhythm of the theme evaporates in the shower of sixteenth notes, its structural tones buried in ornamentation. This supreme moment finally transcends the original Schillerian division: naive *ranz des vaches* and sentimental hymn alike disappear in the ecstatic figuration. All that endures is the harmonic skeleton of the theme—that critical parameter through which the opposites were reconciled. Pure harmony remains, a harmony sprung from the marriage of nature and reason, sense and mind. The circle of nature, broken in the opening bars of the symphony, closes in a higher “second nature.” The coda chorale distills the utopian trajectory, gathering the first and last movements for a final benediction.

Did Beethoven actually read Schiller’s treatise? There is no evidence, and, in truth, the point hardly matters. For both treatise and symphony partake of a common narrative model, a paradigm that exercised a wide influence upon German intellectual life around the turn of the century. Let us broaden our gaze upon this wider vista, even as we return to the first of Beethoven’s grand teleological symphonies.

The most promising recent political interpretations of the *Eroica* have concentrated upon the connection to the ballet *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* (1801). The finale of the ballet score (itself a recycled ballroom dance) provided the contredanse theme for the symphony finale, by way of the piano variations op. 35 (1802). While Hugo Riemann first investigated the relationship between the ballet and symphony, a rigorous treatment awaited Constantin Floros’s study of 1978. Floros began by reconstructing the ballet libretto, in which the titan Prometheus uses the heavenly fire of reason to awaken two clay statues to rational and aesthetic consciousness. Floros outlined parallel readings in the symphony and ballet, pointing to both dramatic similarities and specific musical reminiscences. He proposed an interpretation of the Napoleonic dedication as Beethoven’s salute to a latter-day Prometheus, apostle of human progress

and freedom. Succeeding studies have fleshed out Floros's work. Lewis Lockwood added the weight of sketch evidence to the ballet connection by demonstrating the far-reaching influence of the finale (apparently sketched in tandem with the op. 35 variations) upon the overall conception of the symphony. Keisuke Maruyama has contributed many insightful observations on the "Prometheus symphony," while Peter Schleuning has ventured an ambitious cross-reading of symphony and ballet, drawing upon a nuanced (if sometimes tenuous) web of biographical and historical associations. The combined work of these scholars has revealed an exciting new perspective on the *Eroica*, rich in political implications.⁷

Yet a sense of unfulfilled promise haunts the project. It is not that the specific parallels between the ballet and the symphony are unconvincing. The problem lies simply in the incomparable scale of the two works. The ballet score, trivial enough on its own merits, pales beside the crushing monumentality of the symphony. The ideas with which Beethoven was so palpably grappling in the *Eroica* burst the seams of Viganò's slender scenario. It strains credulity to suggest that Beethoven could find no greater inspiration for this immensely ambitious and revolutionary symphony than an obscure ballet libretto.

But, in fact, Viganò's story of Prometheus and his clay statues belongs within a larger narrative genre that enjoyed an enormous vogue among Beethoven's literary contemporaries: the *Universalgeschichte*, the universal history. The *Universalgeschichte*, in brief, traces the education of humanity from an instinctual harmony with nature to a state of rational freedom. It is this narrative paradigm that underlies Schiller's theory of the naive and sentimental and that seems to inform the *Pastoral*. Philosophy, history, pedagogy, and political theory all intersect in this genre. For M. H. Abrams the universal history exemplified the master theme of all European Romanticism, the reconciliation of humanity with an alienated nature.⁸ We might say that, as both a specific genre and a formal archetype, the *Universalgeschichte* plays a role in German letters comparable to that of sonata form in German music of the same time.

The remainder of this chapter will explore the affinities between the *Universalgeschichte* and the Third Symphony. Viganò's ballet libretto, I will argue, served Beethoven less as a program than as a springboard into a broader intellectual tradition. Each of the four sections below focuses upon one aspect of the universal history and its possible parallel to the *Eroica*. This argument, I hasten to add, is not without precedent. An awareness of the *Universalgeschichte* informs Schleuning's interpretation of the *Eroica*,

as well as Maynard Solomon's account of the Ninth Symphony.⁹ The following account promises only a more single-minded exploration.

The usual complaint dogs this sort of investigation—how can we know that Beethoven actually read any of the works discussed below?—for which the usual answers must suffice. The argument that the *Universalgeschichte* was “in the air,” and that an alert fellow like Beethoven would have picked it up, will not satisfy anyone. But neither should it be cast aside too lightly. The *Universalgeschichte* was precisely the sort of literature that would have been circulating among the *Lesegesellschaft* and other progressive circles at Bonn—especially since the most distinguished recent contributors were Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Schiller. The strongest circumstantial evidence comes from Viganò's libretto itself, an exemplar of the universal history that Beethoven studied with the greatest care. Ultimately, of course, the interpretation rests upon the persuasiveness of the affinities between symphony and literary model.

PARADISE LOST AND REGAINED

Friedrich Meinecke traced the *Universalgeschichte* back to Jacques Bénigne Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* (1681) and still further to Eusebius, Augustine, and certain medieval authors.¹⁰ But it was Rousseau who provided the decisive model for German writers in the late eighteenth century. The Genevan iconoclast had scandalized the Enlightenment by inverting its serene vision of human progress. He regarded the fire of Prometheus not as a blessing, but as the scourge that drove humanity from the peaceful oblivion of nature. The entire history of human civilization amounted to a downward spiral from this lost paradise into greed, inequality, and slavery—a fall scarcely redeemed by the birth of reason and moral volition. Rousseau set forth this ambivalent historical vision in *Du contrat social*:

Only then, when the voice of duty replaces physical impulse and right replaces appetite, does man, who had hitherto taken only himself into account, find himself forced to act upon other principles and to consult his reason before listening to his inclinations. Although in this state he deprives himself of several of the advantages belonging to him in the state of nature, he regains such great ones. His faculties are exercised and developed, his ideas are broadened, his feelings are ennobled, his entire soul is elevated to such a height that, if the abuse of this new condition did not often lower his status

to beneath the level he left, he ought constantly to bless the happy moment that pulled him away from it forever and which transformed him from a stupid, limited animal into an intelligent being and a man.

Rousseau gazed bleakly on the lapsed condition of humanity, for which he could prescribe as but flawed remedies the political expedients of the *Social Contract* and the cloistered pedagogy of *Emile*. Yet despite this pessimistic prognosis, Rousseau cleared a space for future utopias in his distinction between humanity as he found it and humanity in its ideal condition—a condition “which no longer exists, which perhaps never existed, which probably never will exist, and yet about which it is necessary to have accurate notions in order to judge our own present state.”¹¹

Rousseau’s German admirers fused his historical and educational impulses, proposing a *Bildungsroman* of the entire human race. It was the German authors, George Armstrong Kelly has explained, “who integrate tutelary ideals into the philosophy of history, a cosmic vision of a progressively acculturated and improved humanity. To the very great extent that *Emile* and the *Nouvelle Héloïse* were influential in this development, we may speak of the German palingenesis of Rousseau.” Yet where Rousseau had pined after a precious, irrecoverable past, the German authors looked ahead to the “second nature” that would recover the lost paradise at a higher level. The biblical tale of redemption, proceeding from Eden to the New Jerusalem, furnished the prototype for this circuitous narrative. Lessing thus cast the history of mankind in a three-stage narrative in *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (The Education of the Human Race), prophesying that the New and Old Testaments would yield to a further stage of revelation, “the time of a new eternal gospel that is promised to us in the primer book of the New Testament.” Typical also is Fichte’s formulation in *Die Grundzüge des gegenwärtlichen Zeitalters* (The Characteristics of the Present Age):

In the paradise of goodness and well-being, without knowledge, labor, or art, humanity awakes to life. Scarcely has it gathered courage to venture upon independent existence than the angel comes with the fiery sword of compulsion to do good and drives it forth from the seat of its innocence and its peace. . . . Enjoyment opens its eyes and strengthens its hands, and it builds a paradise for itself after the image of that which it has lost—the tree of life arises; mankind stretches forth its hand to the fruit, and eats, and lives in immortality.¹²

The biblical myth intersects with the nostalgic Hellenism endemic among German authors at the turn of the century. The classical polis beck-

oned to these politically and culturally alienated authors as another locus of perfect concord between individual and cosmos. As Schiller lamented,

When one remembers the beauties of nature which surrounded the ancient Greeks; when one considers how intimately this people could live under its happy sky with free nature, how much nearer its way of imagining things, its way of feeling, its customs lay to simple nature and what a true impression of it its literary works are, then one is unpleasantly surprised to notice that one meets with so few signs of the sentimental interests with which we moderns cling to natural scenes and natural characters.

Hegel found a similar “naive-sentimental” dialectic within ancient Greece, in the struggle between the concrete ethical life of the city-state and the universal morality preached by Socrates. Charles Taylor has broadly summarized this dialectic as “answering the yearning of [Hegel’s] age to unite somehow the radical moral autonomy of Kant and the expressive unity of the Greek polis.”¹³

Whether cast in terms Christian or classical, the core issue of the *Universalgeschichte* was autonomy—that is, freedom. The whole point of the tortuous saga of humanity was the progress from an instinctual nature to a rational “second nature.” In Kant’s formulation,

man’s emergence from that paradise which reason represents to him as the first abode of his species was nothing other than his transition from a rude and purely animal existence to a state of humanity, from the leading-strings of instinct to a state of humanity—in a word, from the guardianship of nature to the state of freedom.

Schiller located the beginning of human history in that moment in which

man passed from a slave of natural drives to a creature with free agency, from an automaton to an ethical being, and with this step first set foot on that ladder which would, over the course of many millennia, lead him to self-mastery.

Universal history, Hegel explicitly stated in his lectures on the *Philosophy of History*,

shows the development of the consciousness of freedom on the part of spirit, and of the consequent realization of that freedom. This development implies a gradation—a series of increasingly adequate expressions or manifestations of freedom, which result from its idea.

Or, as Fichte exclaimed, “the end of the life of mankind is this—that in this life they may order all their relations with FREEDOM according to REASON.”¹⁴

These tales of human freedom reveal the central concern of a generation whose thought ripened in the distant glow of the French Revolution. The abstraction of the *Universalgeschichte* made it an ideal vehicle for the utopian yearnings of German intellectuals. Plots of religious redemption and cosmic philosophical striving suited thinkers cut off from practical involvement in their own political sphere, and at best ambivalent toward the events in France. The *Universalgeschichte* was, in fact, precisely the sort of genre a composer might dedicate first to a French First Consul, then later to his Austrian adversary, with no essential loss of meaning.

Viganò's *balletto allegorico* taps into a formidable tradition, one that engaged the outstanding writers of the age. But how might a *Tonkünstler* join the tradition? What musical symbol could convey the idea of harmony lost and regained? The answer, quite simply, is harmony itself. We have already seen Beethoven using a particular subdominant progression as the crux of a symphonic trajectory suggestive of the universal history. But the *Pastoral* refines a drama that the *Eroica* had played out in more rugged, elemental terms—terms so blindingly simple that one almost blushes to suggest them. The “naive” origin of the *Eroica* is nothing less than the tonic triad; and the pivotal chord that the finale discovers is no subtle IV⁶, but the dominant itself. The symphony dramatizes the loss of an original harmonic unity, and the reintegration of that unity in the I–V axis. In a nutshell, it “discovers” the dominant.

Let us begin again with the finale, where, in the case of the *Eroica*, Beethoven also began. The evolutionary form of the variations, taken over from op. 35, presents the theme as a work in progress, which emerges only in the fourth variation, after the contrapuntal texture has been systematically reconstructed from the ground up. The first variation lays the foundations with a naked bass line outlining a I–V–V–I progression. The utopian finale thus begins with a stark assertion of tonic and dominant, heralded by the huge opening fanfare and situated at ground zero of the musical texture. When the *tema* does appear, it also throws an unusual focus onto the dominant. While many of Beethoven's themes (like the final Gellert song) dramatize the ascent to the fifth degree, none does it so emphatically as the *Prometheus* contredanse. The melody begins by spiraling sequentially from $\hat{1}$ to $\hat{5}$, hammering thrice on the top note; the second strain begins with two

incomplete ascents to $\hat{4}$; the melody at last breaks through this impasse, with a chromatic inflection, and even soars above to touch $\hat{6}$. With the exception of this final $\hat{6}$, the *tema* moves entirely within the I–V–V–I contour carved out by the *basso* (including the low A natural), filling in the space opened by the bass. *Basso* and *tema* together place an unusual emphasis on the tonic-dominant relationship, thrusting this most basic harmonic relationship into the foreground.

Returning to the opening bars of the symphony, we find a melody reminiscent of the finale contredanse. It begins with the same three notes as the *tema* and outlines an identical I–V–V–I contour. It also suggests one of the lower dance types, in this case the *Teutsche*. But this “theme” does not ascend in a purposeful spiral toward $\hat{5}$, nor does it create a rounded period. It contents itself with orbiting around the tonic, unfolding the notes of the triad one by one. Until bar 7 we might as well be drowsing in the idyllic countryside of the *Pastoral*. When the harmony does change, it is less a modulation than a train wreck, the famous chromatic slide into diminished-seventh calamity. Even this sequel proves unstable. Over the course of the movement, the triadic *Klang* (as Sipe dubbed it)¹⁵ will accumulate five different “consequents,” none of which ever returns. The opening bars of the *Eroica* present a perfect musical symbol of an alienated nature, a broken circle of immediacy. Natural harmony lies behind, but the destination remains unclear.

So far we have merely considered a possible relationship between the first movement and the finale. Yet Beethoven seems to have drawn an explicit connection. The coda of the scherzo begins with a mysterious chromatic line [D^b –D– E^b] in the woodwind (bars 425–31). From the perspective of the scherzo, this line could be heard as “correcting” the D^b that intruded on the trio. In the larger context of the symphony, the line recalls the chromatic descent from bars 7–8 of the first movement, [E^b –D– C^\sharp].¹⁶ Beethoven seems to be redirecting us to the opening bars of the symphony, to the chromatic line that first derailed the peaceful triadic harmony. The line is inverted, however, so that the semitones lead upwards through the leading tone to the tonic; they confirm, rather than disrupt, the tonic triad.

The enormous unison note at the beginning of the finale suddenly takes on new interest. For D is the first nontonic note of the symphony, the misstep that first led the triad into chromatic chaos. The beginning of the finale recuperates that note as the leading tone in a huge dominant preparation (but not before it retraces its original path through G minor). Thus, even before the first variation spells out the tonic-dominant axis, Beethoven has re-

stored the errant leading tone to the V chord. It is the first sign of rapprochement in a movement supremely concerned with the relationship between melody and bass.

The process of harmonic integration spans the symphony in a series of intermediate steps. Hints of the periodic contredanse resound throughout the first movement—in the triadic theme that closes the exposition; in the sequences of the opening theme that begin the development; above all, in the glowing alternation of I–V chords that crowns the coda (bars 631–63). Of the coda passage Burnham notes, “the first theme is provided with a regular harmonic underpinning of tonic and dominant and regular four-plus-four phrasing. The power of this square treatment of the theme is precisely in its presentation: the theme becomes more like a real theme, for it is now an actual melody.” This passage impressed Leonard Ratner, who heard the new form of the theme as “realizing basic elements of the style—the dance, symmetry, and the alternation of tonic and dominant.” Such moments of stability give a glimpse of the way the broken triad will fold back into a spiral, and how the rootless tonic will achieve a new balance with the dominant. Marvelous again is the simplicity of Beethoven’s means: the I–V relationship emerges through one of the most basic development techniques, the sequence.¹⁷

The French horn plays a particular role in this harmonic odyssey. The horns leap to the fore in the recapitulation of the first movement, both in the premature entry of the third player and in the continuation of the theme by the first. No less striking is the trio of the scherzo, where the horn section, expanded to a harmonically independent trio, shakes free of the orchestra entirely. In both the first and last movements Beethoven entrusts the apotheotic final statement of his theme to the horns. The characteristic timbre of the horn, especially at climactic or pivotal moments in the form, enhances the sense of a quest after a lost natural unity, “of man’s arduous path to his true nature,” in Schleunig’s words. Most eloquent, perhaps, is the premature reprise in the first movement. Burnham unaccountably hears this horn solo as a “military horn call,” symbolizing the character of the hero.¹⁸ Yet Beethoven everywhere else assigned military calls to trumpets, or at least trumpets doubled by horns, reserving horn calls for hunting or rustic representations (compare, for instance, the “Jagdlied” and “Kriegslied” from the *Ritterballett*). The murmuring solo in the *Eroica* reprise belongs to the same family as the distant *ranz des vaches* in the *Pastoral* finale, the idyllic strains of the Eighth Symphony trio, the opening lament of the “Lebewohl” Sonata, op. 81a, or the wayward fourth horn solo in the Ninth Symphony *Adagio*. These lonely voices from the woods evoke absence, nostalgia, *Heimweh*—

the yearning of the broken fragment for the whole. The third horn solo, mysteriously uniting tonic and dominant, past and future, captures the poignant double vision of the *Universalgeschichte*: it both remembers a lost paradise and gazes longingly toward its restoration.

Obviously, this interpretation of the *Eroica* flies in the face of a long tradition, newly revived by Burnham and Sipe, of describing the symphony as a heroic military epic. Inspired by the title and Napoleonic dedication, Marx, Miel, Berlioz, Fétis, Oublicheff, Wagner, and other nineteenth-century commentators spun out an account of the symphony as a sort of *Heldensleben*, referring to either Bonaparte, a Homeric hero, or humanity itself. Yet this interpretation took root only after the story of the symphony's dedication had become public knowledge. None of the first reviews of the *Eroica* calls attention to any military or heroic traits—although one of the earliest (*Der Freymüthige*, 1806) marvels at the way in which “a pastoral in the largest style is ripped up by the basses, by three horns, etc.”¹⁹ The literary musings of Romantic critics, moreover, need to be weighed against the musical tributes of Romantic composers: we could cite the opening of Brahms's bucolic Second Symphony, whose circling horn call unmistakably recalls the beginning of the *Eroica*; or Schumann's Third Symphony in E-flat, whose evocative rhythms and horn calls have earned it a reputation as a riverscape; or even Wagner's evocation of primordial nature in the introduction to the *Ring*, an immense celebration of the E♭ triad saturated with the sound of the *Waldhorn*. Leaving aside reception history for the moment, I would like to focus on Beethoven's situation in 1803. The evidence suggests that, with the exception of the *Marcia funebre*, the Third Symphony draws its chief sustenance from the naive realm of nature.

The key provides the first clue. For military, heroic, or festal moments Beethoven typically turned to the traditional “trumpet-and-drum” keys—C major during his heroic period, D major in his later years. Throughout his career he reserved E♭ for intimate, lyrical, and folklike compositions. This appears most obviously in the later works, with the “Lebewohl” Sonata, the string quartets opp. 74 and 127, and the song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte*. Beethoven's most prominent E♭ work before the *Eroica* is the popular Septet op. 20, the soul of Mozartian elegance. His choice of key for the Septet (and probably for the *Eroica* as well) was dictated by the prominent role of concertante winds. Beethoven wrote a whole series of such E♭ *divertimenti* during the 1790s: an Octet, Rondino, Quintet, and Sextet for wind band; a Sextet for string quartet and two horns; and a Quintet for piano and winds. The French horn stands out in all these E♭ works, not only in all the *divertimenti* (the Quintet, Hess 19, even has three horns), but also in the pianistic

evocation of horn calls in the “Lebewohl” Sonata and *An die ferne Geliebte*. Other E \flat works prior to the *Eroica* include the blandly expansive Piano Sonata op. 7 and the graceful Sonata op. 31, no. 3. Among all of Beethoven’s works in E \flat , only the Fifth Piano Concerto (“Emperor”) projects a genuinely militant, heroic character. From the remainder, a consistent collection of traits emerges: a gently lyrical mood; an expansiveness of proportions; triple or compound meters in the first movement, and $\frac{6}{8}$ “hunting” finales; pronounced use of solo winds; and simple or folklike themes. To complete the picture, we can also consider the two most prominent E \flat symphonies that Beethoven might have drawn upon in the *Eroica*. Mozart’s Symphony no. 39, which also features a $\frac{3}{4}$ triadic horn call in the principal theme, is the lyrical member of his final trio of symphonies, a gracious complement to the pathetic G minor and martial C major. Haydn’s Symphony no. 103, whose C-minor march numbers among the models for the *Marcia funebre*, settles into a rollicking *Teutsche* (replete with hunting horn calls in the coda) after the ominous drumroll and *Dies irae* in the introduction; as in the *Missa in tempore belli*, the sounds of war signify intrusions upon a peaceful natural order.

From the key signature, we progress to the meter of the *Eroica*. No heroic reading has succeeded in explaining why Beethoven chose $\frac{3}{4}$, the natural meter of dance, for the *Allegro con brio*. The first movement is permeated by the spirit of the lower dances—pastoral, *siciliano*, and, above all, *Teutsche*. One need not trace the first theme to the overture of *Bastien und Bastienne* to recognize the same naive character (although Sarah Bennet Reichart has proposed a common source for Mozart’s and Beethoven’s themes). The scherzo and finale also inhabit the lower dances—although, as Sipes has emphasized, the contredanse, or *Englische*, democratically includes both commoners and nobility. The abundance of dances makes perfect sense, of course, in light of *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, a suite of dances that bore the subtitle “Die Macht der Musik und des Tanzes” (The Power of Music and Dance).²⁰

We should also consider the work that towered most formidably in Beethoven’s imagination at turn of century, *The Creation*. Haydn’s magnum opus haunted Beethoven during work on *Prometheus*, judging from his response to his teacher’s praise: “O, dear Papa, you are very kind; but it is far from being a Creation!” (“I can scarcely believe that it will ever become one,” sniffed Haydn, not dreaming what might happen if his pupil transplanted his ideas in a symphony). In *The Creation* Haydn had elevated the pastoral above the idyllic and the picturesque, investing nature with the grandeur of the sublime. Beethoven’s single explicit reference to the sub-

lime, from the year before the *Eroica*, comes in “Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur,” a song much beholden to *The Creation*. From Haydn, as well as from Kant, Schiller, and Sturm, Beethoven inherited a vision of nature as the noblest mirror of sublimity and ethical life.²¹

One last clue comes from the Heiligenstadt Testament. Critics have connected the posthumously discovered document of 1802 with the *Eroica*, as the cri de coeur that the symphony triumphantly answers. The Testament makes no mention of battles or heroes, but it has much to say about nature. Beethoven begins by characterizing himself as a hermit, driven into the wilderness by his deafness:

Though born with a fiery, active temperament, even susceptible to the diversions of society, I was soon compelled to withdraw myself, to live alone. . . . Thus it has been during the last six months which I have spent in the country. By ordering me to spare my hearing as much as possible, my intelligent doctor almost fell in with my own present frame of mind.

He describes his ailment in the purest pastoral terms: “But what a humiliation for me when someone standing next to me heard a flute in the distance and *I heard nothing*, or someone heard a *shepherd singing* and again I heard nothing.” Beethoven’s emotional fluctuations appear as the changing of seasons, a conceit that anticipates Florestan’s lament for springtime days: “As the leaves of autumn fall and are withered—so likewise has my hope been blighted—I leave here—almost as I came—even the high courage which often inspired me in the beautiful days of summer—has disappeared.” The document ends with a plea for joy: “Oh when, Oh Divine One—shall I feel it again in the temple of nature and mankind.”²² In the Heiligenstadt Testament Beethoven chronicled a literal (and literary) flight into the world of nature; it should hardly surprise us to find him turning to the musical symbols of nature in the symphony that his sojourn nourished.

Regarding the *Eroica* from the perspective of 1803, it seems dubious that Beethoven intended anything even vaguely militaristic. Excepting the funeral march, the thematic material uniformly inhabits the same naive world as the *Pastoral*. As for the title “eroica,” the most obvious explanation lies in the ballet origins of the final contredanse, which originally accompanied a “danza eroica” by Bacchus and his bacchantes. The Third Symphony may lack the musette drones and F major key of the Sixth, yet these tokens of the classical pastoral appear in the work most directly influenced by the *Eroica*, the first “Razumovsky” Quartet (1806). The string quartet, whose vast dimensions, funereal *adagio*, evolutionary folk-tune finale, and explosion of

traditional forms owe everything to the *Eroica*, provides the link between the Third and Sixth Symphonies. The militant heroism of *Leonore*, *Coriolanus*, and the Fifth Symphony runs along an entirely different track.

Of course, the *Eroica* evokes a more violent, dynamic experience of nature than the *Pastoral*—something obviously inspired all the battlefield narratives. And this leads to a crucial distinction. The tremendous, dissonant energies of the *Eroica*, especially in the first movement, do indeed evoke a heroic ethos. But unlike the mood of the Fifth Symphony or *Coriolanus*, this ethos arises not from the nature of the themes, but solely from the manner of their development. The *Eroica* is pastoral in essence, heroic in action; naive in matter, sentimental in manner. Nothing better illustrates this dichotomy than the famous arrival of the new theme in the first-movement development.

Let us begin by retracing the thematic work from the first half of the development, leading up to the E-minor theme. Beethoven concentrates on two ideas from the exposition, the first theme and the bridge theme (bars 45–56). The latter theme, a winsome tune piped by the solo woodwind, contains two grating features. First, the melody begins on a dissonance, a $\hat{9}-\hat{8}$ appoggiatura repeated in both major and minor versions. Second, each phrase begins on the second beat, throwing a strong agogic accent onto the offbeat. This offbeat accent reflects a larger metrical dissonance within the *Allegro con brio*. The chromatic crisis in bar 7 introduces a jarring syncopation into the symphony, immediately felt in the off-beat violin shrieks that follow the diminished-seventh harmony. Thereafter, hemiolas repeatedly jolt the second beat. Not only does the bridge begin on the second beat, but also the second theme, the closing themes, and the new theme of the development—in fact, almost every idea after the first theme. The bridge theme thus crystallizes a metrical “flaw” whose origins go back to the original chromatic disruption.

It is easy to recognize a dancelike lilt in the bridge theme, but harder to define it precisely. The off-beat accents might well belong to a *Teutsche*; yet the persistence of the accents and the lack of any firm, root-position harmony cloud the issue. Indeed, the theme could easily pass for a dislocated *siciliano* if, lulled by the steady agogic accents, we begin to hear the dotted motive as a downbeat. The pastoral *siciliano* certainly fits with the solo wind scoring. Heard thus, the bridge suggests a naive simplicity gone awry, a country lass strayed from home.²³

The development mercilessly scrutinizes the offbeat accent. The second half gets underway with a leisurely rehearsal of the theme, alternating with a sequential treatment of the primary theme (bars 165–236). In the

brief fugato that follows (236–46), Beethoven isolates the rhythm of the bridge theme, placing an emphatic new *sfp* on the second beat. This jarring accent soon infects the entire rhythmic texture, which locks into a massive syncopated passage (247–79). By the famous dissonant climax (272–79), Beethoven has ground down the little bridge theme to its two grittiest features. He projects the competing accents on the first and second beats into the antiphonal clashes between the winds and strings; and he rearranges the dissonant appoggiatura vertically, as the collision between F and E (the origin of this semitone is confirmed by the following *staccato* resolution (280–84), which reinterprets the dissonance as the original minor 9–8 appoggiatura). The gentlest theme of the movement thus unleashes the most violent moment. The violence obviously does not arise from the little woodwind tune, but from Beethoven's brutal analysis of its syntactic "flaws." We are witnessing, as the universal historians might have put it, the birth pangs of consciousness, the negative moment in the dialectic of reason.

The new E-minor theme that issues from this crucible absorbs elements of both the bridge and first theme. The contour, as Charles Rosen has pointed out, retraces the circular shape of the opening theme,²⁴ while the characteristic rhythmic motive, including the new *sforzati*, derives from the bridge theme. Yet every imperfection has now vanished from the motive. The dotted rhythm now falls on the first beat and clearly implies a *siciliano* (note again the solo oboe that introduces the theme); and the appoggiatura has disappeared. Capping these wonders, the pastoral dance now falls into a balanced period, with clear root-position I and V chords. It is, in fact, the first genuine period in the symphony.

The E-minor *siciliano* forms the first link in a chain of rounded dance periods spanning the symphony—the *Teutsche* in the coda of the first movement, the hunting chorus in the trio of the scherzo, and, finally, the perfected contredanse in the finale. The search for the dominant turns out to be a search for *galant* periodicity, for the balanced opposition of social dance. Beethoven's savage enters civilization through the ballroom, as the fragments of natural harmony reunite in the mirror patterns of choreography. Out of the lonely depths of the Heiligenstadt Testament springs this festive, communal vision—the *Geschöpfe des Beethovens* become human simply by dancing together.

The *Universalgeschichte* is only one of many stories that can be told about the *Eroica*. I am drawn by the sheer simplicity of the idea. The archetypal narrative seems to fit Beethoven's mood in the first years of the century, after he had navigated the mythic waters of *Prometheus* and *Christus*

am Ölberge, as does the shamelessly simple musical symbolism. The idea that a symphony could be about the discovery of the tonic-dominant axis is preposterous, audacious, reductionist—in short, thoroughly Beethovenian. But, of course, this narrative framework exhausts the richness of neither the *Universalgeschichte* nor the *Eroica*. Any serious interpretation must come to terms with the funeral march whose shadow lowers over the entire symphony.

TO JUSTIFY THE WAYS OF GOD TO MAN

Along with the metaphors of fall and redemption, the *Universalgeschichte* inherited from the Christian tradition a concern with theodicy, the reconciliation of evil with a benevolent God. History, Hegel stated, was “the true *Theodicoea*, the justification of God in history.”²⁵ The German authors posed the question in their own secularized terms: how could one uphold a rational view of historical progress in the face of individual suffering and death?

The universal historians assessed reason as a double-edged sword, empowering humanity as a whole yet severing the individual from the happy oblivion of nature. “The knowledge of death and its terrors,” Rousseau had lamented, “is one of the first acquisitions that man has made in withdrawing from the animal condition.” Kant admitted the same dilemma, characteristically stressing the role of duty:

Before reason awoke, there were no commandments or prohibitions, so that violations of these were also impossible. . . . For the individual, who looks only to himself in the exercise of his freedom, a change of this kind represented a loss; for nature, whose end in relation to man concerns the species, it represented a gain.

When, in the *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel generalized the universal history to the level of systematic philosophy, he identified the awareness of death with the negative, analytic moment of the dialectic. “The activity of dissolution,” he explained, “is the power and work of the *Understanding*. . . . This is the tremendous power of the negative; it is the energy of thought, of the pure ‘I.’ Death, if that is what we want to call this non-actuality.” This moment of individual mortality, however, takes its place within the larger evolution of reason: “The life of Spirit is not the life that shrinks from death and keeps itself untouched by devastation, but rather the life that endures it and maintains itself in it.”²⁶ The idea also found its

way into Viganò's libretto, where Prometheus suffers for having brought the knowledge of death into the world:

But now Melpomene steps in between and enacts a tragic scene for the astonished children, showing them with a dagger how death brings an end to man's days. While they shudder, she turns to the confused father and holds him not unworthy of punishment by death for having let these miserable ones be born to such a calamity; the pitiful children seek in vain to restrain her; she kills him with the dagger.²⁷

The *Universalgeschichte* redeemed the fall into consciousness by identifying the destiny of the individual with that of the species. Sentenced to death by the birth of reason, the individual was resurrected in the communal life of humanity. Kant spoke of the corporate life of humanity, "a class of rational beings who are mortal as individuals but immortal as a species." Lessing went so far as to hint at a theory of reincarnation:

Every individual human must have (sooner or later) walked that path upon which the race reached its perfection. . . . Why should I not come again, as often as I am destined to attain new knowledge, new capacities? . . . Is not the whole of eternity mine?

The most passionate advocate of the individual, Herder, found solace in the same vision:

Our body molders in the grave, and our name soon becomes a shadow upon the earth: but incorporated in the voice of God, in plastic tradition, we shall live actively in the minds of our posterity, even though our name be no more.

Surveying the sad spectacle of history, he could yet conclude that "the chain of improvement alone forms the whole of these ruins, in which human figures indeed vanish, but the spirit of mankind lives and acts immortally." Perhaps the most eloquent variation on this theme comes from Schiller. In his inaugural lecture at Jena, in the year of the French Revolution, he declared,

Thus [universal history] accustoms the human being to hold together the entire past, and by way of these keys to hasten forward into the future; it thus disguises the boundaries of birth and death, that press so close and so constricting about human life; thus, like an optical illusion, it widens our short existence into an infinite space, and moves unnoticed from the individual to the race.²⁸

Beethoven's oratorio *Christus am Ölberge* provides a convenient theological transition to the *Eroica*. This human portrayal of the Gethsemane drama opens on the disconsolate Christ, isolated and fearful before his impending trial. A seraph comforts him with the reminder that humanity's eternal fate depends upon his sacrifice: "Eh' nicht erfüllet ist das heilige Geheimnis der Versöhnung, so lange bleibt das menschliche Geschlecht verworfen und beraubt des ew'gen Lebens" (Till the holy mystery of redemption is fulfilled, the human race must remain banished and robbed of eternal life). To which Jesus exclaims, "Willkommen, Tod, denn ich am Kreuze zum Heil der Menschheit blutend sterbe!" (Welcome, Death, for I bleed to death on the cross for the salvation of mankind!). The Savior's individual death becomes transfigured in the salvation of humanity.

The *Marcia funebre*, composed a few months after *Christus*, transports the drama of Gethsemane to the streets of Paris. Beethoven's march recalls the funeral solemnities of Revolutionary France honoring outstanding *citoyens*.²⁹ These patriotic ceremonies offered a vivid representation of heroic sacrifice and transfiguration that a musician could readily use. In Beethoven's hands the model attains to a more universal human mythology, as the patriotic elements fuse with the religious symbolism favored by the German authors.

The universalizing spirit can be felt above all in Beethoven's gargantuan expansion of the march form. Beethoven had already written a *Marcia funebre* in his Piano Sonata in A-flat Major, op. 26, which follows the usual ABA pattern—two *minore* marches enclosing a *maggiore* trio. The *Marcia funebre* hews to this pattern until the *da capo*, where three interruptions stretch the final section beyond all recognition:

- Double fugato (bars 114–53)
- Trumpet call (158–68)
- Deceptive cadence and excursus into Db (209–22).

These interruptions progressively magnify the vision like a zoom lens—or better, like Schiller's optical illusion, which "widens our short existence into an infinite space." The overall form itself comes into question as the fugato moves decisively to the dominant, G minor, suggesting a i–v–i tonal arch overriding the minor-major modal arch.

It seems appropriate that the F-minor fugato, which first lifts the movement beyond the simple march form, should introduce the integrative texture of counterpoint. Dahlhaus has analyzed the ascending tetrachordal motive of the fugato subject (bars 114–15) as an inversion of the third, Eb

phrase of the march theme (17–18). Renata Beling has traced an even longer lineage for the march. The tetrachord, she points out, already lurks in the upbeat to bar 1, a stylized drumroll that solidifies into a triplet rhythm in bar 6 and remains an integral part of the march until the last bars.³⁰ In the *Maggiore* (69 ff.), the tetrachord relaxes into a walking bass, in canon between basses and violas. The fugato thus caps a process both motivic and textural, as an inchoate rhythm evolves into a contrapuntal theme. There is a Herderian poignancy in the way Beethoven singles out the obscure drumroll and enshrines it in the most sublime passage of the march.

The fugato unearths more than the tetrachord from the opening bars of the march. The fugato has two subjects, which together outline the diminished-seventh contour that Warren Kirkendale has dubbed “pathotype”—a type of theme familiar from Bach’s *Musical Offering* and that runs through the late quartets. As Keisuke Maruyama has observed, the cello outlines the pathotype in bars 1–6.³¹ The grave connotations of the pathotype make it an ideal symbol for the *Marcia funebre*. Beethoven may have been thinking of the double fugue in the Kyrie of Mozart’s *Requiem*, or perhaps the double-fugal finale of Haydn’s Quartet in F Minor, op. 20, no. 5. F-minor pathotype themes were particularly associated with Christ’s crucifixion, as in Pergolesi’s *Stabat Mater* or Handel’s chorus “And with His Stripes We Are Healed” from *Messiah* (which Beethoven actually copied out).³² Beethoven himself would mine the same vein when he set the words “Qui tollis peccata mundi” (Who takes away the sins of the world) in the Mass in C (1807). The musical resonances with the Passion enhance the sense of a heroic individual sacrificed on the altar of humanity.

The second interruption of the *da capo*, which cuts off the march after only four bars, ushers in the most terrifying episode in the movement. The trumpet calls, familiar from contemporary battle symphonies, most obviously evoke heroic or militaristic deeds. They also evoke, as Schleuning noted, the Last Trumpet. Beethoven would turn to the same apocalyptic symbol in his next major work, *Leonore*, where the famous trumpet call heralds the arrival of the just judge Don Fernando. (The source for his operatic trumpet call, Méhul’s *Hélène*, dates from the same year as the *Eroica*.) Heard thus, the trumpet call exalts the fallen hero to the highest plane, identifying his death with the end of history itself.³³

The third interruption of the march has a curiously anticlimactic effect after the sublime exaltation and terror of the preceding episodes. The A–C *basso ostinato* returns from the battle vignette, stripped to a brittle ticking—a musical clock beholden to Haydn’s Symphony no. 101. The mun-

dane tick-tock wrenches us back from the End of Time to the experience of the passing moment, from the vanishing point of *kairos* to the dull pulse of *chronos*. The panorama of humanity collapses back to the measured steps of the individual human.

The *Marcia funebre* offers a grim redemption to the individual. Like Christ in Gethsemane, the hero of the march discovers humanity through death, communion through suffering. Modern tragedy, Frank Kermode observed, absorbs apocalypse, just as Beethoven conflates his hero's death with the Last Day.³⁴ When the original march returns in the final bars (bars 238–47) it disintegrates in sobbing fragments—the logical conclusion to Beethoven's grandiose dissolution of the form. The individual is nowhere more human than in the death that unmakes all.

CRAFTING THE INDIVIDUAL

The *Universalgeschichte* also strove for a positive definition of the individual, one that not only justified suffering but also established rights. The discussion again revolves around the dialectic between nature and civilization. For as human government and society submitted to the sway of reason, individual humans found themselves hemmed in by increasingly complex structures. The same progress that liberated humanity from bestial instinct threatened to bury the individual in a new system of obligations. The utopian state would thus need to mediate between two opposing demands: that humanity realize its rational nature in organized communities, and that individuals still preserve sufficient room for self-expression.

We start again with Rousseau and the “fundamental problem” of the *Social Contract*: “Find a form of association which defends and protects with all common forces the person and goods of each associate, and by means of which each, while uniting with all, yet obeys only himself, and remains as free as before.” His solution was the elusive concept of the *volonté générale*, a universal will somehow transcending all individual interests yet demanding the obedience of every individual. The *Social Contract* reverberates in the formulation of Rousseau's great admirer, Kant:

A constitution allowing the greatest possible human freedom in accordance with laws by which the freedom of each is made to be consistent with the freedom of all the others—I do not speak of the greatest happiness, for this will follow of itself—is at any rate a necessary idea, which must be taken as fundamental not only in first projecting a constitution but in all its laws.³⁵

Kant's alternative to the *volonté générale* was the moral law, the dictate to "so act that the maxim of your will could always hold at the same time as a principle establishing universal law."³⁶ This formal axiom vouchsafed the dignity of the individual, who, irrespective of his standing in the phenomenal world, enjoyed equal rights in the noumenal realm. The moral law thus led Kant to the ideal of a "kingdom of ends," a utopian commonwealth in which every member enjoyed both the responsibility and protection proper to a rational subject:

Rational beings all stand under the law that each of them should treat himself and all others, never merely as a means, but always at the same time as an end in himself. But by so doing there arises a systematic union of rational beings under common objective laws—that is, a kingdom. . . . This kingdom can be called a kingdom of ends (which is admittedly only an Ideal).³⁷

Kant's ideal of ethical life, and the challenge of realizing it in the less than ideal conditions of the world, fueled the imagination of the next generation, forming the basis for Schiller's aesthetic meditations, Fichte's "philosophy of ego," and Hegel's dialectical history of Spirit.

While Kant's followers offered many solutions to the problem of individual freedom, it is the aesthetic solution that promises most for the *Eroica*. The fundamental problem of the post-Kantian generation was to bridge the divide between noumenal and phenomenal worlds, between the *contemptus mundi* of the moral law and the real conditions in which individuals actually lived. The aesthetic, as the intermediary between sense and reason, provided the solution. Kant himself had proposed the aesthetic as the link between theoretical and practical reason in the *Critique of Judgment*, arguing that the experience of the beautiful and sublime "promotes the mind's receptivity to moral feeling." Wilhelm von Humboldt carried this argument into the realm of politics in *Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staats zu bestimmen* (1792), lending a specifically aesthetic dimension to the "kingdom of ends":

Now, when the moral law obliges us to regard every man as an end in himself, it becomes fused with that feeling for the beautiful which loves to animate the merest clay, so that even in it, it may rejoice in an individual existence.

Fichte found in the aesthetic the utopian goal of his *Characteristics of the Present Age*, in which theoretical knowledge gives way to the reign of "reason as art":

It is clear that mere knowledge of the law, which nevertheless is all that knowledge of itself can give us, is not sufficient for the attainment of this purpose, but that there is also needed a peculiar knowledge of action, which can only be thoroughly acquired by practice, in a word, by art.

It was Schiller, of course, who most persuasively applied Kant's aesthetic thought to history and politics in his *On the Aesthetic Education of Man* (1795). In a famous passage from the second letter, he asserted: "If man is ever to solve that problem of politics in practice he will have to approach it through the problem of the aesthetic, because it is only through Beauty that man makes his way to Freedom." In the playful realm of art, the brute force of sensual inclination (*Sinntrieb*) and the ascetic rationality of the moral law (*Formtrieb*) could find a middle ground, avoiding both the "dynamic" and "ethical" states. The aesthetic faculty mediated these twin tyrannies by training the human will to an integration of faculties. Art thus schooled individuals to harmonious citizenship in an ideal "aesthetic state":

If in the dynamic State of rights it is as force that one man encounters another, and imposes limits upon his activities; if in the ethical State of duties Man sets himself over against man with all the majesty of the law, and puts a curb upon his desires: in those circles where conduct is governed by beauty, in the aesthetic State, none may appear to the other except as form, or confront him except as an object of free play. To bestow freedom by means of freedom is the fundamental law of this kingdom.³⁸

Viganò's ballet literally enacts an aesthetic education of man. The Olympian gods lead Prometheus's creatures through a graduated program of artistic refinement, awakening them to the full spectrum of human sensibilities—beauty, heroism, tragedy, Bacchic abandon. The intellectual background to this *Bildungsballett* helps explain the curious form the finale took when Beethoven reworked it for the op. 35 piano variations and *Eroica* finale. The contredanse *tema* now arrives only after several variations, during which the full texture emerges one voice at a time over a bare bass line. Beethoven thus focuses attention on the most elemental compositional materials—bass line, tonic and dominant, counterpoint, melody. He also blurs the boundaries between theme and variation, showing the theme as a work in progress rather than an a priori object. He takes us inside Prometheus's workshop to view the creative process itself. If, as suggested above, the *basso* plays out the "discovery" of the tonic-dominant axis, then the reconstruction of the texture amounts to nothing less than the birth of a newly harmonized world, a world that has learned to balance opposing forces.

Beethoven's emphasis on the contrapuntal texture matches the central concern of aesthetic politics—the relation of part and whole, individual and collective. The contredanse does not descend *von oben* but wells up from the aggregate of individuated voices. In the symphony finale Beethoven even involves instrumentation in the process: the transition to a two-part texture now occurs within the *basso* itself, as the winds answer the strings antiphonally (bars 20–43). This kind of evolutionary opening, in which the individual lines and timbres have a chance to speak, becomes a standard feature of Beethoven's utopian finales, in the Sixth Symphony, the Quartet in F Major, op. 59, no. 1, and the Ninth Symphony. He played most obviously with this device in the Choral Fantasy. After the solo piano has introduced the theme, the following four variations add one instrumental voice at a time. Steven Moore Whiting has suggested that these four variations trace a path from countryside to city, with the bucolic flute and oboes giving way to a *Gassenmusik* trio and finally to the quintessentially urbane string quartet—from nature to civilization, the path of the *Universalgeschichte*.³⁹

The *tema* itself suggests a potent symbol of the individual. The slender timbre of the oboe—a poignant voice throughout the symphony—hints at the frailty of the nascent melody. And, indeed, the meticulous construction immediately falls apart, as the following three variations (C-minor fugato, D-major flute solo, and G-minor Hungarian dance) isolate *basso*, *tema*, and *basso*, respectively. The two lines reunite briefly in the modulatory episode preceding the second fugato, but the fugato itself concentrates almost exclusively on the *basso*. After its spectacular premiere, the *tema* fades almost to extinction, ousted by the undifferentiated *basso*.

The *Poco Andante* following the second fugato (bars 349–430) assumes the dual burden of a sonata-form reprise, both reinstating the tonic and restoring the *tema*. This plangent moment accomplishes still more. For Beethoven has freighted the *Poco Andante* with the catharsis of the entire symphony by recollecting—unexpectedly and unmistakably—the *Marcia funebre*. George Grove mused that this variation “in its march-rhythm and other features irresistibly recalls the style of portions of the Funeral March. Indeed, the inference is tempting that a connection between the two movements is intended.”⁴⁰ Some of these other features include the *sforzandi* diminished-seventh chords, which precisely recall bar 6 of the *Marcia*, the solo oboe, and the sixteenth-note triplets. The *Poco Andante*, with devastating simplicity, redeems the suffering of the march, resurrecting the mortal hero to the immortality of human community. The *tema* returns with glory in its train, enfolding in its individuality the precious life of every human individual.

And now all the pieces fall into place, as the *tema* passes into the horns. Harbingers throughout the symphony of the “second nature” to come, they finally take possession of the utopian anthem. The conflict between *basso* and *tema* disappears, as the horns and basses restore the *tema* to the same low register where the movement—indeed, the entire symphony—began. The *basso* vanishes from the movement, leaving behind only the singular, individuated *tema*. And thus, Promethean history reaches consummation as the triadic *Klang*, baptized in the funeral march and socialized in the ballroom, returns at last to the bosom of nature.

THE STREAM OF TIME

It is perhaps worth exploring a not entirely obvious point, namely, that the *Universalgeschichte* rests upon an understanding of history as *teleological*. According to this conception, individuals, nations, and humanity as a whole developed so as to realize ends implicit within their being. No mere accident of a mechanical chain of causes, human history unfolded according to a foreordained pattern, analogous to the growth of plants and other genetic organisms. Hence, Kant’s First Proposition for a universal history stated: “All the natural capacities of a creature are destined sooner or later to be developed completely and in conformity with their end”; accordingly, “we may hope that what strikes us in the actions of individuals as confused and fortuitous may be recognized, in the history of the entire species, as a steadily advancing but slow development of man’s original capacities.”⁴¹

Isaiah Berlin dubbed this teleological bias in German thought “expressivism,” the belief “that human activity in general, and art in particular, express the entire personality of the individual or the group, and are intelligible only to the degree to which they do so.” This creed rings out in Herder’s *Ideas for a Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, when he asserts that “we may with confidence trust the invisible operating hand, that the flower of our bud of humanity will certainly appear, in a future state of existence, in a form truly that of godlike man, which no earthly sense can imagine in all its grandeur and beauty.” This dynamic vision, characteristic of the coming generation, left behind the placid architecture of Kant’s system. For true expressivism required not merely that humanity should realize rational ideals, but also that those ideals should themselves unfold unpredictably from within the subject. Reason itself becomes subject to time, and philosophy becomes a branch of history. As Friedrich Schlegel asserted in the Prologemena to his *Vorlesungen über Universalgeschichte* (Lectures on Universal History,

1805–6), “since all science whatsoever is genetic, it follows that history must be the most universal, common and exalted of all sciences.”⁴²

The radical vision of expressivism comes to light, so to speak, if we compare Beethoven’s *Eroica* with the beginning of Haydn’s *Creation*. Both works begin with a famous moment of dissonance. In the earlier work the depiction of chaos is banished by divine fiat (“Es würde Licht!”), ushering in hours of euphony. While this peremptory resolution might satisfy a composer of Kant’s vintage, Beethoven’s generation was moving beyond such a static ontology. The opening dissonance of the *Eroica* instead leavens the symphony to the very last bars, serving as a goad to the unfolding drama. The resolution of Beethoven’s chromatic “chaos” does not descend *tout d’un coup* from on high, but must work itself out progressively within the form.

The futuristic thrust of expressivism reflects a new connection between thought and time that intellectual historians have located near the beginning of the nineteenth century. Arthur Lovejoy spoke of the “temporalizing of the chain of being,” the process by which thinkers gradually replaced the fixed idea of the Absolute with an evolving model. Michel Foucault distinguished a “modern episteme” that subjected the inert table of classical knowledge to “the irruptive violence of time.” For German philosophers of Beethoven’s generation, no symbol of Enlightenment tabularization loomed more obstinately than Kant’s Transcendental Logic, that epistemological Bastille imprisoning the noumenal subject. Hegel, who claimed to find the glimmerings of dialectical method in the threefold Categories, complained nevertheless that this logical form “must not be regarded as scientific when it is reduced to a lifeless schema, a mere shadow, and when scientific organization is degraded into a table of terms.”⁴³ The task of the new generation was to tear down the walls between subject and object, thought and life.

They solved the problem by dissolving the ideal in the stream of time, imparting a historical form to philosophical discourse. No longer a transcendent structure of a priori ideas, the human mind must now be shown expressing itself diachronically, whether through culture, art, or systems of government, in a gradual blossoming of self-consciousness. As George Armstrong Kelly has explained, “Where reason is immanent and associated with freedom, and social institutions are regarded as historical warrants of the injection of reason into the world, then somehow mind as well as society must be seen to have a (rational) history.”⁴⁴ The motor of this immanent process was dialectics, the dynamic process whereby mind and world tear apart and reintegrate. First popularized by Fichte, and later institutionalized by Hegel, dialectical argumentation already underlies Schiller’s *Aesthetic Education of Man*. The interaction of mind and reality takes shape in the contest between

the *Formtrieb* and the *Sinntrieb*, which strive toward equilibrium in the *Spieltrieb*. The aesthetic State can be realized only in and through time.

The expressivist view of history underlying the *Universalgeschichte* conveys ambiguous political meanings. On the conservative side, its smoothly graduated growth processes stood in opposition to the upheaval and violence that soured so many Germans on the French Revolution. To locate reason within historical processes—rather than in timeless metaphysical ideas or natural rights—was to deny any revolutionary attempt to reconstruct the state de novo. To this extent, the *Universalgeschichte* resembles Edmund Burke's theory of the organic state. On the other hand, the universal historians parted company from conservatives in their faith in the progressive, rational trajectory of human history. The spirit of Rousseau survives, however aestheticized and spiritualized, in the ideal of a reasonable, humanistic society and the insistence that history was actually evolving toward such an ideal. In this respect, the *Universalgeschichte* differs utterly from Romantic political thought, with its medievalist nostalgia and emphasis on the irrational. As history turned out, the progressive implications of the universal history proved most influential, providing the dialectical framework for Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Property relations and class struggle replace reason as the guiding principle; Eden now becomes the primitive communalism of the tribe, the Fall the division into private property, and the "second nature" the restoration of public ownership. New terms for an old tale.

The finale of the *Eroica* provides one of the clearest examples of the post-Kantian dialectical spirit. Dahlhaus included the evolving form of the variations in his important discussion of Beethoven's "new path," a tendency he found epitomized in the "Tempest" Sonata, op. 31, no. 2. Dahlhaus pointed to the problematic definition of the principal motive of the piano sonata, an arpeggiated triad. When heard in the *Largo*, the motive suggests an introduction; yet when it appears within the *Allegro* it leads directly into a modulatory bridge. The opening of the movement, Dahlhaus explained,

is not yet a subject, the evolutionary episode is one no longer. Nowhere, in fact, is there a "real" statement of the first subject. But because Beethoven avoids "presenting" the themes, and goes straight from a protoform to developmental elaboration, the form is process. Nowhere is the thematic material "given" in the sense of a text on which a development section comments; rather, it is involved in developmental process from first to last.⁴⁵

In the same way, the *Eroica* finale blurs the distinction between thematic presentation and developmental process: by the time the actual *tema* arrives, three variations lie behind.

Every movement of the *Eroica*, in fact, makes an issue of thematic presentation. The scherzo begins with no theme whatever, only the stirrings of a primal energy. No sooner does a melody break the surface than it plunges back into the undercurrent; darting from key to key, it eludes the tonic for 155 bars. In the *Marcia funebre* thematic material again wells up from an inchoate substratum—in this case, the rhythmic impulse of the drumroll that gradually crystallizes into the fugato subject. The *Allegro con brio* perhaps plays most radically with the boundaries of theme and form. Walter Riezler has suggested that the triadic theme can actually be heard as “the melodic ‘unfolding’ of the notes already heard simultaneously in the form of chords, those two mighty hammer-blows with which the movement opens.”⁴⁶ Riezler’s suggestion makes aural sense; there is a certain “one-two-three!” inevitability to the way the theme follows the introductory chords. Heard this way, the symphony begins with the birth of time itself, as a vertical simultaneity arpeggiates into horizontal melody.

The *Eroica* dramatizes not only the emergence of themes but, equally important to dialectical thought, their ongoing dissolution as well. In each movement the principal theme sooner or later falls into entropy. It happens right away in the first and third movements, and also in the finale, whose carefully joined *tema* and *basso* are no sooner joined than they fly apart. In the march, on the other hand, the theme disintegrates only at the end. The solubility of themes appears most tellingly in the finale reprise, where echoes of the march return to saturate the contredanse.

Dialectical thought appears most obviously in the parameter that emerges as subject matter of the Third Symphony—tonality. From early in his career Beethoven had tilted the weight of his sonata forms toward the recapitulation, emphasizing the apparently inevitable logic of the tonic return. He carried this tendency to a new extreme in the *Eroica*, adding some illuminating touch to the reprise of each movement. In the *Allegro con brio* there is the premature horn call, which seems to forecast a harmony both imminent and still on the distant horizon. The recapitulation of the scherzo packs a massive charge, due to the absence of any previous authentic cadence in the tonic. In the *Marcia* interruptions continually disrupt the reprise of the march, until it finally disintegrates altogether. And in the finale, by gathering up memories of the march, the reprise pulls together the trajectory of the entire symphony. Each of these enhanced reprises con-

tributes to the sense of an encompassing trajectory, at the level of both the individual movement and the symphony as a whole.

The dialectical impact of the sonata-form reprise appears most dramatically in the introductory gesture to the finale. As suggested, this explosive gesture plays a pivotal role in the harmonic odyssey of the *Eroica*, as the moment in which the errant leading tone, D, and the dominant harmony reunite. The figure has suggested many images—a thunderbolt; the flight of Prometheus from Olympus with the sacred flame (or as Schleuning has it, “the descent of the mythical Titan in the form of the military liberator Napoleon”);⁴⁷ or Beethoven injecting his own voice (“O Freunde, nicht diese Töne!”). What seems clear is that the vigorous gesture portrays an intervention, a *deus ex machina* intruding upon the normal discourse of the piece. The figure seems to proffer assistance from beyond the logic of the form, beyond the immanent dialectic of sonata form.

In fact, the introductory figure does submit to the dialectic, and with breathtaking logic. After the final apotheosis of the *tema* in the horns, the *Poco Andante* drifts into chromatic byways (bars 369–430). The recapitulation has summoned the spirit of the *Marcia funebre*—a dangerous business, for the diminished-seventh chords begin to overshadow the triumphant mood, leading to an alarming climax in G minor. The darkest moments of the symphony swarm back into this abysmal moment: the grand cadence with 4–3 suspension recalls the climax of the march fugato; the trumpet blast echoes the apocalyptic battle calls; the key itself awakens disruptive memories of the raucous fifth variation, and even the chromatic opening of the *Allegro con brio*, which first settled in G minor. As the G-minor catastrophe dies away in fragmented gasps, the whole journey of the symphony seems in jeopardy. At this point the introductory figure intervenes once more, but this time transposed from V to I (bars 431–33). The opening note is now G, which provides a common tone between the wayward G minor and Eb. The logic of tonality, that all-important I–V relationship, rescues the symphony from chaos with this final grand reprise. This intervening *deus* is no transcendent presence. His *machina* indwells the musical language, within the tonal dialectic itself. In the utopian constitution of the Third Symphony, Prometheus himself stands beneath the laws of reason.

It is time to let the literary model crumble and blow away on the wind, together with the funeral march. For the Third Symphony no more illustrates a *Universalgeschichte* than the second movement replicates a French Revolutionary march. Whatever Beethoven took from the narrative genre

he made all his own—just as he made the *garde nationale*, and nature, and tonality all his own. In the end the *Eroica* stands by itself, as itself. And the last thing the symphony needs is yet another program.

Nevertheless, certain ideological features have emerged from the literary comparison that might otherwise have remained obscure. These include the faith in nature and reason as sufficient grounds for utopian thought; the concern for safeguarding the integrity of the individual within the collective; and the belief in an immanent, dialectical, and meliorative teleology within human history. These tenets give life to the heroic style, and they provide benchmarks against which to judge Beethoven's later evolution as a political thinker. Most importantly, they shed precious light on one of the most perfect, and perfectly human, works that anyone ever composed.

4 1809

Beethoven's critics have always felt a peculiar need to sort his works chronologically. So reflexive has this *Periodentrieb* become that Maynard Solomon felt moved to caution that Beethoven's works are "a single oeuvre, which we segment out of a penchant for classification, a need to clarify—and at our peril."¹ Nevertheless, periodization has eased the approach to Beethoven's baffling music and has stimulated continuing insights as critics have grappled with the inherited models. The real peril perhaps may be that critics will grow complacent and stop seeking new methods of taxonomy.

There is nothing complacent about Giorgio Pestelli's startling schema in *The Age of Mozart and Beethoven*. In this textbook survey, Pestelli renamed the traditional early, middle, and late periods as "The music up to the French invasion of Vienna (1809)," "Beethoven and early Romanticism," and "The late works." Pestelli's three periods form the moments in a dialectic between Beethoven's earlier music and Romanticism. The originality of this scheme lies less in the importance granted to Romanticism than in Pestelli's selection criteria, which have as much to do with political history and sociology as musical style. His broad approach appears in the description of Beethoven's Romantic crisis:

Around 1809, the year of Haydn's death, Beethoven's career took a new turn: in the month of March the contract with the three Viennese noblemen confirmed the forty-year-old composer's enviable position. In May, Vienna was invaded for the second time by foreign troops, and the court and the nobility took refuge in Hungarian castles; Beethoven remained in the city, in his brother's cellar with his head between pillows so as not to hear the gunshots that were tormenting his afflicted ears. How the student of Rousseau had changed since 1794, when, with his Bonn friends, he

spoke ironically about the pleasure-loving temperament of the Viennese! Now he railed against the war that was interrupting concert life and those social customs on which music depended so much.²

This dense passage combines biography, economics, political history, and sociology. Here, as elsewhere, Pestelli achieves an admirable balance between inner and outer descriptions of Beethoven's music. His middle period thus begins not in 1803, where biographers and music historians have lighted, but in 1809, a year marked not only by biographical and stylistic changes, but also by fundamental shifts in the political and economic terrain.

Other scholars have based style periods on political history. Most famously, Carl Dahlhaus divided his survey of nineteenth-century music according to major political events. His book thus begins in 1814 with the Congress of Vienna, which articulates the notorious dualism between late Beethoven and Rossini.³ Yet 1809 proves in every way a more illuminating landmark. In this crucial year the confluence of political, economic, and musical events shows an entirely new direction in Beethoven's political aesthetic.

A CHANGE OF HEART

The war of 1809 marked a new era of popular patriotism in Austria. Previously the emperor and his ministers had conducted the struggle against Napoleon as a traditional dynastic war. After the defeat of 1805, however, members of the imperial court and family worked to foment a *levée en masse* among the Austrian people, along the same lines as Stein and the reform party in Prussia. Counts Stadion and Hormayr sponsored an official nationalist movement, whose products included a citizen militia, numerous political tracts, historical plays, poetry and novels, and even the revival of native Austrian *Tracht*. (One fruit of this movement was Hormayr's own *Österreichischer Plutarch*, a twenty-volume gallery of national heroes that inspired August von Kotzebue's play *König Stephan*, supplied with incidental music by Beethoven in 1811.) Patriotic poets and playwrights clustered to the salon of Caroline Pichler, while costumed audiences cheered patriotic songs in the Redoutensaal. The Nazarene painters published their manifesto calling for a "new-German, religious-patriotic art." This nationalist movement was thoroughly conservative in aim, at least in the minds of its sponsors: Hormayr and Stadion, a Tyrolean and Swabian, respectively,

sought to restore the old *Reich* in order to safeguard their petty aristocratic domains. Nevertheless, their success can be judged from a remark by the French chargé d'affaires, who reported that "in 1805 the war was in the government, but not in the army or people; in 1809, it was desired by government, army, and people."⁴

Beethoven had a direct link to the patriotic movement in Heinrich Joseph von Collin, for whose tragedy *Coriolan* he had furnished the famous overture in 1807 and with whom he was planning an opera on *Macbeth* in late 1808. An intimate of Pichler's circle, Collin had captivated the public in 1809 with his *Lieder Oesterreichischer Wehrmänner*, which Joseph Weigl and Gyrowetz Adalbert had hastened to set. An unfinished setting of the first song, "Wenn es nur will, ist immer Oesterreich über Alles," appears amid Beethoven's sketches for the "Emperor" Concerto (the song title harks back to an 1684 mercantilist treatise, *Österreich über alles, wenn es nur will*, by cameralist reformer Philipp Wilhelm Hörnigk). Beethoven's sketchbooks also include plans for a battle symphony, a D-major precursor of *Wellingtons Sieg* with such titles as "auf die Schlacht Jubelsang," "Angriff," and "Sieg." The sketches, which date from sometime in March or April, show Beethoven fully caught up in the hawkish spirit.⁵

The outpouring of civic spirit failed to impress Napoleon, who, after defeating the Austrians at Wagram, occupied Vienna on 13 May. The Austrian defeat disturbed Beethoven profoundly, judging by the uncharacteristic profusion of political remarks in his correspondence. In a letter of 26 July he complained to Breitkopf und Härtel, "What a destructive, disorderly life I see and hear around me, nothing but drums, cannons, and human misery in every form"; he concluded the letter with the wish for "all that is good and beautiful, that is to say, as much as our tempestuous age permits." On 2 November he again lamented to his Leipzig publisher that "we are enjoying a little peace after violent destruction, after suffering every hardship that one could conceivably endure"; in the same missive he muses, "What do you say to this *dead peace*?—I no longer expect to see any stability in this age. The only *certainty* we can rely on is *blind chance*." In December come more gloomy meditations: "The wretched summer I have spent and certain melancholy reminders of this German country which has so declined *partly through its own fault*, I admit, and yet is unique, haunt me the whole time."⁶ The intensity of feeling in these letters stands in pointed contrast to 1805, when the French occupation had merited only a single brief remark from the composer.

Economics explain Beethoven's new attitude. On 1 March he had agreed to settle permanently in Vienna in exchange for a generous annuity of 4,000

florins, payable by Princes Lobkowitz and Kinsky and the Archduke Rudolph. As Solomon put it, this arrangement promised Beethoven “the highest degree of independence and security possible within a semifeudal mode of patronage.” With his fortune now tied to the fate of the Austrian aristocracy, Beethoven had a personal stake in the war against Napoleon. As it turned out, the Austrian defeat immediately triggered rampant inflation that devalued Beethoven’s annuity and shattered his dreams of financial independence. It was this blow to his pocketbook that accounts for the dire pronouncements. The letter of 26 July, as a more extended excerpt will show, amounts to a simple plea for money:

The existence I had built up only a short time ago rests on shaky foundations—and even during this last short period I have not yet seen the promises made to me completely fulfilled—So far I have not received a farthing from Prince Kinsky, who is one of my patrons—and this happens just at a time when money is most needed—Heavens knows what is going to happen—Normally I should now be having a change of scene and air—The levies are beginning this very day—What a destructive, disorderly life I see and hear around me, nothing but drums, cannons, and human misery in every form—My present condition now compels me to be stingy with you again. Hence I am inclined to think that you could surely send me 250 gulden A.C. for the three major works—Indeed I consider that this is by no means an excessive sum; and just now I do need it—For at the moment I cannot count on receiving all that was granted to me in my certificate of appointment—So let me know if you will accept this offer.

Likewise, the stoic envoi of this letter turns out to concern Beethoven’s economic situation:

Perhaps Heaven may grant that after all I shall not have to abandon the idea of regarding Vienna as my permanent home—All good wishes. Indeed I wish you all that is good and beautiful, that is to say, as much as our tempestuous age permits.

Another letter of 19 September reveals the root of his war weariness: “We are short of money in Vienna, for we need twice as much as formerly—Curse this war.” The 23rd of November finds the composer lamenting his straitened circumstances to client George Thomson: “We live here in a time when everything costs a terribly high price, one almost pays here three times more than before.” By 1813 the connection between war and financial ruin had hardened into a bitter personal creed for Beethoven:

Presumably this disastrous war will hold up the final settlement [of the annuity agreement] or render affairs even worse—Sometimes I take one decision, then I take another; and unfortunately I must remain near Vienna until this question has been settled—Oh fatal decree, as seductive as a siren. To resist it I should have had my ears plugged with wax and my arms bound fast, like those of Ulysses, to prevent me from signing—If the surging waves of war roll nearer to Vienna, then I shall go to Hungary. Perhaps I will go there in any case, since I have nothing to provide for save my own miserable person; and therefore I shall certainly make both ends meet. Away with you, nobler and loftier plans—our striving is infinite, but vulgarity makes everything finite! I send you all good wishes, beloved brother, and ask you to be a brother to me, for I have no one whom I can really call brother. Do as much good to those around you as these evil times allow you to do.⁷

The letters from 1809 to 1813 trace an unbroken arc of resentment, in which Beethoven pins the full blame for his economic vicissitudes on the war with France. His patriotic works follow the same trajectory, from the unfinished battle symphony of 1809 to *Wellingtons Sieg*. The war apparently made a lasting impression; J. F. Rochlitz (editor of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*) recorded a convivial evening with the composer in 1822:

He philosophized, or one might even say politicized, after his own fashion. He spoke of England and the English, and of how both were associated with a splendor incomparable—which, in part, sounded tolerably fantastic. Then he told all sorts of stories of the French, from the days of the second occupation of Vienna. For them he had no kind words.⁸

The nexus of events in 1809—annuity agreement, patriotic movement, defeat, inflation—mark this year as a watershed in Beethoven's political life. From this point on he begins his metamorphosis from a cosmopolitan composer writing heroic works with a distinctly French flavor to a patriotic German writing propaganda pieces against Napoleon.

So far this discussion has stayed within the confines of biography, an interesting but limited resource for musical criticism. The year 1809 merits so much attention, however, because during that year Beethoven pioneered virtually every important new element that would go into creating his late style. Artistically, as well as economically, 1809 marks a major watershed in his career. Four principal directions emerge.

ARTISTIC REPERCUSSIONS

Historicism. Beethoven's serious interest in musical history dates from 1809. In the letter of 26 July he reveals a new pastime:

I had begun to have a little singing party at my rooms every week—but that accursed war put a stop to everything—With this in view and in any case for many other reasons I should be delighted if you would send me by degrees most of the scores you have, I mean, those of Haydn, Mozart, Johann Sebastian Bach, Emanuel Bach and so forth—I have only a few samples of Emanuel Bach's compositions for the clavier; and yet some of them should certainly be in the possession of every true artist, not only for the sake of real enjoyment but also for the purpose of study.

The notion of collecting old works "for the purpose of study" is new for Beethoven. He had previously been content to learn from the most current trends and composers, whether French Revolutionary marches and hymns, the rescue operas of Gaveaux, Cherubini, and Méhul, or Haydn's latest works. His occasional nods to past styles had tended toward parody, as in the *tempo di menuetto* in op. 54 or op. 59, no. 3. A letter of 2 November reveals his new reverence for history:

One thing more: there is hardly any treatise which could be too learned *for me*. I have not the slightest pretension to what is properly called erudition. Yet from my childhood I have striven to understand *what the better and wiser people* of every age were driving at in their works. Shame on an artist who does not consider it his duty to achieve at least as much.

This statement reveals a genuinely historicist attitude, a fascination with the past on its own terms. Beethoven's cultural research also extended beyond music. During August and September he asked his publisher to send him complete editions of Goethe, Schiller, and Wieland. Nor did this grandiose literacy project fade after 1809. The following year Beethoven requested all of C. P. E. Bach's works, as well as J. S. Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* and Mass in B Minor; and in 1812, the day after Mozart's birthday, he demanded "the scores of Mozart's *Clemenza di Tito*—*Così fan tutte*—*Le nozze di Figaro*—*Don Giovanni*—As my little parties at home are being resumed, I need works of that kind."⁹

The historicist impulse left a huge imprint on Beethoven's later music. His rediscovery of Bach led to an incomplete "Denkmal" for string quintet

(1809), a tribute to the “Chromatic” Fantasy and Fugue (and perhaps also the *Goldberg Variations*) in the “Archduke” Trio (1811), numerous transcribed fugues during the 1810s, and finally his profound absorption of Bach’s keyboard works in the last piano sonatas and *Diabelli Variations*. The overture to *Die Weihe des Hauses* (1822) emulates Handel, while the *Heiliger Dankgesang* of op. 132 and the finale of the Ninth Symphony revive still more ancient modes and styles. Beethoven’s supreme historicist statement remains the *Missa solennis*, which, as Warren Kirkendale has shown, pays homage to centuries of Catholic church music.¹⁰

Beethoven’s turn to the past seems clearly motivated by the chaotic events of 1809. His requests for scores and editions appear in the same letters in which he bewails the war and his financial ruin. His turn to history doubtless answered a need for stability, as well as a need to preserve an endangered legacy. Yet, as the letter of 26 July indicates, his collegium musicum had been meeting even before the war. It thus seems that Beethoven was initially responding to the historicist enthusiasm of the patriotic movement. His interests, after all, run solely to German composers and authors (with the exception of the honorary Romantics, Ossian and Homer). Having thrown in his lot with the Hapsburgs, Beethoven immersed himself as zealously in his German heritage as only a few years earlier he had absorbed the latest French fashions.

The new posture may also reflect Beethoven’s changing sense of his own place in history. Haydn died in 1809, only weeks after the French siege, leaving Beethoven undisputed heir to the Viennese tradition. Later in the year Beethoven chose to measure himself against another cultural titan, with his incidental music to Goethe’s *Egmont*. When Beethoven set the poet’s *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt* a few years later, he headed the score with a dedication from the *Odyssey* (canto 8, 479–81):

Alle sterbliche Menschen der Erde nehmen die Sanger
Billig mit Achtung auf und Ehrfurcht, selber die Muse
Lehrt sie den hohen Gesang, und waltet uber die Sanger.

(For all mortals upon the earth treat singers
Freely with attention and respect; the Muse herself
Teaches them the noble song, and rules over singers.)

Odysseus addresses these lines to the blind harper Demodokos, traditionally understood as Homer’s self-portrait. While the inscription refers aptly to the nautical theme of the choral work, it also gave Beethoven a chance to insinuate himself into the Olympian company of Goethe and Homer. In 1810

Beethoven himself would begin the process of canonization, as Breitkopf und Härtel started plans for a complete edition of his works. Beethoven was becoming a classic, and he knew it.

Counterpoint. In 1809 Beethoven undertook an intensive study of counterpoint. The project initially arose from the need to prepare teaching materials for his new composition pupil, the Archduke Rudolph. Nevertheless, the zeal that possessed Beethoven to copy over two hundred pages of learned treatises surely exceeded the promptings of pedagogical duty. This intensive research fits in with Beethoven's general immersion in history and tradition; the death in 1809 of his venerable counterpoint teacher, Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, no doubt added urgency to the project. The fruits of Beethoven's study include the Bachian fugues in the slow movement of the String Quartet in F Minor, op. 95 (1810), and the scherzo of the "Archduke" Trio (1811);¹¹ the fugues in the Cello Sonata in D Major, op. 102, no. 2 (1816), and *Hammerklavier* Sonata (1818); and the plethora of fugues, double fugues, chorale fugues, canons, and species constructions that saturate his works from the 1820s. It is no exaggeration to say that counterpoint becomes a way of thought in Beethoven's late style, as pervasive as sonata form in his earlier works.

The political connotations of learned counterpoint were quite plain. The *stile antico* had stood as a bulwark of conservatism and orthodoxy ever since J. J. Fux published his Hapsburg-funded *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725) as a corrective to a decadent age "when music has become almost arbitrary and composers refuse to be bound by any rules and principles, detesting the very name of school and law like death itself." We have already seen how E. T. A. Hoffmann championed the "Christian-modern" *ars perfecta* against the "pagan-antique" mimesis of Enlightenment aesthetics. A critic for the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* could write in 1814 that "religious concepts carry the stamp of eternity, and music cannot express this better than by the marvelous art of counterpoint, of canonic and fugal writing, which has been brought into contempt only through injustice, irresponsibility, and ignorance." The learned style enjoyed a special prestige in Vienna, as an official stamp of the Hapsburg dynasty; thus, when asked to contribute a variation to Anton Diabelli's project, Archduke Rudolph wrote a fugue. Beethoven's most sustained monument to the old church style, the *Missa sollemnis*, was occasioned by the archduke's installation as Archbishop of Olmütz, an event that the leading conservative spirits of Vienna hailed as a triumphant alliance of Hapsburg-papal power; as Friedrich Gentz wrote to

Adam Müller (16 June 1819), “The nomination of Archbishop Rudolph as Cardinal will show you what a good relationship we enjoy with the pope. Everything that the Prince [Metternich] writes me about this occasion is not merely reassuring to me, but outright joyous.”¹²

Beethoven himself clearly recognized the complicity between *stile antico* and ancien régime. In a letter of 1802, disgusted by Napoleon’s alliance with Rome, he scoffed at the idea of writing a “revolutionary” piano sonata:

Has the devil got hold of you all, gentlemen?—that you suggest that *I should compose such a sonata*—Well, perhaps at the time of the revolutionary fever—such a thing might have been possible, but now, when everything is trying to slip back into the old rut, now that Buonaparte has concluded his Concordat with the Pope—to write a sonata of that kind?—If it were even a *Missa pro Sancta Maria a tre voci*, or a *Vesper* or something of that kind—In that case I would instantly take up my paintbrush—and with fat pound notes dash off a *Credo in unum*. But, good Heavens, such a sonata—in these newly developing Christian times—Ho ho—there you must leave me out.

Seven years later the cynic devoted himself unreservedly to the old Hapsburg tradition. The reason must lie in Beethoven’s new allegiance to the Austrian nobility, above all, his pupil and benefactor the Archduke Rudolph. He cannot have been entirely joking in his reported jibe to a French officer in 1809: “If I, as general, knew as much about strategy as I the composer know of counterpoint, I’d give you something to do!”¹³

Lyricism. A new sense of lyricism enters Beethoven’s style in 1809. In the Sonatas in E-flat Major, op. 81a (“Lebewohl”), and F-sharp Major, op. 78 (“À Thérèse”), the Quartet in E-flat Major, op. 74 (“Harp”), and the Fantasia op. 77, Beethoven discovered an intimate tone that departs from the monumental, hortatory temper of his heroic manner. These gentle works, which open a new space for leisurely melody, show a genuinely Romantic shift from drama to lyrical reflection. In 1809 Beethoven also began work on George Thomson’s Scottish folksong project, mailing off his first forty-three arrangements in July 1810; over the next decade he would set a total of 156 of these simple tunes. The lyrical mood that Beethoven explored in the piano and chamber works of 1809 continued throughout the 1810s, reaching consummation in the late piano sonatas and many movements of the late quartets. The whole flowering of “voice” that Joseph Kerman has

detected in the late works springs from seeds planted in 1809 (not least being Beethoven's intensive new involvement with folksong).¹⁴ The public Ninth Symphony, with its dramatic discovery of the human voice, also partakes of Beethoven's lyrical renaissance, and even the monumental *Missa solemnis* bears an intimate inscription that one would sooner expect above a Schumann piano miniature: "Vom Herzen—möge es wieder—zu Herzen gehn!"

Significantly, all the intimate works of 1809 date from after Austria's defeat. Moreover, the only truly heroic work of 1809, the "Emperor" Piano Concerto, was mostly composed before the war. It seems that Beethoven's turn inward somehow registers his response to the trauma in the outer world. The introverted mood might be heard as Beethoven's retreat from the "drums, cannons, and human misery," as a yearning for an imperiled beauty.¹⁵ Or, as I would suggest, Beethoven was enlisting lyricism in a more active form of resistance, as a means of cleansing a style tainted by French monumentality. The Sonata in E-flat ("Lebewohl"), the first of the gentle creations of 1809, demonstrates this revision of the heroic style. The sonata traces a typical Beethovenian trajectory, from alienation to despair to triumph. At the same time the program suggests a covert political message: the homecoming of the archduke, forced into exile by Napoleon, can be understood as the restoration of legitimate power to Austria. The *empfindsamer Stil* works together with the Romantic horn calls and the German titles and expression marks to evoke a distinctly native ethos—a hero in *Lederhosen*. In a letter to his publishers Beethoven actually stressed the contrast between German *Innigkeit* and French pomposity, as expressed in the alternative titles of the sonata: "'Lebewohl' means something quite different from 'Les Adieux.' The first is said in a warm-hearted manner to one person, the other to a whole assembly, to entire towns."¹⁶ Lyricism, no less than ancient music or learned counterpoint, offered Beethoven a way beyond the monumental style of French neoclassicism.

Let us linger a moment over the work that best demonstrates the subversive possibilities of lyricism, the "Harp" Quartet. For all its beguiling elegance, the quartet amounts to nothing less than a conscious renunciation of the heroic style. In the scherzo, for the first time, Beethoven seems to parody his own heroic manner. The unusual turn to C minor, the obsessive use of his famous four-note motive, the *maggiore* fugal trio, and the unbroken transition to the finale inevitably recall the scherzo of the Fifth Symphony, com-

posed only months before. The quartet answers this stormy outburst with a serene variation set in E \flat , a gentle reproach to the bombastic finale of the symphony. Memories of the *Eroica* also creep in with the D \flat that intrudes upon the opening bars. This sour note echoes as insistently throughout the quartet as the celebrated C \sharp in the symphony: it flares up twice in the *sotto voce* introduction (bars 13 and 17) and returns to cast a mysterious little cloud over the bridge (44–47); it provides the most important modulation in both second and third movements; and it returns in bare contrast to the tonic in the final variation of the finale. Comparing symphony and quartet, we can recognize the naive lyrical strain underlying both E \flat works. But we will surely marvel far more at the divergent paths they take. The *Eroica* tears itself from Eden to wander the thistled earth; the “Harp” peeks out of the garden gate, then goes back to its hoops and dolls.

The way that the finale of op. 74 does resolve the disruptive energies of the scherzo belongs entirely to Beethoven’s late style. The variations follow a strict odd-even pattern, alternating between *forte-staccato* and *piano-legato*.¹⁷ Not only do the opposing moods remain separate, they grow increasingly estranged. The odd variations become more chiseled and vigorous, searching out the offbeat accents of the theme, while the even variations melt into progressively amorphous lyrical effusions. By the fifth variation, accents fall on both offbeat and downbeat, while the first violin’s phrasing creates yet another level of offbeat accents; the sixth variation responds by dissolving rhythm, melodic contour, and almost harmony itself into one euphonious ooze. The finale maintains its opposing elements in a steady equilibrium, rather than seeking a dialectical resolution. It is a new technique for handling musical conflict that permeates the late works, in the sonatas, quartets, bagatelles, symphony, and mass.

The first movement of the “Harp” introduces another innovation, giving a vivid preview of the later Beethoven’s dichotomy between the lyrical surface and more recondite, subterranean processes. The first-movement theme, like the contrasting variations in the finale, yokes together *forte-staccato* and *piano-legato* motives. Beethoven even signals the connection between movements by beginning the finale variations with a reminder of the *Allegro* coda, which ended with another arpeggiated motive in contrary motion. These arpeggios derive, of course, from the opening triadic motive. This little fanfare stands somewhere between an introduction and a theme proper, for while it begins the *Allegro*, it does not belong within the periodic structure of the following lyrical idea. As in the finale, the *staccato* and *legato* elements of the first theme develop in strict isolation across the movement. The lyrical motive evolves luxuriantly in the more discursive

stretches (introduction, first theme, and development), while the fanfaric triad spins its *pizzicato* magic in the nooks and crannies of the form (transition and retransition). The casual listener might even fail to trace these enchanting “harp” effects back to the opening motive. For Beethoven is not developing so much a motive as the idea of “arpeggiation.” This process exemplifies “subthematicism,” the tendency that Dahlhaus has traced in Beethoven’s works from 1809 onward, in which overt thematic development gives way to more abstract, hidden processes.¹⁸ Surface theme and motivic substratum, so carefully united in the *Eroica*, drift apart in this movement. In yet another way Beethoven is sundering the dramatic unities of the heroic style.

When the two halves of the first-movement theme finally do rejoin in the coda (bars 232–46), more startling glimpses of the late style appear. A well-oiled counterpoint fuses the lyrical motive (in canon between viola and second violin) with the *pizzicato* motive (cello). The first violin, meanwhile, plays a third-species, *arco* countersubject that began as a diminution of the *pizzicato* arpeggios (221–26). Thus, the two motives combine along the vertical axis of counterpoint. This contrapuntal manner of reconciling opposing elements ranks among the most important discoveries of Beethoven’s later style. As a formal principle, it resembles the alternating variations of the finale. For counterpoint provides another way of resolving musical conflict that has nothing to do with the dialectical drama of sonata form. This is the most revolutionary meaning of counterpoint in the late style: not that Beethoven wrote lots of fugues, but that he used counterpoint within sonata form itself to undermine the linear trajectory of the heroic style. The expressive world of the late works, whether the “Ode to Joy” or the late quartets, rests fundamentally upon the vertical contrasts made possible by counterpoint.

Lyricism thus belongs within a whole cluster of new musical resources in op. 74, all of which cut against the grain of the heroic style. This modest, exquisitely crafted work explodes with new directions—retrospective self-parody, the balance of dynamism and lyricism, subthematicism, the contrapuntal reconciliation of opposites—which Beethoven would only integrate into a coherent style a decade later. Nor do the many novelties leave the least sign of strain upon the quartet. The “Harp” shepherds them all with breathtaking elegance. This quartet, which received wisdom holds for a facile and conservative work, may be the most prophetic piece Beethoven ever wrote.

Written-out cadenzas. During 1809 Beethoven developed a sudden interest in composing concerto cadenzas. Previously, as Ludwig Misch has

pointed out, Beethoven was content to let other pianists introduce their own material and even insisted that Ferdinand Ries write his own cadenza for the Third Piano Concerto.¹⁹ He now composed cadenzas for Mozart's Concerto in D Minor and most likely also the cadenzas for his own previous four concertos. In his new "Emperor" Concerto Beethoven for the first time wrote the cadenzas into the score itself. From the opening bars the soloist's rhapsodic improvisation is integrated into the structure, with the three opening flourishes returning in the recapitulation. So concerned was Beethoven to control the improvisatory element in the "Emperor" that he inserted a stern admonition at the end of the movement: "NB. Non si fa una Cadenza, ma s'attacca subito il sequente" (NB. Do not play a cadenza, but attack the next movement immediately). Later in the same year he also composed a cadenza for the published version of the Choral Fantasy.

The importance of cadenzas for the late style may not be immediately apparent, especially as Beethoven completed no further concertos after 1809. Yet written-out improvisations become standard features in his late works, especially before the last movement (the "Emperor" is again prototypical). A cluster of works from 1815–16 (the Cello Sonata in C Major, op. 102, no. 1, the Piano Sonata in A Major, op. 101, and the song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte*) develop this resource in intriguing ways, as does the *Hammerklavier* Sonata. In the 1820s improvisatory passages are almost de rigueur before Beethoven's finales, most famously in the Ninth Symphony. This new internalized soloist, who intrudes at the dramatic crux of the sonata cycle, further complicates the heroic trajectory.

A comment from 1814, to the piano virtuoso Johann Wenzel Tomaschek hints at Beethoven's motivation in writing out all these cadenzas:

It has always been known that the greatest pianoforte players were also the greatest composers; but how did they play? Not like the pianists of today, who prance up and down the keyboard with passages which they have practiced—putsch, putsch, putsch;—what does that mean? Nothing! When true pianoforte virtuosi played it was always something homogeneous, an entity; if written down it would appear as a well thought-out work. That is pianoforte playing; the other thing is nothing!²⁰

Beethoven's tirade reveals the same high-minded concern for integrating improvisation and composition that is so evident in the "Emperor." The cadenza project belongs, like the historical and contrapuntal studies, within a campaign in defense of a serious musical culture—a culture that must have seemed particularly fragile in 1809. The concerto was particularly vulner-

able to abuse, with the cult of the virtuoso inviting displays ranging from the exhibitionistic to the downright freakish. Beethoven nipped this threat in the bud by inscribing the improvisation within the text. In effect, Beethoven was inscribing an improvising presence within the text itself. A “composer’s voice,” in the most literal sense, enters into the musical representation.

BEETHOVEN’S TWO PERIODS

It remains to collate the musical developments of 1809 with the political and economic events of that year. At the risk of oversimplifying a complex web of circumstances and motivations, I would suggest that the central theme running through Beethoven’s stylistic discoveries is a desire for control. A dread of chaos haunts his correspondence in 1809, as war and inflation shattered his financial and artistic security. Each of his new directions represents a way of reclaiming control, if only over the musical text. In historical models Beethoven could find a haven against the stormy present, in counterpoint a sense of discipline and timeless tradition; lyricism offered an escape from the tumult of the heroic style, while the composed cadenza extended compositional authority over the least predictable element of all, improvisation.

A letter of 21 August 1810 illuminates this relationship between outer and inner worlds. Beethoven begins by complaining to his publisher about the Continental System, Napoleon’s blockade of England:

A copy on the Continent is absolutely out of the question; and I think it highly improbable that these works have now arrived in London. For at the moment the blockade is even stricter than it has ever been; and an Englishman has to pay enormous sums for letters to Germany; and heavier parcels are even more expensive—In short, I am convinced that by September not a single note of the works I sent you will have yet been published.

Some haggling over prices leads to a familiar lament over his economic situation and hampered artistic conditions:

The deuce take the economics of music—Last year, before the arrival of the French, my 4000 gulden [annuity] were worth something. This year they are not even worth 1000 gulden A.C.—Although you may think so, my purpose in life is not to become a profiteer in musical art, one who composes solely in order to become rich, God forbid! But I like to live in-

dependently; and that I cannot do without a small income. . . . You as a more humane and far better educated person than all other music publishers ought also to set yourself the aim not to pay the artist a mere pittance, but rather to guide him and enable him to create in undisturbed surroundings what he is capable of expressing and what other people expect of him.

There follow instructions on dedications, printing, and expressive markings, as well as a question about a complete edition of his own works. Then a remark about the proper notation of the *Egmont* music sparks a fulmination against the current musical culture:

This is a necessary precaution in a century when there are no more conservatoires of music and when, therefore, no more musical directors nor indeed any other people are being trained, but are simply left to chance—At the same time we have money to spend on some emasculated fellow, from whom art gains nothing whatever, but thanks to whom the palates of our so-called great ones, who, in any case, have lost their appetite and their capacity for enjoyment, are tickled.²¹

“Chance” is the pivotal word here. The musical culture, like the outer world, has come adrift from its moorings, and mere anarchy reigns. For each decadent symptom Beethoven detects—the lack of education, the death of tradition, the invasion of the foreign virtuoso, the decline of taste—there is an antidote in his own artistic development during 1809. A distinctly conservative trend runs through Beethoven’s musical innovations during this disorderly year. Not coincidentally, each innovation dampens, defuses, or somehow complicates his heroic style—a style founded upon a faith in the rational, orderly course of human history.

We thus face an odd quirk of reception history. In 1810 E. T. A. Hoffmann set forth his interpretation of the Fifth Symphony, revealing a tremendous gap between his Romantic metaphysics and the enlightened aesthetic of Beethoven’s heroic style. Between the composition of the symphony and the review Beethoven had closed that gap at a furious pace. By the time Hoffmann set pen to paper, Beethoven was securely in his camp, beginning to write like the good Germanic, “Christian-modern” composer the poet had always taken him for. While it might have pained Hoffmann to learn that Beethoven had once dedicated a symphony to Napoleon, he could now rest assured that his hero had seen the light.

And so we come to the main point of this chapter, in fact, of this entire book. There is no need to ascribe the inward retreat of Beethoven’s late

music to a resigned protest against Metternich, the police state, or the Restoration at all. That course was charted long before during an entirely different political climate. Beethoven's turn to archaism, to counterpoint, to lyrical introspection, and to textualism coincides with the most engaged, active period of his political life in Vienna. The changes in his musical style, like the explicit texts of his patriotic works, all line up with the Romantic political movement—a movement that entertained genuinely utopian hopes from the *Befreiungskriege* and that directly linked spiritual reform to political meliorism. Beethoven's dissolution of the heroic style is no retreat at all, but a proclamation of new allegiances and a critique of old ideals. To put it bluntly, the same ideology that shaped Beethoven's late style helped create the Restoration.

Returning to the question of style periods, it should be clear that Pestelli by no means overestimated the importance of 1809 and the French siege of Vienna. As a watershed in Beethoven's political development only one other date can compare—1789, year of the French Revolution. In this year Beethoven matriculated at the Bonn *Hochschule*, immersing himself perhaps for the first time in the wider realms of ideas that would lift his music above mere craftsmanship into the realm of *Tondichtung*. In the following year he wrote the two imperial cantatas for the *Lesegesellschaft*, the first works in which he explicitly addressed ideological concerns. In the second cantata appears the first trace of his lifelong fascination with Schiller's "An die Freude," and soon thereafter we learn from Fischenich that the composer had his heart set on "the great and the sublime." The storming of the Bastille seems to have been a key factor in converting Beethoven from an epigonous artisan into a maverick bent on infusing the high Viennese style with the headiest mixture of philosophy, poetry, and political thought.²²

Therefore, in the interests of creatively muddying the periodization waters still further, I will conclude with a new bipartite model of Beethoven's political development. In 1789, like other members of the Romantic generation, Beethoven imbibed a new sense of political possibilities from the French Revolution. Twenty years later, long after so many of his contemporaries had lost their taste for the French experiment, the trauma of the Napoleonic wars forced the composer to reconsider and temper his Revolutionary enthusiasm. In each case the newly planted ideas germinated for roughly a decade, developing within the intimate milieu of piano and chamber works. Each period of growth culminated in a stunning harvest of seven years, in which a coherent synthesis of musical and political ideals becomes evident in every genre. During the years 1802–8 and 1820–26 this integrated style first appears in the piano sonata and variation set, finds mon-

umental public expression in a grand symphony and vocal work, and attains a final rarefaction in the string quartet. Perhaps, then, the second period does not so much speak a new word as revise the first—it is said that every great thinker has only one idea to spin out over a lifetime. Beethoven's political muse, we might say, really sang the same song twice. Understanding the message of the late works means tuning our ears to the strange new accents in the familiar lay.

5 Contrapunctus I: Prelude and Fugue

In March 1819 Karl Sand, a delusional theology student and member of the radical *Burschenschaft* movement, stabbed to death the conservative playwright and former Tsarist agent August von Kotzebue. The assassination of Kotzebue (for whose plays *Die Ruinen von Athen* and *König Stephan* Beethoven had supplied incidental music), prompted the Karlsbad Decrees, which severely curtailed political expression throughout the Germanic *Staatenbund*. The following year Friedrich Schlegel published the first installment of “Signatur des Zeitalters,” a rambling political essay that ran in Vienna over the course of three years. Schlegel had many years before converted to Catholicism and settled in the Austrian capital, serving as an official propagandist for Franz I during the Napoleonic wars. The aging Romantic author sought to diagnose the spiritual and political unrest festering since the Congress of Vienna. The chief symptom, he claimed, was “the *inner* lack of peace [*innere* Unfriede] that, within the reign of a strongly and securely founded *outer* peace [*äussere* Friedens], is yet breaking out everywhere, and is so generally evident to all observers that it seems almost to increase and spread in a rising progression.”¹ The root of this unrest lay in the cult of the “Absolute” that gripped philosophy and politics alike. The reckless pursuit of abstractions, Schlegel protested, had lured European civilization beyond the stable moorings of tradition and faith onto a tossing sea of metaphysical speculation and political divisiveness.

The only hope of salvation, insisted Schlegel, lay in religious revival: “The malaise of the age cannot be solved by material forces and means alone. It requires a higher solution from above, a hand and power that cannot fail to loose the Gordian knot.” Schlegel harked back to an idealized medieval theocracy, in which Rome held sway over even kings and emperors: “True inner and spiritual peace can only enter into the hearts of men

through religion, and the church is precisely the body, appointed and organized by the supreme monarch, for the revelation, correction, and ever higher protection and propagation of this inner peace."² Schlegel returned to the same theme in his lecture series "Philosophie des Lebens," delivered in Vienna during the year of Beethoven's death:

Such an inner peace would certainly be more than a simple peace between states with its transitory benefit; it would be almost like regarding a newly sanctified peace of God and the higher spirit, or at least a provisional beginning and the best initiative of it. But this peace will not be brought forth by diplomatic arts, still less by scientific hypothesis, but only through a direct act of God.

Schlegel's prescription recalls Novalis's hopeful vision in *Die Christenheit oder Europa*: "Only religion can reawaken Europe, make its people secure, and install Christendom with new glory in her old seat as peacemaker, visible to the whole world."³ Yet only a brittle echo of the *Frühromantik* utopianism returns. By the 1820s the millennialist vision had hardened into dogmatic quietism.

Schlegel's reference to inner and outer peace curiously recalls Beethoven's inscription to the *Dona nobis pacem* of the *Missa solennis*, "Bitte um innere und äußere Frieden." The composition of the *Missa* coincides almost exactly with the appearance of "Signatur des Zeitalters." No evidence suggests that Beethoven ever read the essay (although Schlegel's name appears sporadically in the conversation books). Nevertheless, instructive parallels can be drawn between Schlegel's vision of peace and this most politically suggestive movement in the late works.

Beethoven originally referred to the *Dona nobis pacem* as a "representing" (*darstellend*), rather than praying for, peace, and two musical signs stand out in his depiction. The first is the battle music that intrudes at the end of the exposition (bars 164–89); the second is a quotation from Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus" in the transitional fugato of the reprise (216–40).⁴ Following the trumpet calls and choral wailing, the allusion to *Messiah* sounds a note of divine assurance. The remembered words of Handel's chorus "And He Shall Reign for Ever and Ever" refer appropriately to the chiliastic reign of Christ, which promises a perpetual peace on earth. The progression from military band to sacred oratorio thus suggests a musical analogue to Schlegel's *pax catholica*.

Feldmusik and fugato also dramatize a major stylistic dichotomy in Beethoven's works from the 1820s. The band evokes march and battle music, legacy of the *Eroica*, Fifth Symphony, and other heroic works; the fu-

gato appeals to the newer influence of archaic counterpoint. The battle music projects the visceral energy of the tonic-dominant axis, lifeblood of the heroic style; the fugato traces a descent by thirds, the more diffuse, subdominant-inflected tonal organization that permeates Beethoven's later music. The first erupts in homophonic melody; the second balances the individual lines in strict counterpoint. If at the symbolic level the *Dona nobis pacem* opposes secular strife and divine peace, at the stylistic level it plays out a conflict between old and new elements in Beethoven's musical language.

The two levels, of course, are not easily separated. Beethoven's rediscovery of counterpoint coincided with, and was doubtless influenced by, the war of 1809. Beethoven himself clearly understood archaic counterpoint as a symbol of orthodoxy and ancien régime. Indeed, the occasion that called forth the *Missa solemnis*, his most sustained exploration of the contrapuntal past, was a celebration of conservative ultramontanism. Thus, even at the level of style, the contrast between military band and fugato suggests a political vision not unlike Schlegel's.

Yet Beethoven differed fundamentally from a reactionary like Schlegel (who deemed the medieval *Ständestaat* as timeless as a mathematical theorem)⁵ in that he did not seek to replace the present with the past, but allowed the two to interpenetrate. Beethoven did compose many purely contrapuntal movements or subsections, such as the *Grosse Fuge* or the Lydian sections of the *Heiliger Dankgesang*. More intriguing, however, are those movements in which he injected contrapuntal themes into his sonata forms. Beethoven could turn to many eighteenth-century models for this mixture of historical styles, most notably certain movements of Mozart's. Yet Beethoven's hybrid movements do not amount to the synthetic *terza pratica* that Warren Kirkendale praised in the "Jupiter" Symphony finale or the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*. On the contrary, Beethoven seems intent on exploring the frictions that result when two distinct historical styles collide. Like prehistoric creatures brought to life within a strange new ecosystem, Beethoven's contrapuntal themes wreak a fascinating havoc with his sonata forms.

This and the following chapter will explore this historical confrontation according to three models from the contrapuntal past—prelude, fugue, and double fugue. We shall study the first movements from the Piano Sonatas in E Major and C Minor, opp. 109 and 111; the first movements of the String Quartets in E-flat Major, A Minor, and B-flat Major, opp. 127, 132, and 130; and the finale of the String Quartet in C-sharp Minor, op. 131. These six eccentric sonata forms bear the scars of a conflict between two inimical

styles—the one dynamic and dialectical, the other rooted in the more static mentality of an earlier age. The ways in which Beethoven handled these antitheses constitute his own contribution to Romantic political thought.

PRELUDE

The *Dona nobis pacem* provides another point of departure, this time in the second theme (bars 131–38). This brief idea, setting the single word “*pacem*,” exemplifies a harmonic and contrapuntal construction common to Beethoven’s later music. The lower line, begun by the basses and continued (up an octave) by the altos, descends an octave in even “white” notes, doubled above by parallel thirds. The strings fill out the linear framework with an ornamental descent in steady eighth notes. The crystalline structure evokes a moment of pure stasis, an oasis of suspended time. Beethoven first used this construction in 1809 for the finale of the Piano Sonata in G Major, op. 79 (although it is foreshadowed in the “*Deutsches Lied*” of the Bonn *Ritterballett*). The bass again traces an octave descent in even notes against a counterpoint in the soprano, producing an alternating pattern of root and first-inversion triads. As in the second theme of the *Dona nobis pacem*, this smooth contrapuntal scaffolding supports a single, repeating rhythmic figure. The static construction matches the faux-naïve manner of this stylized dance movement, in which a series of discrete textures alternate in abrupt succession. Beethoven used the same type of theme in another piano miniature, the *Bagatelle* in G Major, op. 126, no. 5, from 1824. The contrapuntal texture and harmonic pattern are virtually unchanged and again support an unchanging figuration in the top voice. As in the finale of op. 79, the underlying counterpoint provides an ideal scaffolding for spinning out a single characteristic ornament or rhythm.

A thematic type that nestles comfortably into a sonatina finale or character piece creates an entirely different effect in a first-movement sonata form. Beethoven chose precisely the same contrapuntal construction for the first theme of his Sonata in E Major, op. 109 (see Example 5). While he could have derived this particular type of theme from any number of historical models (such as the first-act quintet from Mozart’s *Die Zauberflöte*, which he actually copied out), the Sonata in E most closely resembles the preludes of J. S. Bach. Tovey first compared the first movement to “the texture of Bach’s arpeggio preludes,” while Philip Radcliffe later noted that “the innocent ear may easily take the whole movement for a quasi-Bachian ‘pattern’ piece with two emotional adagio interruptions.” The impressions of the

EXAMPLE 5. Piano Sonata in E Major, op. 109, first movement (exposition)

Vivace *sempre legato*

p dolce *cresc.*

6 *Adagio espressivo*

f *p* *cresc.*

10 *f* *cresc.* *p* *cresc.* 5 6

12 *f* *Red.* *p* *cresc.* *p*

13 *f* *Red.* *dim.* *p*

(continued)

EXAMPLE 5 (continued)

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff, labeled with a box containing the number 14, is a piano part in G major. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music is marked 'espress.' and 'cresc.'. A dashed line with the number 8 above it spans from the first measure to the eighth measure. The bottom staff, labeled with a box containing the number 15, is a piano part with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. It features a forte ('sf') dynamic and a 'dim.' (diminuendo) marking. Above the piano part, a vocal line is shown with the lyrics 'ri - tar - dan - do dolce' and the tempo marking 'tempo I'. The vocal line starts with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature.

innocent ear are supported by William Meredith's discovery that the first movement of op. 109 was originally conceived as a short character piece for Friedrich Starke's collection *Wiener Piano-Forte-Schule*. Beethoven was certainly involved with the *Well-Tempered Clavier* at the time; fragments of several fugues appear amid the sketches for the *Hammerklavier Sonata*, and a jotting from the Fugue in B-flat Major in Book I even suggests a model for the finale. Moreover, he composed op. 109 while working on the *Diabelli Variations*, whose homage to Bach seems to extend beyond the *Goldberg Variations* to the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.⁶ The finale of op. 109 itself pays no small tribute to the *Goldberg Variations*, with the four-square sarabande theme, the fluctuating meters and characters of the variations, and the return of the intact theme.

The first feature in op. 109 that calls to mind a Bach prelude is the strictness with which the *Vivace* sections adhere to a single figuration and texture. Whereas the finale of op. 79 spins kaleidoscopically through several textures and rhythms, the opening theme of the *Vivace* unfolds its Lombardic rhythm in an unbroken, single-minded flow. Second, the rolled seventh chord preceding the *adagio espressivo* (bar 9) instantly recalls the Preludes in C Minor and D Major from Book I of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, in which a motoric rhythm suddenly gives way to an improvisatory passage. Third, Beethoven continually exploits the possibility of contrapuntal inversion between the two hands, a favorite technique of expansion in Bach's preludes. (Just how central inversion was to Beethoven's conception

of the Bach prelude can be seen immediately by glancing at the opening bars of the “Two Preludes through all major keys,” his Bonn tribute to the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.)

A theme derived from the Baroque prelude does not easily adapt to the dynamics of sonata form. In particular, the contrapuntal construction of the theme implies a different type of development—a process concerned less with the evolution of new shapes out of small motives than with the unfolding of a complex inner structure. This new conception of development can be seen in Beethoven’s extraordinary fascination with contrapuntal inversion. The right and left hands first trade material at the beginning of the development (bar 16 ff.), switch back at the beginning of the recapitulation (48 ff.), then reverse roles once more on the second statement of the theme (52–54). The coda treats the process of inversion as an alternating pattern, with the hands exchanging parts every two bars, four times in all (65–74).

Contrapuntal inversion becomes a governing idea throughout the entire sonata. The first theme of the second movement, another example of double counterpoint constructed above a descending octave bass, undergoes inversion in the recapitulation (bars 112–20). The closing theme, also in double counterpoint, inverts in both the exposition and recapitulation (57–65, 158–67). The third variation of the finale, a contredanse stylization akin to the finale of op. 79, practically amounts to an academic exercise in contrapuntal inversion. Beethoven subdivides the first strain of the binary theme into two nearly identical halves (the second an ornamented version of the first), subdividing each half into invertible four-bar modules (1–16). In the second strain he carries the process further still, introducing an internal inversion into an invertible eight-bar module—the hands, that is, switch parts in a phrase that already contains an inversion (17–32).

Alongside inversion, revoicing emerges as an important new developmental technique. The *legato* line that seems to materialize ex nihilo in the development of the first movement (bars 22–48) proves on closer examination to have been already latent within the *Vivace* theme. The right hand originally sustained quarter notes on the alternating upper and lower notes of the arpeggio figure (1–2), producing a chain of thirds (g#–b–e–g#–c#–e). Already in bars 3–4, however, these quarter notes emerge in a continuous melody in the top voice (e–f#–g#). In the development Beethoven fully unearths the quarter notes, creating a smooth melodic line in the top voice. This is hardly thematic development—not, at any rate, in Beethoven’s usual manner. He has, so to speak, merely re-arranged the contrapuntal furniture.

For Dahlhaus the *legato* line in the development represented Beethoven's exploration of the "subthematic" linearity of the *Vivace*, his "thematic dissertation on the stepwise progression in the bass."⁷ This explanation perhaps belabors what is merely a simple process of varying a theme through revoicing. Still, Dahlhaus pinpoints the centrality of linear construction in Beethoven's formal conception. Indeed, the sustained notes within the *Vivace* theme trace a virtually unbroken line across the movement. The line first ascends toward b'' in the opening *Vivace*, a move that is stymied at a#'' by the sudden *adagio espressivo* and not completed until the resumption of the *Vivace*. The ascent continues through the development, now foregrounded in the soprano voice, retracing the climb to b'' and rising steadily to a climactic b''' at the recapitulation. This is a radically new way of handling a development section for Beethoven, in which a single linear progression totally displaces motivic development, juxtaposition of themes, or any other procedure. Jürgen Uhde has noted the odd effect:

This development thus certainly cannot be viewed as the dramatic relationship of interacting subjects, but rather as a single, large arching motion to the reprise, whose beginning blurs wholly with the end of the development. . . . As opposed to many other sonatas, this development creates not a more diverse, but rather a more uniform, simpler effect than the exposition.⁸

The development seems strange, of course, only if we insist on thinking of the movement as a sonata form. If instead we hear it as an interrupted Baroque prelude, nothing could seem more normal than Beethoven's procedure. We do not expect contrast or drama within a prelude, but merely the exhaustion of a single figure.

The prelude model also accounts for the most striking anomaly of the first movement—the lack of any connecting bridge or closing section between the two themes. Once we conceive the movement as a discourse on a single figure, the *adagio espressivo* appears no longer as a second theme, but merely as a rhapsodic interruption or "parenthesis," as Kinderman put it.⁹ Where there is no true second theme, there is no need for transitions. All of the tonal events of sonata form—modulation to the dominant, establishment of the new key, retransition to the tonic—are accomplished by the *Vivace*. The *adagio espressivo* serves merely as a prolongation, deflecting the expected resolution of a#'' to b'' and filling in the semitones in the gap opened between f#''' and a#'' in bar 8. The real function of the *adagio* is to

slow down the rapid Baroque harmonic pace of the *Vivace*, stretching out the I–V modulation to sonata-form proportions.

Beethoven found in Bach's preludes not merely the resources of inversion and linear development, but a radically new conception of theme itself. A contrapuntal structure designed to support a single characteristic figure answered the Baroque demand for a unity of affection. It could even be accommodated to Classical style within a rondo finale, bagatelle, or static second theme. But it poses a real challenge to Beethoven's accustomed procedure in the opening themes of his sonata forms, which normally consist of a cluster of small, fluid motives. The result in op. 109 is, to borrow a term from Stravinskian analysis, an "abrupt block juxtaposition" of discrete, lapidary themes.¹⁰ Without the motivic tissue of bridge or closing material, the *Vivace* and *Adagio espressivo* simply butt up against one another. Beyond a brief rapprochement in the coda, each theme inhabits its own separate world.

We may perhaps best understand Beethoven's new contrapuntal conception of theme by considering a musical genre in which he took a seemingly endless delight during his final decade—the humorous canon. These occasional jeux d'esprit bear more than a trifling relation to his major works. The canon "Es muss sein" became the finale of the Quartet in F Major, op. 135, while "Doktor sperrt dem Tor den Tod" spoofs the *Heiliger Dankgesang* of op. 132; even the theme of the *Grosse Fuge* can be found in a canon for Friedrich Kuhlau, "Kühl, nicht lau." Nicholas Marston has found a canon among the sketches for the first movement of op. 109—probably intended for E. T. A. Hoffmann!¹¹ These canons lend a serious insight into Beethoven's musical thought. In a canon, to put it simply, theme and form are identical. Once devised, the melody of the canon contains the entire seed of its development. The challenge lies neither in developing motives, spinning out melodies, nor balancing key areas, but simply in inventing an internally complex, self-combinatorial theme.

The *Vivace* theme possesses just such a "precompositional" complexity, an inner contrapuntal fullness that the form appears merely to unfold. This contrapuntal theme utterly transforms the fundamental procedures of sonata form as Beethoven had once practiced them. The organic development of motives gives way to the quasi-geometrical operations of inversion and revoicing; the drama of opposing key centers to a uniform linear expansion; logical motivic connections to the juxtaposition of monolithic thematic blocks.

The Sonata in E thus inaugurates Beethoven's "contrapuntal project," his strange program for confronting modern dialectical forms with archaic discursive procedures. Two distinct models overlap in the first movement of

op. 109. The thematic and tonal polarity between the *Vivace* and *Adagio espressivo* pay tribute to the modern dialectics of sonata form. Yet the continuity of the *Vivace* sections and the tireless play with a single figure belong to the Baroque prelude. Neither paradigm dominates, nor is either unproblematic. We are meant, apparently, to feel the conflict between the two models and the different historical styles to which they belong.

The Sonata in E has a close companion in the first movement of the Quartet in E-flat Major, op. 127. While the principal theme of the *Allegro* hardly suggests a keyboard prelude, its contrapuntal construction and development follow the same direction as the *Vivace* of op. 109. An eight-bar *basso* again supports a repeating upper line, made up this time of two characteristic motives (hereafter, *x* and *y*), the one circling in quarter notes, the other descending in eighths. The two lines again move in parallel motion, at the invertible interval of the tenth. As befits the quartet genre, the inner voices fill out this double counterpoint with a fourth-species embroidery. Beethoven has crafted another little thematic universe, a monad ripe with its own principles of development.

The movement features another “abrupt block juxtaposition,” between the contrapuntal *Allegro* and the opening *Maestoso*. This contrast harks back to the “Harp” Quartet; as Kerman remarked, “the composite theme of op. 127 can be thought of as a more ‘extreme’ version of the theme-type employed in op. 74, namely, an antecedent-consequent idea passing from force to gentleness.”¹² Kerman’s comparison with the “Harp” might be extended to the earlier finale. For the first movement of op. 127 not only juxtaposes *forte-staccato* and *piano-legato* ideas but seals them in separate tempos and meters, recalling the odd-even variations of the “Harp” finale. The *Allegro* even bears the same marking as the even variations in op. 74 (*sempre p e dolce*). As in the earlier finale, the contrast grows starker across the movement, with the *Maestoso* expanding from two to four octaves and the *Allegro* indulging in ever more negligent arabesques.

The luxuriant development of the *Allegro* sections grows out of the contrapuntal design of the principal theme. As in op. 109, the inner complexity of the theme permits an exploration both far-reaching yet homogeneous. But whereas in the piano sonata the theme unfolded in one uniform wave, the quartet theme metamorphoses through a series of “developing variations” (see Example 6):

- (Bars 33–40): The process begins in the transition to the second theme. The solo cello line shuffles the motives of the *Allegro*

theme, beginning with a variant of *y* and appending a circling idea whose sequential fourths transform *x*. This line settles into a little double counterpoint with the first violin, who plays a motive forecasting the second theme. The modest counterpoint is instantly inverted, then forgotten.

- (Bars 57–62): The second theme ends in another fleeting counterpoint, this time with three separate motives, a version of *x* and two ideas derived from the second theme. With true Bachian rigor, Beethoven states this triple counterpoint thrice in different permutations.
- (Bars 140–46): At the end of the development, after the third *Maestoso*, another triple counterpoint emerges, which Beethoven again runs through thrice with permutations.
- (Bars 171–78): The recapitulation reveals another (surprisingly late) possibility for the original counterpoint. For the first time, cello and violin switch parts in a highly ornamented inversion of the original counterpoint.
- (Bars 245–56): In the coda, finally, Beethoven concentrates on balancing mirror versions of the first four bars of the *basso*. This takes the form of one last triple counterpoint, stated thrice with permutations.

These five variations point to a fundamental change in Beethoven's conception of thematic development. He is not transforming motives, but whole complexes of double and triple counterpoint. He is developing a contrapuntal theme *contrapuntally*. As often noted, Beethoven changed his sketching method with the late quartets, jotting down his ideas in score, rather than as single melodic lines. Judging from the first fruits of op. 127, these new work habits reflected a genuine change in his musical thinking.

The developing variations that span the first movement of op. 127 owe nothing to the dialectics of sonata form. The first movement lacks any compelling conflict of key or theme, making, as Kerman put it, "a burgeoning, not a dramatic statement."¹³ The real contrast arises from the opposition of *Maestoso* and *Allegro*, as each tempo expands to consummation. Even this conflict fails to coordinate with the events of sonata form: while the first two *Maestoso* sections coincide with the beginning of the exposition and development, the third falls incongruously within the development. The sonata-form paradigm appears pale and vestigial beside the contest of *Maestoso* and *Allegro* or the vital growth of the contrapuntal *Allegro* theme. The question

EXAMPLE 6. String Quartet in E-flat Major, op. 127, first movement (contrapuntal variations)

a. Bridge, mm. 33–40

Musical score for the bridge section (mm. 33–40) of the String Quartet in E-flat Major, op. 127, first movement. The score is written for four staves (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass) in E-flat major (two flats). The key signature is E-flat major. The music begins at measure 33. The first staff (Violin I) has a circled '33' above it. The second staff (Violin II) has a circled '2' above it. The third staff (Viola) has a circled '1' above it. The fourth staff (Cello/Double Bass) has a circled '1' above it. The music is marked *p* (piano). The first staff has a circled '1' above it at the end of the section. The second staff has a circled '1' above it at the end of the section. The third staff has a circled '1' above it at the end of the section. The fourth staff has a circled '1' above it at the end of the section.

Musical score for the bridge section (mm. 37–40) of the String Quartet in E-flat Major, op. 127, first movement. The score is written for four staves (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass) in E-flat major (two flats). The key signature is E-flat major. The music begins at measure 37. The first staff (Violin I) has a circled '37' above it. The second staff (Violin II) has a circled 'p' below it. The third staff (Viola) has a circled 'cresc.' below it. The fourth staff (Cello/Double Bass) has a circled '2' above it and a circled 'cresc.' below it. The music is marked *cresc.* (crescendo). The first staff has a circled 'cresc.' below it. The second staff has a circled 'cresc.' below it. The third staff has a circled 'cresc.' below it. The fourth staff has a circled 'cresc.' below it.

b. Codetta, mm. 56–65

Musical score for the codetta section (mm. 56–65) of the String Quartet in E-flat Major, op. 127, first movement. The score is written for four staves (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass) in E-flat major (two flats). The key signature is E-flat major. The music begins at measure 56. The first staff (Violin I) has a circled '56' above it. The second staff (Violin II) has a circled 'p' below it. The third staff (Viola) has a circled '2' above it. The fourth staff (Cello/Double Bass) has a circled '3' above it. The music is marked *p* (piano). The first staff has a circled '1' above it. The second staff has a circled '1' above it. The third staff has a circled '1' above it. The fourth staff has a circled '2' above it. The first staff has a circled '3' above it. The second staff has a circled '1' above it. The third staff has a circled '1' above it. The fourth staff has a circled '2' above it.

EXAMPLE 6 (continued)

Musical score for Example 6 (continued), measures 61-64. The score is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). It consists of four staves: Treble 1, Treble 2, Bass 1, and Bass 2. The first staff (Treble 1) starts at measure 61 with a circled '3' above it. The second staff (Treble 2) has a circled '2' above it. The third staff (Bass 1) has a circled '2' above it. The fourth staff (Bass 2) has a circled '1' above it. Dynamics include *cresc.*, *f*, and *f*. There are slurs and accents throughout the passage.

c. Development, mm. 139-50

Musical score for the Development section, measures 139-150. The tempo is marked **Allegro**. The score is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. It consists of four staves: Treble 1, Treble 2, Bass 1, and Bass 2. The first staff (Treble 1) starts at measure 139 with a circled '1' above it. The second staff (Treble 2) has a circled '2' above it. The third staff (Bass 1) has a circled '1' above it. The fourth staff (Bass 2) has a circled '3' above it. Dynamics include *f* and *p*. There are slurs and accents throughout the passage.

(continued)

EXAMPLE 6 (continued)

Musical score for Example 6 (continued), measures 145-158. The score is in 2/4 time and features four staves: Treble 1, Treble 2, Bass 1, and Bass 2. Measure 145 is marked with a circled '1' and a circled '3'. The first staff has a circled '1' and a circled '3'. Dynamics include *f*, *sf*, and *p*. The key signature has two flats.

d. Recapitulation, mm. 170-78

Musical score for Recapitulation, measures 170-178. The score is in 2/4 time and features four staves: Treble 1, Treble 2, Bass 1, and Bass 2. Measure 170 is marked with a circled '170'. A bracket labeled 'X' spans measures 170-178. The word 'basso' is written below the Bass 1 staff. The key signature has two flats.

Musical score for Recapitulation, measures 175-178. The score is in 2/4 time and features four staves: Treble 1, Treble 2, Bass 1, and Bass 2. Measure 175 is marked with a circled '175'. A bracket labeled 'X' spans measures 175-178. The word 'basso' is written above the Treble 1 staff. The key signature has two flats.

EXAMPLE 6 (continued)

e. Coda, mm. 245–57

The musical score is presented in four staves. The top staff (Violin I) begins at measure 245 with a circled '1' above it. The second staff (Violin II) has a circled '1' above it in measure 249. The third staff (Viola) has a circled '2' above it in measure 245 and a circled '3' below it in measure 249. The bottom staff (Cello/Double Bass) has a circled '3' below it in measure 249. The score includes dynamics such as 'cresc.' in measures 251-257. The piece concludes with a Coda symbol at the end of measure 257.

arises—why didn't Beethoven, like Haydn in some of his late quartet movements, simply abandon sonata form altogether? The answer, I would venture, is that Beethoven fully intended a disjuncture between sonata form and counterpoint, between tonal dialectic and thematic discourse. The first movement of op. 127 harvests the oats sown long before in the "Harp" Quartet. The contrasts are sharper, the counterpoint more rigorous, and the form more paradoxical than ever.

Op. 127 has one more debt to repay, with generous interest, to op. 74. In

the first movement of the earlier quartet, the contrasting parts of the principal theme finally achieved rapprochement in the coda, within a stratified contrapuntal texture. In op. 127 the reconciliation of *Maestoso* and *Allegro* also awaits the coda, where it again depends on the vertical dimension. The register of the *Maestoso* has expanded over the course of the movement, with the spacing of the initial chord swelling from two to three to four octaves; by the final C-major appearance, the cello has sunk to its lowest possible note while the first violin has climbed to a stratospheric g^{'''}. The coda, while concerned solely with the *Allegro* theme, faithfully retraces this registral expansion. The first violin takes up the first four notes of the original cantus firmus, mirrored by an inversion of the same motive in the cello (bars 245–48). This double counterpoint begins at the distance of two octaves, then expands to three octaves, as the violin jumps to a higher register (253–56). The violin climbs yet another octave to state the motive one last time, while the cello sinks to its lowest possible note (257–70). The coda thus reviews the progress of the *Maestoso*, ending with almost the exact stretch opened in the final C major statement.¹⁴ For the first time in the movement, moreover, the cello and first violin clearly trade lines—the cantus firmus floats impossibly high in the ether, while the lyrical countersubject grumbles in the cellar. In this vast, almost grotesque inversion, the gentle *Allegro* finally absorbs some of the vigor of the *Maestoso*.

This passage epitomizes Beethoven's use of counterpoint in the late style. Here is another example, like the first movement of op. 109, of registral expansion serving to structure an entire movement. Here, too, we see how crucial contrapuntal inversion has become to the formal structure. In a word, the coda of op. 127 demonstrates the new *verticality* in Beethoven's musical thought. There is a new axis on the graph of his musical thought, a new dimension in which to play out dramatic oppositions.

We may observe the same principle at work in the *Heiliger Dankgesang*. The third Lydian section transforms the accompanied chorale into a double fugue. Whereas the *Dankgesang* began as an alternation between a "black-note" ritornello and a "white-note" hymn, the third statement combines the two sections vertically. Beethoven creates a two-bar double counterpoint by combining an ornamented version of the first ritornello motive with the first five notes of the hymn. The movement ends as it began, with a strict alternation of "black" and "white"—but rotated to the vertical axis. That 90-degree turn is the key to Beethoven's later contrapuntal thought. Oppositions that once were played out sequentially now resolve into a timeless unity. *Chronos* yields to *kairos*, just as the convalescent, on the brink of eternity, peers beyond the veil of temporality.

FUGUE

If op. 109 pays homage to Bach's preludes, op. 111 completes the tribute with a monument to the fugues. The first movement of the Sonata in C Minor seems to have begun life as a fugal finale like that of op. 110, among whose sketches the principal theme first appears. Beethoven marked the theme "3tes Stück presto" and sketched the beginning of several fugal entries. William Drabkin, who has undertaken the most rigorous study of the sketches for op. 111, concluded that Beethoven "seems to have wilfully planned a fugal movement."¹⁵ Ultimately, op. 111 ended up with neither a third movement nor a pure fugue. Instead, Beethoven devised another hybrid creation, and perhaps his most searching exploration of the tension between counterpoint and sonata form.

Even if we knew nothing about the genesis of the *Allegro con brio ed appassionata*, we could instantly tag the first theme as a fugue subject. The unison exposition, the crisp staccato articulation, and the marked resemblance to the C-minor *thema regis* of Bach's *Musical Offering* all announce a fugue in the making. The rhythmic structure of the theme also follows a pattern common to many theme subjects (including Bach's) in which a weighty "head" gives way to a "tail" moving in quicker note values. This model appears clearly in Beethoven's theme, which accelerates from quarter notes to eighths to sixteenths. Such diminution serves a useful function within the fugal texture: the slow values of the head call attention to the entry of the subject, while the more rapid tail provides a transition into the rhythmic background, frequently a stream of even eighth or sixteenth notes. A stratified rhythmic texture results, in which the separate voices can be distinguished by their different speeds. This is precisely how Beethoven disposes his subject in the sketches for the projected fugal movement (see Example 7).

Beethoven associated diminution intimately with fugal composition, as many examples surrounding op. 111 attest. The double fugues that crown the Credo of the *Missa solemnis* and the *Diabelli Variations* both feature a climactic reprise in quicker note values; in the *Missa* the subject returns at twice the original speed, while in both fugues the reprise introduces a new counter-subject in running eighth notes, a new level of diminution. The reprise of the double fugue in the overture to *Die Weihe des Hauses* similarly dissolves the ponderous subject into running eighth notes, while the opening fugue in the String Quartet in C-sharp Minor, op. 131, recapitulates the subject simultaneously in both diminished and augmented versions. In the fifth variation of the op. 109 finale, a pseudo-fugal texture, Beethoven varies the repetition of

EXAMPLE 7. Piano Sonata in C Minor, op. 111, first movement (first theme and sketches)

a. First theme, mm. 17–26

17 *Allegro con brio ed appassionato*

19 *f*, *ff*, *sf*

23 *mezzo piano poco ritenente*, *a tempo cresc.*

25 *sf*, *sf*

b. Sketches

EXAMPLE 7 (continued)

The image shows two systems of musical notation for a grand staff. The first system consists of a treble clef staff with a whole note and a bass clef staff with a continuous eighth-note pattern. The second system consists of a treble clef staff with a whole note and a bass clef staff with a continuous eighth-note pattern. Both systems are marked 'u. s. w.'.

the first strain by doubling the underlying quarter-note pulse to a steady background of running eighth notes. And in the *Dankgesang*, which combines fugue with less imitative procedures, the rhythm of the contrapuntal voices grows increasingly animated across the three Lydian sections. These examples show Beethoven not only exploiting diminution as a fugal possibility, but also relying on it to articulate overall form.

The prominence of diminution in Beethoven's fugues betrays his Fuxian training. He learned to write counterpoint in his early Vienna years by progressing through the species, with their different ratios of rhythmic motion. The dusty *Gradus ad Parnassum* looms behind Beethoven's first essay at integrating fugue into an entire movement, the *Andante scherzoso quasi Allegretto* of the String Quartet in C Minor, op. 18, no. 4. This relentlessly learned movement (which flaunts canons at the fifth and second in the second theme, invertible counterpoint in the codetta, and a full-blown permutation fugue *a tre soggetti* at the recapitulation) clings to the second species in virtually every bar of counterpoint. The kindred slow movement in the First Symphony anticipates the later fugues by introducing a brisk new counterpoint at the recapitulation, moving in second species with the fugal first theme. In the fugal sonata form that caps the String Quartet in C, op. 59, no. 3, the reprise again presents a new countersubject, whose even half notes create a third-species balance with the frantic eighth notes of the subject. It seems that from the beginning Beethoven conceived fugue in terms of Fux's rhythmic proportions.

The stratified texture of fugue, however, conflicts utterly with the rhythmic practice of Beethoven's heroic sonata forms. The rhythmic life of the heroic

style relies upon a fluid movement between rhythmic levels (the first movements of the *Eroica* and *Waldstein* provide the classic examples). Thematic statements embrace the level of the beat, while connective and developmental passages exploit quicker, more excited levels of motion. These “subtactile” levels provide a stratum of potential energy under the theme, ready at any moment to flare up in kinetic motion. By carefully regulating the rhythmic pressure, Beethoven could introduce the most expansive, monumental themes into his sonata forms without sacrificing dramatic momentum.¹⁶

The Sonata in C Minor summons the mood and gestures of the heroic style, yet the rhythm flows with none of the old confidence. No sooner has the fugal theme emerged from the *Maestoso* introduction than it bogs down in an introspective *poco ritente*, which merely repeats the tail of the subject (bars 22–23). The second statement likewise grinds to a halt, despite the promise of a new homophonic accompaniment in bars 30–31. The trouble lies in the accelerating rhythm of the subject. In a proper fugal exposition it would propel the theme into the background in preparation for the next entry. In the context of a sonata form, however, the diminution prematurely ends the thematic presentation. The self-effacing fugal subject, designed to recede after two bars, fails abjectly as a sonata theme.

Ironically, the theme takes root only in the modulating bridge. The subject now unfolds confidently in a fugato (bars 35–47). The three rhythmic levels of the subject, moreover, are systematically arranged: the subject is simplified to quarter and sixteenth notes, while a new countersubject in eighth notes appears. The restless acceleration of the theme, so unsuited to a first theme, finds a home in the modulating fugato. To put it another way, the fugato realizes the textural implications of the theme, projecting its horizontal structure into the vertical dimension. Like a canon, the fugal theme folds in upon itself.

The rhythmic momentum of the fugal subject, with its insistent sixteenth notes, exerts a constant pressure till the last bars of the exposition. At the end of the delicately poised second theme the sixteenths burst out again and, as in the transition, find a stable context in another contrapuntal passage (bars 58–66). This is another sample of invertible counterpoint, balancing the head of the theme against the sixteenths of the tail; and in the inverted restatement (61–64) a new pair of voices enter in even eighth notes, completing the three-tiered hierarchy. The closing section thus brings the three levels of the subject into another brief, precarious balance.

The paradoxical relationship between theme and form deepens in the development, which, even more than the bridge or codetta, stabilizes the theme. A double fugue emerges, with the subject ballasted by a new coun-

tersubject in half notes. As Heinrich Schenker pointed out, the three statements of this new countersubject (bars 76–86) trace an unbroken line, like the *legato* arc spanning the development of op. 109.¹⁷ Here is yet another example of Beethoven's using the linear construction of a contrapuntal theme to create seamless connections across the most unpredictable section of sonata form.

The first movement of op. 111 thus stands sonata form on its head. The exposition of the first theme sounds tentative and unsettled, while the bridge, codetta, and development form pillars of stability. This bizarre practice finds no precedent in Mozart's contrapuntal sonata forms, nor in Beethoven's own earlier experiments. The standard procedure was to work out the fugal subject in the first theme, then revert to a homophonic texture for the bridge and closing sections. Both Mozart and Beethoven, moreover, tend to reserve a special contrapuntal flourish for the moment of reprise. The recapitulation of op. 111, on the other hand, arrives as a colossal anticlimax. The stentorian return of the fugal theme, spread across four octaves, only highlights its inability to take root in the form. The halting echo of the tail, colored by poignant new harmonies, sounds a note of pure resignation. Here is yet another inversion of the heroic style. Previously Beethoven had conceived his recapitulations as triumphant moments of synthesis between theme and form. The premature horn call in the *Eroica*, the crushing descent of the theme in the Fifth Symphony, the evaporating melody in the *Hirtengesang* of the Sixth Symphony—each illuminates some interrelationship of part and whole, of character and drama. The recapitulation of op. 111, on the other hand, proves the incongruity between theme and form.

The Sonata in C Minor challenges not only the structure of sonata form, but dramatic time itself. The fugal theme, no less than the prelude-like theme of op. 109, harbors its own developmental implications. In the Sonata in E Major, the theme invited *expansion*, through inversion, revoicing, and extension of the bass line. In op. 111 the fugal theme implies *contraction*, the inward folding of different levels of rhythmic diminution. The three levels, presented horizontally in the theme, combine vertically in a series of increasingly dense contrapuntal textures. Indeed, these are moments when Beethoven seems intent on maximal compression, fascinated by how much he can cram into a single point of time. At the end of the exposition (bars 58–69), he aligns the head and tail of the first theme in an invertible counterpoint, adds a further pair of inner voices, throws in an inverted version of the second theme, recalls the trill motive from the opening of the *Maestoso*, and finishes with a chromatic ascent powering through five octaves (starting on the first note of the *Allegro*)—all this in the space of twelve bars. The retransition is even

more densely packed. Bars 86–91 effectively summarize the entire development: the three fugal entries return in their original keys, telescoped into a single bar each; these three entries, moreover, call up the three diminished-seventh chords unveiled in the opening of the *Maestoso*; and even the form itself becomes compressed, with the premature recapitulation in bars 90–91. These crowded passages, at the junctures of the form, press musical density to new extremes. Like black holes, their crushing mass seems to suck the material of the movement into a single, supercharged point.

The temporal paradoxes of the first movement attain clarity in the serene light of the *Arietta*, Beethoven's most systematic exploration of diminution. The conflict between theme and form vanishes within the ancient form of the Baroque diminution variation. The stymied rhythmic pressure of the fugal theme can at last be released, until diminution finally resolves into the unmeasured vibration of a trill. Whereas in the *Allegro* the different rhythmic levels folded in upon each other in vertical counterpoint, in the *Arietta* they expand concentrically; if in the first movement they contracted toward simultaneity, here they expand toward infinity. The two movements, as Lawrence Kramer has suggested, act as an "expressive doubling,"¹⁸ exploring a similar idea from opposite angles. Kramer (following Charles Rosen) focused upon the diminished-seventh chords that play so striking a role in the two movements of the sonata. Rhythmic diminution provides another such link between the movements, a way through which the *Arietta* actually transcends the tortured first movement.

The rhythmic "quest" of op. 111 reaches consummation in the fifth and final variation of the *Arietta* (bars 116–30). Having reached the outer limits of diminution, the theme returns to its original form. An accompaniment of steady sixteenth and thirty-second notes, however, remains from the preceding variations. The three levels of diminution again resolve into a vertical hierarchy. The stratified texture, first glimpsed in the bridge of the *Allegro con brio*, achieves a serene balance (see Example 8). The following coda harks back still farther. The hovering trills not only complete the diminution process of the *Arietta* but also recall the evolution of the fugal subject. As Schenker noted, the upbeat to the subject evolves out of the opening phrases in bars 1–5, as the three-note rising cell issuing from the trills gradually expands to a tetrachord.¹⁹ When the fugal theme finally takes shape, it also emerges from a written-out trill. The sonata takes birth from the pulsating womb of the trill, and it returns thence at the end of the *Arietta*. If the first movement "falls" into horizontal time, the second movement finds redemption in a timeless verticality.

Paradise lost and regained—the metaphor recalls the *Universalgeschichte*.

EXAMPLE 8. Piano Sonata in C Minor, op. 111, *Arietta* (coda)

And, in its own way, the Sonata in C Minor is no less concerned with history than the *Eroica*. The first movement acknowledges the keyboard fugues of Bach, especially the *Musical Offering*, while the dotted *Maestoso* and fugal *Allegro nod* to the Handelian *ouverture*.²⁰ The *Arietta* excavates the still deeper layer of the Baroque diminution variation. And, of more recent memory, come allusions to Beethoven's earlier works, especially the *Pathétique* Sonata and Fifth Symphony.

Yet the *Eroica* and op. 111 construct history in entirely different ways. In 1803 history appeared as a vital stream, in 1822 as so many sedimented layers. Where the symphony radically embraces the flow of time, the sonata aspires to timelessness—contracting toward a single point in the first movement, or dilating toward infinity in the second. Sonata form, whose dialectical drama serves as both style and idea in the *Eroica*, has petrified to just another layer in op. 111. And whereas the symphony took its bearings from the humanistic goal of a “second nature,” the piano sonata unfolds *sub specie aeternitatis*—that is, beneath the eternal species of J. J. Fux.

E. T. A. Hoffmann died in 1822, only a few months after Beethoven com-

pleted op. 111. Had he lived to hear the Sonata in C Minor, Hoffmann could have rejoiced in a work that perfectly realized the ideals of his 1810 review. Here at last Beethoven had composed a work that expresses *unendliche Sehnsucht*, that draws sustenance from the “Christian-modern” past, that ascends from earthly struggle to a spiritualized C-major apotheosis. Here, in short, is a truly Romantic work. Sonata and review might stand side by side as a manifesto of Beethoven’s new style of the 1820s, rejecting the heroic style even as they absorb it, and pointing to a new aesthetic synthesis.

6 Contrapunctus II: Double Fugue

No contrapuntal form fascinated Beethoven more during the 1820s than double fugue. The monumental *Et vitam venturi* from the *Missa solemnis* takes this form, as does the concluding fugue of the *Diabelli Variations*, the fugato in the development of op. 111, both fugatos in the Ninth Symphony finale, the overture to *Die Weihe des Hauses*, and the final statement of the *Heiliger Dankgesang*. Crowning this formidable series comes the *Grosse Fuge*, the most ambitious of all Beethoven's contrapuntal essays.

In double fugue Beethoven found a nexus for his peculiar contrapuntal concerns. All the principles he had explored in the "prelude" and "fugue" themes of opp. 109 and 111 come together in his double-fugal subjects—linear construction, monolithic figuration, inversion, rhythmic diminution. The second fugato from the Ninth Symphony finale (*Allegro energico*) illustrates, point by point, the allure of this type of counterpoint. The two subjects exactly replicate the linear-harmonic skeleton of op. 109, the lower subject ("Seid umschlungen, Millionen") outlining an octave descent by sequential thirds, the upper ("Freude, schöner Götterfunken") tracing an alternating pattern of $\frac{5}{3}$ and $\frac{6}{5}$ chords. This scaffolding again supports a single figure, a trochaic motive as incessant as the Lombardic rhythm in the piano sonata. As the answer immediately demonstrates, the two subjects are invertible. The rhythmic texture, meanwhile, divides even more rigidly than in op. 111 into three strata—dotted half notes, alternating halves and quarters, and running eighths. In every way, this pristine fugato could serve as a primer of Beethoven's later contrapuntal practice.

The *Allegro energico* reveals a further resource of double fugue—the ability to combine opposing musical ideas. The fugue most obviously fuses the "Freude" theme from the D-major exposition with the new melody from the G-major *Andante maestoso*. At the same time, as David Levy has

pointed out, the fugue recalls the B \flat *Alla Marcia*, not only in the compound meter (augmented to $\frac{6}{4}$ to accommodate the new hymn), but also in the exact metronome marking (tactus = 84).¹ Thus, the *Allegro energico* not only pulls together all three preceding sections of the finale, but its stratified texture also yokes two rhythmic extremes, the “white-note” hymn and the military march. The sturdy grip of double counterpoint can unite even the sacred and the profane, the cathedral and the parade ground.

This counterpoint between cantus firmus and march resurfaces, still more obviously, in the *Grosse Fuge*. The upper subject of the opening B \flat fugue spins out a gapped rhythmic figure that Beethoven used interchangeably with dotted rhythms for marches.² The lower subject is a version of the Baroque “pathotype” figure, which the *Overtura* has introduced as a white-note cantus firmus. The explicit symbols of the Ninth Symphony thus pass unchanged into the rarefied world of the string quartet.

The cantus firmus in the *Grosse Fuge* is, of course, a version of the notorious “common motive” running through the Quartets in A Minor, B-flat Major, and C-sharp Minor. The pathotype motive, introduced in the opening movement of op. 132, transformed in the finale of op. 130, and reprised in the outer movements of op. 131, has aroused much speculation. Critics from Paul Bekker to Deryck Cooke have seized upon this supposed *Grundgestalt* as evidence of a higher unity among the three quartets. Characteristic is Ivan Mahaim’s claim that “the climate of the Great Fugue ties these three quartets to one another, placing them as though under the same firmament.” Even Joseph Kerman, who resisted any suggestion of a cyclical connection among the quartets, did not deny the presence of the common motive.³

A simple fact has gone unnoticed in all these analyses: the common motive never appears outside a contrapuntal context. The *Grosse Fuge* and the first movement of op. 131 are fugues; the principal theme of the first movement of op. 132 is a double counterpoint; and the principal theme of the finale of op. 131 turns into a double fugue subject. This list should also include the fugal theme of op. 111, the first example of the pathotype in the late works. Without exception, the analysts have been hunting after motives and ignoring the counterpoint. There is no lack of thematic “unity” between the three quartets, but it must be sought beyond the single dimension of pitch configurations; this should be obvious even from the sketches for the late quartets, which Beethoven for the first time notated in score. The “climate” of the *Grosse Fuge* is not merely a motive, but a contrapuntal texture.⁴

This chapter will take up the old debate about connections between the late quartets, but from the new perspective of Beethoven’s “contrapuntal

project." The common thread is not a motive, but rather the peculiar marriage of cantus firmus and march found in op. 133, what I shall call the "*Grosse Fuge* texture." The texture runs through each of the major sonata forms from the three central quartets—the first movements of opp. 132 and 130 and the finale of op. 131. In each case this third type of contrapuntal theme twists sonata form into the paradoxical shapes that seemed to suit Beethoven in the 1820s.

THE *GROSSE FUGE* TEXTURE

The first signs of the *Grosse Fuge* texture appear in the Quartet in F Minor, op. 95 (1810). In the third movement an aggressive scherzo in march rhythm—in fact, the identical "gapped" march rhythm of the *Grosse Fuge*—contrasts with a sedate trio in chorale texture. The opening page of the quartet even foretells this contrast (bars 3–10), previewing not only the march and chorale, but even the F–G \flat Neapolitan relationship between scherzo and trio. Oddly, these prophetic bars never recur in the first movement, neither in the second statement of the theme nor in the compressed recapitulation. The chorale vanishes altogether until the third movement, while the march rhythm emerges but briefly in the development. The first seventeen bars of the quartet dwell in a strange twilight, somewhere between a first theme and an introduction. They belong to the body of the movement, yet never return; they state the opening theme, but also glimpse material that spans the entire quartet.

These ambiguities seem to hint at a more abstract, "subthematic" meaning in the opening bars of op. 95. While the explicit confrontation between march and chorale awaits the scherzo and trio, the tension between the two moods can be felt throughout the first movement. This underlying friction erupts in the Neapolitan scales that twice rip apart the placid second key area (bars 38 and 49), and in the *sotto voce* sixteenth notes churning beneath the lyrical surface. The scherzo and trio focus a conflict that runs throughout the first movement, between rhythmic impetus and a more relaxed lyricism.

The Quartet in F Minor thus picks up where the "Harp" Quartet left off, pitting the loud and rhythmic against the soft and lyrical. The later quartet even intensifies the conflict, coloring it with the evocative characters of march and chorale. The two states again find an equilibrium in the balance of scherzo and trio, as in the alternating variations of the "Harp" finale. The essential elements are in place. All that now separates this structure from the world of the late quartets is the 90-degree rotation to the contrapuntal axis.

This last piece falls into place in the next chamber work to revive the march-chorale dichotomy, the Cello Sonata in C Major, op. 102, no. 1 (1815). The A-minor *Allegro vivace* opens with a fierce theme, hammered out in octaves. Cello and piano outline the triad, then double back in march rhythm—that is, the gapped rhythm of op. 95. Like the first theme of op. 111, this idea suggests a latent fugal subject: the unison texture, the arresting head motive, the accelerating tail, and the dramatic pull-up to the half cadence all seem to beg for imitative treatment. The development, in fact, realizes the contrapuntal possibilities of the theme, although in an unexpected manner. The theme separates into two parts, which stack up in double counterpoint: while the pianist's left hand isolates two half notes from the end of the theme as an ostinato, the cello and pianist's right hand play a fragment of the martial descending line (bars 77–89). Here, suddenly, is the *Grosse Fuge* texture (see Example 9).

This passage foretells much of the drift of Beethoven's contrapuntal thought in the 1820s—the canon-like themes that enclose their own development, the projection of horizontal contrasts onto the vertical axis, the rigid stratification of rhythm. As the development continues, the characteristic opposition between march and chorale also emerges. After the double counterpoint has undergone the predictable inversion and revoicing, the piano settles into a four-part hymn, poised above a dominant pedal in E \flat (bars 91–94). Hovering precariously in $\flat V$, the chorale evokes a fleeting sanctuary amid the storm. This bizarre development section pushes the contrasts of op. 95 to new extremes, but it also shows Beethoven seeking new techniques to handle those contrasts. The signal discovery of the Cello Sonata in C is double counterpoint, a new way of handling opposing expressive states.

Turning to the first of the late quartets, op. 127, we find an unbroken continuity in technique from 1815. The second movement (*Scherzando vivace*), a sustained exercise in double counterpoint, also begins with a self-combining theme. Like the A-minor theme of the Cello Sonata, it begins with a march rhythm and ends with a more sustained motive. Beethoven again splits off the last two bars of the theme and combines this *legato* motive with the martial incipit. While the closing motive scarcely amounts to a chorale, Beethoven is again exploring the opposition between impetus and stasis. The opening bars also make clear that the contest will play itself out along the vertical axis: even before the counterpoint begins, the theme is repeated in melodic inversion.

The double counterpoint begins in a state of equilibrium, with the march rhythm balanced by the *legato* motive, but after only ten bars signs of strain appear. The counterpoint breaks up in a series of jarring chords (bars 27–30),

EXAMPLE 9. Cello Sonata in C Major, op. 102, no. 1, first movement (development)

The image shows two systems of musical notation for a cello and piano. The first system, starting at measure 78, is marked with a forte (*f*) dynamic. It features a cello line with eighth-note patterns and a piano accompaniment with chords and moving lines. The second system, starting at measure 81, is marked with fortissimo piano (*fp*) dynamics. It shows a more complex rhythmic structure with dotted rhythms and rests, particularly in the piano part.

and when it resumes a more volatile countersubject in running eighth notes replaces the *legato* motive. The march rhythm begins to escape from its compact four-note cell, as the first violin powers all the way up to b^{11} (33–36). As the second strain begins, the pent-up vigor of the dotted rhythm explodes in an urgent, fivefold sequence of the motive, from which the restraining rests have vanished. The counterpoint returns, with the new eighth-note subject, but the gathering energy of the march at last blows it apart in a massive unison detonation (60–63). Kerman heard in this moment “a fleeting but quite distinct suggestion of more majestic movement,”⁵ but it proves a manic exaltation that collapses in exhausted confusion. The tonality drifts through distant keys and lapses into silence with one more frantic gesture. The rampant little march, sprung from the restraining counterpoint, ends by derailing the movement.

The miniature recitative that follows the train wreck is one of the most eccentric passages in Beethoven’s music (bars 70–83). It begins as a *recitativo obbligato*, with bustling figures in the lower strings and a reciting chord. But what the violins declaim is the dotted motive itself. This gesture can obviously support myriad interpretations. As I hear it, the recitative

serves to create a sense of distance. The dotted rhythm has driven the movement to the brink of chaos; the recitative throws quotation marks around the motive, defusing its immediacy. It is no longer an actor in dramatic time, but a subject of narrative discourse. An outside voice has intruded upon the musical drama, like the recitative in the Ninth Symphony, to sort out intractable problems. Indeed, when the scherzo resumes, the sense of balance is restored. The original double counterpoint returns, joined by the eighth-note countersubject from the second strain. Whatever its meaning, the recitative succeeds in restoring order to the movement.

The events of the *Scherzando vivace* accommodate themselves with suspicious ease to a programmatic reading. The march that runs amok and must be returned to the fold of learned counterpoint suggests political meanings for the Restoration era that are too obvious to spell out. But it would be an act of interpretive violence to force the movement into a plot, to read it as an abstract version of the *Dona nobis pacem*. Such meanings, of course, flavor the movement. Yet the *Scherzando vivace* makes equally good sense as a playful exploration of tensions within a contrapuntal texture. Musical thought can pursue its own logic, even as it resonates with extra-musical meanings. This holds especially true of the work of a composer who never sheltered his music from political and ethical issues. It suffices to say that Beethoven had internalized certain ways of patterning experience that could either serve a programmatic purpose or spin off into more abstract musical expression. The critic dare claim no more.

OP. 132, *ASSAI SOSTENUTO—ALLEGRO*

The opening page of the Quartet in A Minor lays out the elements of the *Grosse Fuge* texture in stark contrast. The pathotype motive emerges as if from the mists of history, in the motet-like *Assai sostenuto*. The *Allegro* begins with an explosion of running eighth notes, the quickest rhythmic level in the movement. Stasis and kinesis strike a familiar balance in the principal theme (bar 13 ff.), as the first violin's outburst cools into a little march, set against an augmented version of the pathotype motive. The double counterpoint is predictably inverted at the second statement of the theme (23). The first violin now takes a turn with the slow cantus firmus, revealing that the rhythmic contrast is no contest between soloist and *tutti*, but an abstract structure of musical texture. Looking ahead to the end of the exposition (67–70), we find the two halves of the counterpoint sorted out horizontally, clarifying the fundamental conflict within the theme (see Example 10).

EXAMPLE 10. String Quartet in A Minor, op. 132, first movement (codetta)

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system, starting at measure 67, shows four staves of music. The top two staves (Violins I and II) and the bottom two staves (Violas and Cellos/Double Basses) all play a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. Dynamics are marked as *ff*, *sf*, and *p*. The second system, starting at measure 70, features vocal lines. The lyrics are "ri - tar - dan - do" and "dan - do". Dynamics are marked as *p*, *f*, and *p*. Tempo markings include *cresc.* and *a tempo*.

It is a peculiarity of the three quartets written for Prince Galitzin that each, in a unique manner, problematizes the relationship between slow introduction and *Allegro*. In op. 127 the *Maestoso* begins as a familiar slow introduction but goes its own way over the course of the movement, finally detaching altogether from the sonata-form model. In op. 132 the pathotype motive carries over from the *Assai sostenuto* to the *Allegro*, blurring the boundaries between the *Assai sostenuto* and *Allegro*. Op. 130 challenges the entire sequence of events by returning to the original *Adagio ma non troppo* seven times over the course of the *Allegro*. At first glance, this odd tinkering with introductions resembles the “new path” of 1802 in which, according to Dahlhaus, Beethoven sought to overcome the distinction between static exposition and active development. There is, however, a funda-

mental difference between the “Tempest” Sonata or “Eroica” Variations and the Galitzin quartets. In the earlier piano works Beethoven dissolves the traditional synthesis of theme and form, presenting his opening ideas in the wrong key or in a process of evolution; by destabilizing theme, he thus throws the emphasis onto formal process. The contrapuntal themes of the late quartets, on the other hand, are the most complete, self-sufficient ideas he ever devised. Like Leibnizian monads, they harbor the secrets of their own development. It seems, therefore, that the Galitzin introductions explore a tension within the themes themselves, between rhythmic impetus and contrapuntal balance. In both form and theme Beethoven was probing the dialectic of flux and permanence, time and eternity.

In the Quartet in A Minor the pathotype motive itself mediates between the two states. It emerges in the timeless *Assai sostenuto*, then passes into dramatic time as the slower subject of the *Allegro* theme. The compound of march and cantus firmus, however, proves every bit as volatile as in the *Scherzando vivace* of op. 127. The dotted rhythm breaks free of the counterpoint in both statements of the first theme, each time seeming to work up a head of steam. In the first statement this impulse drains away in a halting *Adagio* (bar 21), a hushed intrusion that seems to appeal to the mood of the *Assai sostenuto* (the sense of a return to the introduction is reinforced by the subsequent reprise of the initial violin cadenza, the gesture that originally called the *Allegro* into life). In the second statement, severe whole notes in the cello shackle the runaway march (30–32). The same hobbled gait marks the transition to the second key area: the first violin’s accelerating rhythm seems about to lead the ensemble into F major, when a sudden swerve toward D minor (through the characteristic Phrygian cadence of the cantus firmus) yanks in the reins, leading to a constrained point of imitation (36–43). The closing section, as we have seen, distills the conflict by sorting the two halves of the counterpoint into a horizontal sequence. The exposition ends in deadlock, the propulsive energy of the march trapped within the orbit of the *Assai sostenuto*.

The tensions in the counterpoint echo at the level of the overall form. In one of his most bizarre dealings with sonata form, Beethoven has dispensed almost entirely with a development section. Instead, after only forty bars, he inserts a second exposition in the dominant minor (bars 119–80). Following this anomalous section, a normal recapitulation brings back all the themes in the tonic. The form thus presents another deadlock between modern and archaic paradigms. On the one hand, the first and third sections play out the tonal drama of sonata form; on the other hand, the E-minor exposition imposes an overarching I–V–I shape on the binary sections, like a grand da capo aria. This nested structure creates the same impression as Beethoven’s

contrapuntal theme—vibrant movement within, static symmetry without. The ternary arch reduces the sonata-form contrasts to local details, just as the geologic cantus firmus absorbs the nervous energy of the march.

The tensions of the first movement run throughout the quartet. As Kerman remarked, “The inherent conflict has been seized, but it has not been settled; its world of frustration is left for the later movements of the quartet to cope with.” It is the *Heiliger Dankgesang*, above all, that takes up—or perhaps, defines—the inherent conflict of op. 132. A heavy symmetry broods over the Quartet in A Minor, radiating from this central movement. The five sections of the *Dankgesang* are mirrored on the large scale by the five movements of op. 135; at the small scale, by the five phrases of the chorale, and even by the five notes of the fugue subject in the final section. The alternation of the three Lydian pillars with the buoyant D-major interludes replicates the balance of even and odd movements in the quartet (especially in Beethoven’s early design, which placed what became the *Alla danza tedesca* of op. 130 after the *Dankgesang*).⁶ The ternary structure of the first movement, with its three “expositions,” can be seen as yet another reflection of the three-part hymn structure. Like the *Assai sostenuto*, which it so strongly resembles, the formidable *Dankgesang* summons up a timeless and immutable condition that overarches every impassioned gesture.

The first and third movements share a more specific structural affinity. In the third Lydian section of the *Dankgesang*, as noted above, Beethoven realigns a horizontal contrast vertically. He splits off the first phrase from both the chorale and the ritornello, which originally alternated sequentially, and pairs them in a double fugue. The result is a radical compression—indeed, simultaneity—of the original material. Similarly, in the first movement recapitulation, as Kerman observed, Beethoven concentrates his material, trimming away all connective material between the themes.⁷ Contrasts grow sharper in the counterpoint as well: in the coda the march rhythm gradually reverts to the unchecked sixteenth that began the *Allegro*, ending with the violin’s simple pulsation on a single string. Both movements press toward distillation—mystic transcendence in the hymn, conflict and frustration in the sonata form.

The contrapuntal knots that entangle the first movement return in the genial *Allegro ma non tanto*. Beethoven modeled his second movement, as Kerman has shown, on the minuet of Mozart’s Quartet in A Major, K. 464, another essay in double counterpoint based upon two simple motives. Beethoven hews closely to his model, but with one intriguing difference. Where Mozart’s first subject begins with a strong accent on the tonic, Beethoven’s begins with a dissonant appoggiatura. The harmonic structure thus imparts a firm agogic

accent to the second beat of each bar, making the first beat sound like an up-beat.⁸ Beethoven's reworking of Mozart results in a metrical ambiguity, between the notated meter and the meter as actually perceived.

A curious bit of external evidence supports this reading. The *Allegro ma non tanto* is a pastiche of remembered dances (not only Mozart's minuet, but two of Beethoven's early Redoutensaal tunes), and we can identify one more source—Anton Diabelli's notorious waltz. Bars 9–14 of the *Diabelli* theme predict not only the three-note motive of the quartet scherzo but also the upward sequence. The *Diabelli* motive lines up exactly with the alternative meter proposed above. Moreover, the upbeats in the waltz have a notated accent, creating the same ambiguous tension in the meter. Beethoven, it seems, had one more variation for Diabelli's "cobbler's patch."

The metrical displacement leaves the *Allegro ma non troppo* in a state of perpetual ambiguity. The entrance of the second subject seems to clarify the meter, with a strong agogic accent on the first beat. In bar 15, however, an expressive *messa di voce* throws a new accent on the second beat, the way a sensitive player would phrase a tied note across the bar line. The first strain ends, moreover, with a series of double upbeats that throw added weight onto the second beat (bars 18–22). The remainder of the movement seesaws between the notated and implicit meter, favoring one, then the other. The result is a sort of Cubist refraction of Mozart's model, from which the unifying perspective of meter has been withdrawn. "Beneath the appearances of normality and naïvety," writes Daniel Chua, "there is, quite literally, an underlying disorder which twists innocence into irony."⁹ Double counterpoint again freezes the vital energy of the body. Like Keats's Grecian youth eternally pursuing his deathless maiden, the waltzing subjects remain forever suspended in a balletic still life.

The finale resurrects the body from its contrapuntal tomb. The little soldiers and dancers come to life, step down from the frieze, and pound the floor in the most passionate, visceral *Teutsche* Beethoven ever wrote. The waltz, hamstrung in the second movement and overmatched by the *Dankgesang*, finally has its day. The intoxicating rhythmic motive of the "Tempest" finale, the Fifth Symphony, and *Egmont* returns for one last fling, as all the physical energy pent up in the contrapuntal movements bursts forth in homophonic melody. There is no counterpoint here—just the swaying, gyrating pleasures of the dance.

Almost no counterpoint: the finale exposition ends with a subdued imitative passage (bars 82–99), whose rising minor sixths recall the *Assai sostenuto* and *Heiliger Dankgesang*. As the recapitulation draws to a close this theme burgeons into an extended point of imitation (beginning in bar 243). The

waltz shakes loose of this creeping inertia, *immer geschwinder*, until a last impassioned statement banishes the learned past forever (280–94). Cello and first violin join in the theme, in a moment of pure melodic release. Beethoven thus opts for a straightforward resolution of the tensions of the *Grosse Fuge* texture in the last purely heroic finale he ever wrote.

OP. 130, ADAGIO MA NON TROPPO—ALLEGRO

The opening pages of the Quartets in B-flat Major and A Minor invite comparison on many points. The *Allegro* of op. 130 also begins with a theme in double counterpoint. The lower subject again takes shape in the introduction: the four repeated notes with which the subject begins first emerge in the cello motive in bar 7, which, as in op. 132, passes imitatively among the four instruments, from the cello upwards. The upper subject recalls the fiery violin cadenza from the previous quartet, tracing the same parabolic contour with another third sequence of sixteenth notes. The contrapuntal theme again grinds to a halt on the dominant, with a return to a slower tempo, and resumes in inversion.

A still more instructive comparison, however, can be drawn to the finale of op. 130 itself, the *Grosse Fuge*. A long debate has raged over the relative merits of the original fugal ending and the substitute movement that Beethoven wrote in 1826 at the urging of his publisher.¹⁰ Without entering the fray, I would like to point out some affinities between the original outer movements of the Quartet in B-flat, in particular, a similar way in which they handle double counterpoint. Such affinities do not necessarily justify choosing the *Grosse Fuge* in preference to the later finale. But they can enhance our vision of the quartet as Beethoven conceived it in 1825 and help us understand the ongoing development of his contrapuntal thought.

Let us start with the introduction to the two movements. The *Overtura* of the *Grosse Fuge* gives a thumbnail sketch of the thematic material, a little *amuse-bouche* from each of the four fugal sections. It serves, in Kerman's phrase, as a "table of contents" (albeit, in reverse order).¹¹ The *Adagio ma non troppo* plays a similar role, laying out the material of the *Allegro*. The first two bars hint at both the chromatic line and the rising sixths of the second theme. Bars 7–12 unveil a contrapuntal idea that foreshadows both halves of the first theme: the four repeated notes look ahead to the lower subject, the descending third sequence to the upper. Meanwhile, the exact double counterpoint that emerges in bar 8 will return in the bridge. Only the "white notes" of the second theme and closing section are missing. Like

the *Overtura*, the *Adagio ma non troppo* serves as a preview of virtually every idea in the following movement.

The *Grosse Fuge* unfolds as three separate double fugues (in B \flat , G \flat , and A \flat), each based on a different version of the cantus firmus. The first movement similarly progresses through three samples of double counterpoint—one in the first theme (bars 14–18, 24–28), and two in the closing section (70–86 and 87–89). The common thread is not a cantus firmus, but the descending sixteenth notes introduced in the first theme. This restless figuration runs through the three counterpoints. (Both movements also include a fourth, lightweight double counterpoint—in the bridge of the *Allegro* (bars 37–41) and in the B \flat *Allegro molto e con brio* of the finale.) The three essential stages of double counterpoint in the outer movements of op. 130 are compared in Example 11.

The counterpoint begins similarly in the two movements. In both the first theme of the *Allegro* and the opening B \flat *Fuga*, the upper subject enters on the fourth beat, followed by the lower subject on the second beat of the following bar. Each upper subject detonates an explosive energy that the second subject seems barely able to contain. These slower lines, lurching in on the second beat, seem always to be pursuing the impetuous first subject. The contrarian dynamics in the first-movement theme further undercut the stability of the counterpoint, denying the two subjects a strong defining downbeat. Both movements begin off balance, with more rhythmic voltage than the counterpoint can ground.

The *Grosse Fuge* recovers from its off-balance opening in the succeeding G \flat and A \flat fugues, where the cantus firmus gradually solidifies into longer notes, capable of ballasting the countersubject. The counterpoint stabilizes through these three successive fugues. The first movement traces the same pattern, from the first theme through the two closing themes. The closing section ushers in a more restful counterpoint (bars 70–86), with a gentler, *legato* version of the descending sixteenth figure. After a few bars of fourth species counterpoint, the countersubject settles into third-species quarter notes. Quarter notes give way to half notes in the final counterpoint (87–89), as the cello and both violins supply a weighty cantus firmus for the sixteenth-note subject. The *Allegro* thus anticipates the three stages of the *Grosse Fuge*, groping from instability toward balance. Only the fleeting bridge passage stands outside this process, rather like the gigue-like *Allegro molto e con brio* of the *Grosse Fuge*. The two closing themes of the *Allegro* even resemble their G \flat and A \flat counterparts in the finale—the first with its *pianissimo* combination of a quarter-note cantus firmus and graceful four-note countersubject; the second with its “white notes” and *ff* and *sf* accents.

EXAMPLE 11. String Quartet in B-flat Major, op. 130, first and last movements
(contrapuntal parallels)

a. *Allegro* (first theme), mm. 14–18

Musical score for Example 11a, measures 14–18. The score is in B-flat major and 4/4 time, marked *Allegro*. It features four staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. Measure 14 (boxed) shows the first theme beginning with a *p* dynamic and *non legato* articulation. Measure 15 (boxed) shows a dynamic shift to *f* and a change in articulation. Measure 16 (boxed) shows a return to *p* and *non legato*. Measure 17 (boxed) shows a *cresc.* leading to a *non legato* passage. Measure 18 (boxed) shows a *f* dynamic. The score includes various dynamics (*p*, *f*, *cresc.*) and articulations (*non legato*).

b. *Allegro* (codetta), mm. 73–75

Musical score for Example 11b, measures 73–75. The score is in B-flat major and 4/4 time, marked *Allegro*. It features four staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. Measure 73 (boxed) shows the codetta beginning with a *p* dynamic. Measure 74 (boxed) shows a *cresc.* leading to a *non legato* passage. Measure 75 (boxed) shows a *cresc.* leading to a *non legato* passage. The score includes various dynamics (*p*, *cresc.*) and articulations (*non legato*).

(continued)

EXAMPLE 11 (continued)

75

p

p

p

p

c. *Allegro* (codetta), mm. 87–89

87

ff *sf* *sf* *sf*

ff *sf* *sf* *sf*

ff *sf* *sf* *sf*

ff *sf* *sf* *sf*

89

sf *sf*

sf *sf*

sf *sf*

sf *sf*

EXAMPLE 11 (continued)

d. Finale (B \flat Fuga), mm. 30–32

Fuga

31

ff

ff *sf* *f* *f*

e. Finale (G \flat Fuga), mm. 167–70

167

sempre pp

sempre pp

f. Finale (A \flat Fuga), mm. 273–79

273

sf *sf* *sf* *sf* *ben marcato*

The second theme mediates between the jittery opening counterpoint and the solidifying closing themes. Until that point, the only white notes heard in the movement have been the indecisive *piano* cadences in the first theme. The second theme introduces a chorale texture in half notes (bars 55–64), as if invoking the archaic spirit of op. 132. As happened in the earlier quartet, the hymn competes with more energetic material, in this case the restless sixteenth-note *gruppetti* of the countersubject. In a familiar gambit, Beethoven has laid out in horizontal sequence contrasting rhythmic ideas that he will proceed to combine vertically. The synthesis takes shape gradually across the closing section, until the sturdy white notes finally enclose the sixteenth notes.

The first and last movements of the Quartet in B-flat thus follow the same structural path. Once we stop hunting down motives and pay attention to the overall contrapuntal texture, a common pattern emerges. In both movements an initially volatile double counterpoint gradually stabilizes, as the lower subject grows progressively weightier. In this way the outer movements of op. 130 trace a path toward integration—a quest that underlies all the bewildering disjunctures that moved Kerman to name this Beethoven's most "dissociated" composition.¹² Those who would substitute the 1826 finale (and here I must enter the fray after all) lose out on a crucial element in Beethoven's original design.

One reads, of course, that the *Grosse Fuge* eclipses the previous movements, that the later finale better balances the work, and so forth. Yet did Beethoven really mean the *Grosse Fuge* to "balance" this quartet? I would suggest that Beethoven had an entirely different conception of finale in mind, something closer to the *Arietta* in op. 111. The search for stability that the *Grosse Fuge* reenacts does not so much balance the rest of the quartet as reconsider it at a transcendent level. Richard Kramer has proposed that "there is some manner of exorcism at play in the *Grosse Fuge* . . . an extravagant essay toward both the reconciliation and renunciation of all those disparate musics in op. 130." "Exorcism" seems an odd word choice, since there is nothing remotely demonic in the delicious, whimsical variety of the Quartet in B-flat. Right on the mark, however, is the suggestion that the fugue gathers up the motley energies, contrasts, songs, and dances of the first five movements and returns them in a rarefied contrapuntal form.¹³

Such transcendence entails a kind of death, or at least a life beyond the animal vitality of the heroic style. The first-movement development already voyages into such new realms of temporal experience. All the slow introductions of the Galitzin quartets, as was suggested, mirror the tensions within the contrapuntal *Allegros*. Yet none plays more radically with the relation of stasis and motion than the *Adagio ma non troppo*. The develop-

ment begins by dissolving any sense of direction or causality between the *Adagio* and *Allegro*: fragments of the introduction return twice, followed by disembodied echoes of the first theme (bars 93–100). A third return of the *Adagio* sorts out a new ostinato, combining the rising and falling appoggiatura with which the two preceding phrases have ended (101–3).¹⁴ This symmetrical ostinato, culled from the slow introduction, passes unobtrusively into the *Allegro*, blurring the boundaries between the two sections. Over the hypnotic murmuring of the ostinato, memories of the exposition float by in dreamy review—the first theme, with its subjects reordered and inverted, the second theme in a tender new version (104–31). This magical, hovering passage seems to create a new level of time in the *Allegro*, imbuing the faster tempo with the repose of the *Adagio*.

The *Grosse Fuge* likewise disdains temporal and formal boundaries. The climax of the fugue, a moment of genuinely erotic communion, arrives in bar 493 at the reprise of the *Meno mosso e moderato* (originally in G \flat), where all the rough energy of the A \flat section spills over into the gentler fugue, infusing its delicate lyricism with a thrilling new power. The movement ends with another reconciliation, this time between the B \flat and A \flat fugues. The coda begins, like the first-movement development, with fragmentary memories of the preceding section (657–62). The theme that emerges from this reverie combines elements from both the B \flat and A \flat fugues (*Allegro molto e con brio*). The tempo, meter, and note values belong to the latter, but the quirky manner of tying notes together derives from the former. When the countersubject of the opening *Fuga* returns at bar 717 in $\frac{3}{8}$, the fusion is complete.

Let us return to the coda of the first movement and complete the tale of Beethoven's contrapuntal theme. The coda begins like the development, fluctuating between tempos and lingering over the expressive cadential appoggiatura from the introduction. The *Allegro* again seems to absorb something from the *Adagio*. When the first theme returns, all strain has vanished from the counterpoint (bars 229–34). *Pianissimo e legato*, rooted in a balanced period, the sixteenth notes grounded by whole notes, the theme has at last come home. Thus ends the contrapuntal odyssey until, many distant lands and bright islands later, the *Grosse Fuge* sets sail again.

OP. 131, NO. 7, ALLEGRO

Each of the grand sonata movements of opp. 132, 130, and 131 lives in the shadow of a still grander contrapuntal movement, against which its peculiar

form takes shape. The first movement of the Quartet in A Minor submits to the gravity of the *Heiliger Dankgesang*, whose preternatural chill seems to roll back over the earlier movements, freezing their vitality into statuesque symmetries. The opening of the Quartet in B-flat Major looks ahead to the *Grosse Fuge* and its metamorphosing, gradually integrating double counterpoint. In the Quartet in C-sharp Minor, the *Allegro* finale must come to terms with the opening fugue. Beethoven draws the connection between the two movements as clearly as possible in the first theme, recalling the pathotype motive, the Neapolitan harmonies, and even a version of the fugue subject. This movement approaches the conflict between sonata form and counterpoint with a radically new sense of drama. For not only has Beethoven transferred his contrapuntal sonata form to the climactic finale position, but for the first time he actually enacts the evolution of a contrapuntal theme.

The characters of this textural drama take their bow within the first theme itself. The theme forms a ternary arch. The outer sections unleash two explosive rhythmic motives (hereafter *x* and *y*)—the first, a pair of anapests (bars 2–5); the second, a march in the gapped rhythm of the *Grosse Fuge* (5–17). In the middle section nests a soft *legato* motive (hereafter, *z*) recalled from the opening fugue (21–39), spun out with hints of *stretto* and inversion. The entire conflict of heroic sonata form and counterpoint crystallizes in these opposing sections. The first glows with the passionate, human presence that is the glory of the heroic style, a presence felt above all in the monorhythmic march. The second section quotes the most august, contemplative fugue Beethoven ever composed. The forces are drawn up, the battle lines clear: on one side, the vital gestures of the heroic style; on the other, the disciplined texture of counterpoint.

The development returns immediately to the conflicts within the first theme. Motives *x* and *y* flare up, shouldering aside the inert second theme and its chorale-like peroration. But the restless march now finds itself entangled in a double fugue, as a cantus firmus in whole notes materializes (bars 94–109). All of a sudden things look familiar. The *Grosse Fuge* texture reappears, opposing facets of a theme combine vertically, and a new cantus firmus traces an unbroken line through the development (see Example 12). With motive *y* squared away, attention turns to *x*. After a vigorous sequence it too acquires a countersubject, this one in eighth notes. This six-bar subject is repeated thrice (124–29, 130–35, and 136–41). The four bars rise in stepwise sequence, revealing the “new” countersubject as an ornamented version of the tetrachordal cantus firmus. The two countersubjects throw cold water over the two brash motives, in wholly different ways: the whole notes

EXAMPLE 12. String Quartet in C-sharp Minor, op. 131, finale (development)

94

sf *f* *f*

f *sempre f* *sf* *sf*

f

100

sf *f* *f* *f*

f *sf*

106

f *f* *f* *sf* *f*

sf *sf* *sf* *f* *f*

112

f *sf* *sf* *f* *f*

f *f* *f* *f* *f*

Detailed description: This musical score is for the development section of the finale of Beethoven's String Quartet in C-sharp Minor, op. 131. It consists of four systems of music, each with four staves (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass). The key signature is C-sharp minor (three sharps) and the time signature is common time (C). The first system (measures 94-99) features a dynamic range from *sf* to *f*. The second system (measures 100-105) includes a *sempre f* marking and dynamics from *sf* to *f*. The third system (measures 106-111) shows dynamics from *f* to *sf*. The fourth system (measures 112-117) maintains a dynamic of *f* with some *sf* accents. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, rests, and articulation marks.

rein in the momentum of *y*, while the eighth notes fill in the dramatic pauses of *x*.

This texture of the development, as Amanda Glauert has observed, seems intentionally to recall the opening movement. Not only does Beethoven run through a complete fugal exposition with the whole-note cantus firmus, but he again puts the answers in the subdominant. He even seems to have planted a clue to his intentions in the middle of the quartet. The third variation of no. 4, *Andante ma non troppo e molto cantabile*, reduces the theme to a canon at the second in march rhythm. On the second phrase (bars 9–16) white notes join the texture, giving a familiar look to the counterpoint. This passage, planted almost precisely in the middle of the quartet, seems to mediate between the outer movements, sketching at the future synthesis of march and whole-note cantus firmus. It may do even more than that. The rhythm and contour of the melody closely resemble the first theme of op. 132, which also has a cantus firmus in whole notes. In the midst of his most dramatic exploration of the *Grosse Fuge* compound, Beethoven seems deliberately to recall the defining version of that texture.¹⁵

Memories of the Quartet in A Minor also creep into the finale. The recapitulation maintains the texture of the development, with another double-fugal exposition (bars 170–86). The cantus firmus has drawn closer to the pathotype, with the characteristic rising minor sixth and falling semitone from op. 132. The second countersubject also returns from the development, rewritten so as to combine with motive *y* (203–15). The recapitulation thus completes the dialectic trajectory begun within the first theme itself. With all the logical inevitability of his grand heroic manner, Beethoven has reunited march and fugue, gesture and counterpoint, *seconda* and *prima pratica*.

The allusions to op. 132 prove telling indeed, for the *Allegro* of op. 131 effectively reverses the course of the earlier quartet. Previously a march invaded the sanctuary of the *stile antico*; white notes now gradually subdue a march. The finale of op. 132 abandoned counterpoint for unrestrained dance; the finale of op. 131 tames physical impulse to the discipline of fugue. The former liberated the individual gesture; the latter reaffirms the communal texture. Ironically, Beethoven plays out this spectacle in sonata form, the vehicle of his most dramatic, humanistic music. The heroic style devours its own children, as Beethoven turns his dialectical apparatus against the hero himself.

The coda carries the grim plot to an end. The march emerges furtively from the second theme at bar 262, low in register, *sempre pp*. The irrepressible motives *x* and *y* enjoy their most sustained run, building up great mo-

mentum in a series of canons and sequences. A reprise of *z* fails to check the momentum, which rises to a fever pitch with an enormous ascending sequence of *x*. The dynamics and register have been climbing steadily toward a climax; it arrives in bars 313–28, as whole notes suddenly rejoin the texture, sawed out *fortissimo* in the outer voices. The restored white notes take the renegade march into chancery, with an inversion thrown in for good measure (see Example 13). With this last showdown of march and cantus firmus, Beethoven lays to rest a trope that had haunted him since 1810.

It is a thrilling dramatic moment, the kind of full-throated, orgasmic release that only Beethoven could engineer. It is also one of the most contradictory moments in his music. For when we compare the thematic drama with the formal dramaturgy we face a conundrum. The *Allegro* depicts the integration of a propulsive, dramatic motive into a balanced contrapuntal texture. Yet it plays out this plot in the most propulsive, dramatic manner possible. Like E. T. A. Hoffmann describing the Fifth Symphony finale, Beethoven has attempted to inscribe a timeless ideal (archaic counterpoint) within a revolutionary discourse (heroic sonata form). Let us explore this paradox through a dialogue, borrowing some characters from Hoffmann:

PAGAN-ANTIQUÉ MUSE: The highest ideal of music is the imitation of human experience through time, expressed by unfettered melody. The *Allegro* creates an admirable sense of human drama, pulsing with rhythmic contrast, dynamic ebb and flow, and the dialectical conflict of themes.

CHRISTIAN-MODERN MUSE: The highest ideal of music is the reflection of the spiritual realm, expressed through the timeless structures of harmony and counterpoint. The *Allegro* nobly upholds the integrity and perfection of the contrapuntal texture, restoring that sense of the Eternal which individual melody can never express. It sets the divine imprimatur upon this august quartet, whose every detail affirms an absolute allegiance to the Whole.

PAGAN-ANTIQUÉ MUSE: Sadly, the actual drama concerns the downfall of two individual motives as they confront, and are forcibly subjected to, an archaic contrapuntal texture. The last hope of breathing life into this suffocatingly controlled quartet dies out in the coda, as the superb march bows to the *stile antico*. It is a brutal, oppressive spectacle.

CHRISTIAN-MODERN MUSE: Alas, this lofty argument is played out in the most vulgar theatrical manner, degrading music to its bygone office of aping earthly passions. It is an undignified, inappropriate spectacle.

Neither girl is entirely happy. From either perspective the finale of op. 131 appears deeply conflicted—making it an unsettling conclusion to a quartet

EXAMPLE 13. String Quartet in C-sharp Minor, op. 131, finale (coda)

313

ff *ff* *ff* *ff*

318

ff *ff* *ff*

323

f *f* *f* *f* *dim.* *dim.* *dim.* *dim.*

that vaunts the most self-conscious “normalcy” and “integration,” as Tovey and Kerman heard it.¹⁶

Beethoven’s contrapuntal project ends as it began, in paradox. The finale of op. 131 caps the experimentation that began in 1809, when Beethoven first turned to archaic counterpoint as an alternative to the heroic style and the disruptive social forces associated with that style. Seventeen years later we find the same tense balance between heroic dynamism and contrapuntal

stasis. A stylistic and ideological fissure runs down the center of the late style that no analysis can normalize or integrate out of existence. Nor will it do to take Adorno's line and allegorize the contrapuntal obstructions as scars of disillusionment with the Restoration, as "objective" intrusions into the subjective bourgeois consciousness. For nearly two decades Beethoven had been forging an individual contrapuntal style, honing in work after work the same contrasts and tensions that the op. 131 finale so magnificently focuses. By 1826 counterpoint had become as fully "integrated" or "normalized" within Beethoven's subjective style as sonata form or motivic development.

Our discussion of counterpoint began with a contrast between Beethoven's conflicted historical vision and the more simple reactionary outlook of Friedrich Schlegel in the 1820s. The finale of op. 131 perhaps bears closer comparison with an earlier essay by Schlegel, dating from the same dynamic Napoleonic era in which Beethoven's contrapuntal style took root. In 1805–6 Schlegel delivered his *Lectures on Universal History* in Vienna, concluding with a vision of the eternal—that is, medieval—form of the state:

What has been the oldest constitution from that time on, since any constitution arose and had to arise? Theocracy and heroism: theocracy, i.e. the higher power of the illuminated ones over the coarser crowd, and heroism (as power, as a form of the state), i.e., the natural superiority of those who offer up their lives for the common good. Where these two elements of the true and godly constitution are lacking a merely natural principle emerges in the constitution, i.e. anarchy or despotism.¹⁷

The affinities between Schlegel's "finale" and the *Allegro* of op. 131 run deeper than the suggestive duality, *Theokratie und Heroismus*. For Schlegel has also exploited a dynamic humanistic discourse inherited from the Enlightenment (the *Universalgeschichte*) to articulate a static religious ideal from the Middle Ages (the *Ständestaat*). No one would confuse Schlegel's mystical narrative with the rational trajectories of Rousseau, Schiller, or even Hegel—just as no one could mistake the convoluted path of op. 131 for the heroic arc of the Third or Fifth Symphonies. Yet while Romantic paradoxes enervate the thrust of liberal teleology, they preserve a tension between past and present from which a tortured utopianism might still emerge. Beethoven's later contrapuntal experiments fit somewhere along this spectrum of possibilities. Just where can remain an open question.

7 Androgynous Utopias

Any political study of Beethoven's late works must eventually confront the Ninth Symphony finale. The task is daunting. A mountain of analysis, interpretation, and plain speculation has accumulated around this fearsomely contemplated movement. The ascent begins (to take only a modern sampling) with Schenker, Baensch, and Tovey; continues with Sanders, Treitler, Solomon, Levy, Winter, Cook, and Tusa; and reaches a dizzying peak in the metacritical survey of James Webster, whose byzantine tables call to mind Kant's mathematical sublime.¹ Of the making of books about the Ninth Symphony there is no end; but is there anything new under the sun?

In terms of musical analysis, probably not much. Yet the "Ode to Joy" is adamantly about words as well as music, and a great deal remains to be said about the way in which Beethoven treated his text. For the composer fundamentally reshaped Schiller's poem, cutting most of the text and rearranging the rest. The ode comprises eight stanzas, each of which divides into eight lines of solo declamation and four lines of choral refrain. Beethoven cut the second half of the poem entirely, as well as the refrain to stanza 2 and the solo lines from stanza 4:

Allegro Assai (D major)

Freude, schöner Götterfunken,
Tochter aus Elysium,
Wir betreten feuertrunken,
Himmlische, dein Heiligtum.

Stanza 1 (solo lines)

Deine Zauber binden wieder,
Was die Mode streng geteilt;
Alle Menschen werden Brüder,
Wo dein sanfter Flügel weilt.

Wem der große Wurf gelungen,
Eines Freundes Freund zu sein,
Wer ein holdes Weib errungen,
Mische seinen Jubel ein!

Stanza 2 (solo lines)

Ja—wer auch nur eine Seele
Sein nennt auf dem Erdenrund!
Und wer's nie gekonnt, der stehle
Weinend sich aus diesem Bund.

Freude trinken alle Wesen
An den Brüsten der Natur;
Alle Guten, alle Bösen
Folgen ihrer Rosenspur.

Stanza 3 (solo lines)

Küsse gab sie uns und Reben,
Einen Freund, geprüft im Tod;
Wollust ward dem Wurm gegeben,
Und der Cherub steht vor Gott!

Allegro Assai Vivace. Alla Marcia (B^b major)

Froh, wie seine Sonnen fliegen
Durch des Himmels prächt'gen Plan,
Laufet, Brüder, eure Bahn,
Freudig, wie ein Held zum Siegen.

Stanza 4 (choral refrain)

[*Reprise of "Freude" theme (D major)*]

Stanza 1 (solo lines)]

Andante maestoso. Adagio ma non troppo (G major)

Seid umschlungen, Millionen!
Diesen Kuß der ganzen Welt!
Brüder—überm Sternenzelt
Muß ein lieber Vater wohnen.

Stanza 1 (choral refrain)

Ihr stürzt nieder, Millionen?
Ahnest du den Schöpfer, Welt?
Such' ihn überm Sternenzelt!
Über Sternen muß er wohnen.

Stanza 3 (choral refrain)

Allegro energico (D major)

Freude, schöner Götterfunken,
Tochter aus Elysium,
Wir betreten feuertrunken,
Himmlische, dein Heiligtum.

Stanza 1 (solo lines)

Seid umschlungen, Millionen!
Diesen Kuß der ganzen Welt!

Stanza 1 (choral refrain)

[*The remaining sections introduce no further new words.*]

Beethoven tampered most liberally with the choral refrains. They disappear entirely from the D-major exposition of the “Freude” theme (*Allegro assai*), which retains only the solo portions of stanzas 1–3. The following B \flat march sets the refrain from stanza 4. After a return to D major and the solo lines from stanza 1, the refrains from stanzas 1 and 3 finally appear together in the G major hymn. Only in the D-major double fugue (*Allegro energico*) does Beethoven present solo and choral verses together. Solomon was hardly exaggerating when he claimed that Beethoven “wrote his own text to the Ninth Symphony’s ‘Ode to Joy.’”² The composer obviously had an a priori conception that overrode the order and structure of Schiller’s verses.

Beethoven’s design centers on the reshuffled choral refrains that make up the texts of the B \flat march and G major hymn. These two refrains, of only four and eight lines, respectively, account for a disproportionate share of the movement. They also mark the primary departures from the tonic key. If we want to understand Beethoven’s intentions in approaching Schiller’s text, we cannot be too interested in these displaced refrains. A familiar set of binary oppositions emerges when we lay the texts side by side:

Allegro Assai Vivace. Alla Marcia

Gladly, as his suns fly
Through the splendid plain of heaven,
Run, brothers, your course joyfully
Like a hero to conquest.

Andante maestoso. Adagio ma non troppo

Be embraced, millions!
This kiss for the whole world!
Brothers, over the starry tent
A loving father must dwell.

You fall down, millions?
Do you sense the Creator, world?
Seek him over the starry tent!
Over the stars he must dwell!

The stanzas contrast day/night, sun/stars, striving/receptivity, conquest/submission. The musical setting creates a similar contrast: the march carves out a triadic fanfare, thrusting aggressively to the high B \flat , while the hymn follows a gentle third sequence, coiling downwards in a gracious triple meter. Light/dark, action/passivity, heroism/love—these pairings might possibly suggest the binarism of the sublime and beautiful. More obviously, they evoke the duality that underlies even the sublime and the beautiful—male and female. At the heart of the “Ode to Joy” Beethoven seems to have deliberately planted the opposition of the genders as a central musical-poetic idea. Nor should this design surprise us, if we recall the distinguished line of androgynous utopias in the Viennese tradition.

VIENNESE ANDROGYNES

Mozart provided the classic example with *Die Zauberflöte*. Darkness and light, personified by the Queen of the Night and Sarastro, mark out the warring realms of the opera. The hope of reconciliation rests upon the union of two pair of young lovers, whose names (Tamino/Pamina, Papageno/Papagena) depict them as halves of an incomplete whole. The union of the sexes takes on a mystical significance in the duet "Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen," which concludes with the chiasmic epigram "Mann und Weib, und Weib und Mann / Reichen an die Gottheit an" (Husband and wife, and wife and husband / Reach toward divinity). The healing power of love reaches beyond gender to class relations, as Papageno's *Volkston* manner and Pamina's coloratura unite within the cradling embrace of the *Teutsche*. Conjugal love becomes further linked to the mystical path of Masonry in Sarastro's first aria:

O Isis und Osiris, schenket
 Der Weisheit Geist dem neuen Paar!
 Die ihr der Wanderer Schritte lenket,
 Stärket mit Geduld sie in Gefahr.

(O Isis and Osiris, grant
 The spirit of Wisdom to the new couple!
 You who guide the wanderer's steps,
 Strengthen them with patience in danger.)

Sarastro invokes the married siblings of Egyptian religion, who ruled between themselves world and underworld and whose union ensured natural abundance. The marriage of Pamina and Tamino promises likewise to heal the breach between the powers of night and day (begun when her dying father gave the seven-fold Solar Circle to Sarastro instead of the Queen of the Night), and to usher in a chiliastic reign that unites masculine power with feminine goodness. As the final chorus of act I proclaims:

Wenn Tugend und Gerechtigkeit
 Der Großen Pfad mit Ruhm bestreut,
 Dann ist die Erd ein Himmelreich,
 Und Sterblichen den Göttern gleich.

(When virtue and righteousness
 Bestrew the path of the great,
 Then earth will be a heavenly realm,
 And mortals like gods.)

Jacques Chailley, bursting momentarily through the mists of speculation, crystallized the gender plot of the opera: "The crisis of the sexes was unknown to the reign of Pamina's father. It was born from their division (the world divided between the Queen of the Night and Sarastro). Through the union of Tamino and Pamina, the conflict will be resolved and a new Age of Gold can open for the world."³

Many strands connect Beethoven to his favorite Mozart opera. He wrote a set of variations for cello and piano on "Bei Männern" in 1801 (WoO 46). The act I chorus echoes in (and may well have been the source for) the Choral Fantasy, another C-major finale that ends with a harmonious vision of the lion and the lamb: "Wenn sich Lieb' und Kraft vermählen / Lohnt dem Menschen Götter-Gunst" (When love and strength wed, / Godly grace rewards mankind). During his later years *Die Zauberflöte* reverberates in Beethoven's scurrilous nickname for sister-in-law Johanna, "die Königin der Nacht." More intriguing are the three Egyptian inscriptions that, according to Schindler, he kept mounted on his writing desk:

I AM THAT WHICH IS.

I AM EVERYTHING THAT IS, THAT WAS, AND THAT WILL BE. NO MORTAL
MAN HAS LIFTED MY VEIL.

HE IS OF HIMSELF ALONE, AND IT IS TO THIS ALONENESS THAT ALL
THINGS OWE THEIR BEING.

Solomon has noted the juxtaposition of male and female perspectives in these quotations from Schiller's *Die Sendung Moses*:

These irreconcilable matriarchal and patriarchal inscriptions remained under the glass of Beethoven's work table throughout the later part of his life, poignant reminders of the master's withdrawal to an impregnable self-sufficiency, a self-sufficiency which ultimately prevailed against his longings for love.⁴

It is all the more poignant that Beethoven, having abandoned hope of a loving union in his personal life, should continue to idealize it in the musical sphere.

The androgynous ideal of *Die Zauberflöte* echoes in Haydn's *Creation*, another vocal work that loomed large in Beethoven's imagination. The oratorio reaches an apex in the prelapsarian vision of Adam and Eve coming into possession of their world. The dichotomy of day and night again marks off the sexes, as the couple sing by themselves for the first time:

ADAM: Der Sterne hellster, o wie schön
Verkündest du den Tag!
Wie schmückst du ihn, o Sonne du,
Des Weltalls Seel' und Aug!

(Brightest of stars, oh, how beautifully
You herald the day!
How you adorn it, o Sun,
Soul and eye of the universe!)

EVE: Und du, der Nächte Zierd' und Trost,
Und all das strahlend' Heer,
Verbreitet überall sein Lob
In eurem Chorgesang!

(And you, ornament and comfort of the nights,
And all the shining host,
Spread wide His praise
In your choral hymn!)

And again, in their love duet:

ADAM: Der tauende Morgen,
O wie ermuntert er!

(The dewy morning,
Oh how it refreshes us!)

EVE: Die Kühle des Abends,
O wie erquicket sie!

(The cool of evening,
Oh how it revives us!)

The antinomies of light and dark, so famously depicted in the opening chorus, attain a perfect chiaroscuro in the loving couple.

The erotic utopias of Mozart and Haydn found a worthy heir in Beethoven's *Leonore*. The androgynous element comes to the fore not only in the title trouser role (and Solomon has pointed out Beethoven's attraction to similar cross-dressing heroines in *Leonore Prohaska* and *Egmont*),⁵ but also in the passive role of Florestan whom Leonore must rescue, Orpheus-like, from the underworld of the dungeon. As the subtitle *Die eheliche Liebe* (Conjugal Love) indicates, the theme of political jus-

tice is linked to the love of man and woman. Beethoven and librettist Sonnleitner lent the final chorus an idealistic sheen by inserting a verse from Schiller's *An die Freude*: "Wer ein holdes Weib errungen, / Stimm' in unsern Jubel ein" (Whoever has won a dear wife / Let him join in our rejoicing).

Of the three Viennese masterpieces, Beethoven's is by far the most radical conception. Haydn's Eve gushes to her spouse: "O du, für den ich ward! Mein Schirm, mein Schild, mein All! Dein Will ist mir Gesetz. So hat's der Herr bestimmt, und dir gehorchen bringt mir Freude, Glück und Ruhm" ("Oh, you for whom I was made! My protector, my shield, my all! Your will is law to me. The Lord has so decreed, and to obey you brings me joy, bliss, and honor"). As for Pamina, not even Mozart's sympathetic characterization can distract from the misogynistic course of the opera in which Pamina, snatched from her demonized mother, becomes indoctrinated into the world of men.⁶

In *Leonore*, on the other hand, Beethoven enhanced his heroine so greatly that the balance swings to the opposite extreme. The composer even switched the fundamental symbolism of light and dark. Solomon has noted the mythic significance of Bouilly's tale: "The dying vegetation god (the meaning of Florestan's name becomes clearer) lies awaiting the arrival of the bisexual goddess (Leonore/Fidelio) and the princely hero (Fernando) to restore him to life and to youth, to mark his passage from the dark ground into the sunlight."⁷ Leonore also traces a mythological lineage, through the medieval Eleanor to the ancient Greek Helen (Ἑλένη), popularly translated as "bright one" or "light one." The original librettist, Bouilly, seems to have intended this etymology. Leonore brings the prisoners into the light in act I, and she rescues Florestan from his dark dungeon. In her great *scena* and aria she calls the light of hope into herself:

Doch so toben auch wie Meereswogen
 Dir in der Seele Zorn und Wuth,
 So leuchtet mir ein Farbenbogen,
 Der hell auf dunkeln Wolken ruht;
 Der blickt so still, so friedlich nieder,
 Der spiegelt alten Zeiten wieder,
 Und neu besänftigt wallt mein Blut.

Komm, Hoffnung, lass den letzten Stern
 Der Müden nicht erleichen,
 O komm, erhell', erhell' mein Ziel,

Sei's noch so fern,
Die Liebe, sie wird's erreichen.

(Although anger and fury rage
Like sea billows in your soul,
A rainbow sparkles before me,
Resting on the dark clouds;
It gazes down so quietly, so peacefully,
It mirrors old times again,
And my blood flows with renewed calm.

Come, Hope, let the last star
Of the weary not fade,
Oh come, illuminate, illuminate my goal,
Be it ever so far,
Love will reach it.)

There is evidence from outside the opera as well that suggests that the Greek derivation was intentional. In 1803 another *pièce à sauvetage* by Bouilly premiered in Vienna, set by Méhul, entitled *Héléna*. The heroine is another trouser role, a medieval princess who disguises herself as a shepherd after her husband is falsely accused of a political crime. Like Leonore, *Héléna* is taken under the wing of an honest bourgeois and pestered by his infatuated daughter. The plot again revolves around the efforts of husband and wife to clear their name and regain a peaceful life. The similarity between the two plots suggests that Bouilly was playing with Greek and French versions of the same name. And, as noted previously, Beethoven almost certainly derived the trumpet signal of *Leonore* from Méhul, who also has a solo trumpet interrupt his overture and then return within the opera to herald the arrival of a just governor.

Whether or not Beethoven understood the Greek etymology, he greatly enhanced Leonore's role as a giver of light. In the second act, as she frees Florestan from his chains, Beethoven recalls the famous phrase from his first Bonn cantata, "Da stiegen die Menschen ans Licht" (Then mankind rose toward the light). For the 1814 version of the opera, Beethoven and librettist Treitschke added the hallucinatory F-major *stretto* to Florestan's aria, in which Leonore appears as an angel of light:

Und spür' ich nicht linde, sanft säuselnde Luft?
Und ist nicht mein Grab mir erhellet?
Ich seh', wie ein Engel im rosigen Duft
Sich tröstend zur Seite mir stellet,

Ein Engel, Leonoren, der Gattin so gleich,
Der führt mich zur Freiheit in's himmlische Reich.

(And do I not sense mild, softly murmuring air?
And is not my grave grown brighter?
I see, like an angel in rosy fragrance
Coming to my side to comfort me,
An angel, so like my wife, Leonore,
Who leads me to freedom in the heavenly realm.)

Both the key and the soaring oboe obbligato forecast the moment of Florestan's liberation, strengthening the connection between Leonore's twin roles as liberator and *Aufklärerin*. Even the keys assigned to the protagonists enhance the polarity of light and dark; as Douglas Johnson has noted, "Leonore (E major) and Florestan (F minor/A^b major) are presented as the extreme poles, four sharps and four flats removed from the key of resolution, as if to emphasize the distance between them."⁸ In the mythic reading it is thus the heavenly light of Leonore that revives the earth god Florestan, bringing about the harvest of peace and justice.

On the human level, Leonore glows with a power and vitality surpassing any female character in opera. She dons not only men's clothing, but all the traditional virtues of men as well—courage, steadfastness, honor, initiative. Her vocal palette encompasses pathos, ardor, jubilation, tenderness, and heroic bravura. She rises to the sacrificial nobility of a Gilda or Brünnhilde, yet with an incomparable ethical clarity and independence. And unlike Carmen, who never sheds the weeds of the music-hall gypsy, Leonore rises above her *opéra-comique* origins to attain a genuine interiority—an interiority all the greater for the stock characters that environ her. In every way, Leonore wears the pants in this opera of conjugal love.

Yet if in *Fidelio* Beethoven thrust his heroine into trousers, in the Ninth Symphony he drapes his heroes in the skirts of the clergy. The conquering brethren of the *Alla marcia* return in the *Andante maestoso* as a schola of monks, faceless and leaderless. Light and dark revert to their traditional genders. And the path now leads from day to night, battlefield to chapel, striving to passivity—a direction that cuts against the grain of all Beethoven's heroic works, from the *Eroica* to *Leonore* to the Fifth Symphony and Choral Fantasy. Those who see the finale as a microcosm of the entire symphony will counter that this order was dictated by the succession of movements in the Ninth Symphony, explicitly recalled at the outset of the finale. The question then arises of why, in this one symphony, Beethoven chose to reverse the order of scherzo and slow movement. The

best answer comes from Solomon, who has noted how the lyrical *Adagio* creates a transition between the rhythmic, instrumental expression of the first two movements and the vocalism of the finale: "Even without words, song enters the Ninth Symphony as prayer and mourning, as consolation and yearning, as thanksgiving and praise."⁹ Yet this solution only raises the larger question of why Beethoven decided to aim his last grand symphony away from the heroic accents of the march toward the lyrical strains of the human voice. The bias away from the martial-heroic mode appears not only in the order, but also in the manner of reconciliation between the B \flat and G sections of the finale. While the tempo and meter of the *Alla marcia* do return in the *Allegro energico*, the heroic words vanish forever. Even the form of the *Allegro energico*, a strict double fugue, belongs to the archaic vocal tradition. If in *Fidelio* Beethoven empowered the feminine, in the Ninth Symphony he seems intent on domesticating the masculine. Whence this change in the utopography?

The most obvious influence comes from the *Dona nobis pacem* of the *Missa solemnis*, completed just before the Ninth Symphony. Here is another D-major finale that is disrupted by a military march in B \flat . Yet as have seen, the balance between march and hymn, rhythmic impetus and lyrical relaxation, is an idea that pervades Beethoven's later works and can be traced all the way back to the string quartets of 1809–10. One particular work bridges the intimate lyrical impulse of 1809 and the choral monuments of the 1820s, a work that suggests a model for both the *Dona nobis pacem* and the "Ode to Joy"—*Wellingtons Sieg*. This most abused of Beethoven's works also has a grand D-major finale, which critics, distracted by the fanfares, cannon, and rattles in the first half, have almost totally ignored (only Albrecht Riethmüller seems to have noticed the many ways in which this concluding *Siegessinfonie* anticipates the Ninth Symphony finale). This suggestion, of course, flies in the face of critical tradition, which has damned *Wellingtons Sieg* and the other Congress of Vienna works as detours from Beethoven's true path. "Rather than moving forward to his late style," declared Solomon, Beethoven "here regressed to a pastiche of his heroic manner. The heroic style, forged in doubt, rebellion, and defiance, had ended in conformity." Kinderman scorned these aberrations "that fall out of the main line of Beethoven's artistic development and demand therefore a different critical approach."¹⁰ *Wellingtons Sieg* exercises Kinderman considerably, popping up in the opening paragraph of his introduction. His polemic bears a closer look, not only because it offers the most serious discussion of Beethoven's patriotic works, but also because it lays out so conveniently the political-erotic themes at hand.

Kinderman begins his discussion with a sly reference to Beethoven's habit of visiting prostitutes during 1813 ("assaulting fortresses," in the composer's private code): "If Beethoven had strayed from higher ethical ideals in his personal life, a deviating trend can also be discerned in his music." Deviance means kitsch, a concept that Kinderman, following Hermann Broch, defines as a "closed system" wherein mindless beauty masks the lack of intellectual or ethical substance. *Wellingtons Sieg* fails as a work of art because it lacks an inner formal design to balance its programmatic thrills. This cosmetic shallowness appears, for instance, in the crude facture of the *Sturmarsch*: "This is symptomatic of the almost complete absence, in the Battle Symphony, of a unifying tonal and formal perspective such as we normally find in Beethoven. Wellington's soldiers have no need of subtlety; they force their way heavily and brutally into the French defences"—like Beethoven, of course, assaulting his fortresses. The easily violated work thus amounts to a "consummated symbol," the antithesis of Suzanne Langer's famous ideal. The tawdry patriotic works offend most grievously by fobbing themselves off as true works of art: "It is not dreamy sentimentality but the underlying criterion of a false pretence that betrays the affinity of Beethoven's Congress of Vienna works with Broch's categories."¹¹ *Wellingtons Sieg* struts like a lady, but she is just a cheap slut, peddling her charms to the highest bidder.

The chaste, unconsummated symbols that Kinderman sees as more typical of Beethoven's oeuvre temper beauty with form, preserving a "tensional synthesis of sensuous intuition and rational understanding." His entire book, as the prefatory "Overture" makes clear, amounts to a vindication of this Schillerian balance. It is particularly the intellectual—one might say, male—facet of Beethoven's music that Kinderman feels compelled to defend. For, as he makes clear, this formal integrity reaches beyond aesthetics: "The work of art, in the sense described above, arises in a realm beyond the reach of political power and social conformity; and its very existence potentially confirms the democratic ideal of personal freedom." By guarding its virtue against external influences, the musical artwork preserves human freedom itself:

The danger of political romanticism, with its impending retrogression into nationalism or fascism, arises from inadequate recognition of the individual human being as a potentially autonomous and creative agent, the grounds of whose self-determination constitute freedom. As soon as our concept of the human being is dominated or consumed by his or her relationship with state, people, class, gender, background, formative experiences, or any other contextual factors, this principle of freedom is violated

by ideology, that is, by premature and illegitimate generalization about human nature.¹²

Kinderman has articulated the underlying tenet of classical liberalism, the faith in the sovereign individual who transcends every heteronomous influence. As a political philosophy, liberalism has many admirable points, but it has by no means claimed universal or self-evident assent, especially during Beethoven's age. It is an ideology, moreover, that has proved susceptible to deconstruction along lines of class, gender, and nationality. Rather than argue with Kinderman's point of view, however, I shall yield the rostrum to the Romantic thinkers themselves. Two centuries ago they formulated a rebuttal of liberalism with distinctly aesthetic (and erotic) implications. In the light of this alternative tradition, the design of *Wellingtons Sieg* takes on a surprising new logic.

EROTIC POLITICS

In 1790, the same year in which Immanuel Kant published the *Critique of Judgment*, Edmund Burke set forth his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. The two works have much in common. Both circulated widely and exercised a huge influence in Germany; both rest on a conviction of the interconnectedness of aesthetics and ethical behavior; and both explore the beautiful and sublime. From these common premises, however, Kant and Burke reached diametrically opposing conclusions. Beethoven's later political aesthetic can be understood, to a large degree, as a dialectic between the viewpoints of these two books.

Burke shared none of Kant's faith in reason as a guide to human conduct. At the outset of the *Reflections* he declares, "I cannot stand forward and give praise or blame to anything which relates to human actions, and human concerns, on a simple view of the object, as it stands stripped of every relation, in all the nakedness and solitude of metaphysical abstraction."¹³ Burke's critique of abstract reason was aimed at the fledgling government in France, which was attempting to sweep aside centuries of hallowed institutions and customs in favor of a new system of government. "Metaphysical abstraction" encompasses not only the Rights of Man and natural law, but also the debased paper currency (*assignats*) flooding the Revolutionary economy. Such contempt for tradition and concrete values could lead only to chaos and a tyranny of disembodied—or, better, decapitated—reason.

Always sensitive to the aesthetic realm, Burke equated the downfall of

traditional rights with the violation of beauty itself. The upper classes, in particular, served as curators of a refinement essential to civilization: "Nobility is a graceful ornament to the civil order. It is its Corinthian capital of polished society." The violation of chivalric beauty could only plunge humanity back into barbarism. Burke soared to prophetic heights as he denounced that ultimate breach of chivalry, the invasion of the queen's bed-chamber by the revolutionaries:

But now all is to be changed. All the pleasing illusions which made power gentle and obedience liberal, which harmonized the different shades of life, and which, by a bland assimilation, incorporated into politics the sentiments which beautify and soften private society, are to be dissolved by this new conquering empire of light and reason. All the decent drapery of life is to be rudely torn off. All the superadded ideas, furnished from the wardrobe of a moral imagination, which the heart owns and the understanding ratifies as necessary to cover the defects of our naked, shivering nature, and to raise it to dignity in our own estimation, are to be exploded as a ridiculous, absurd, and antiquated fashion.¹⁴

Burke's magnificent jeremiad reverses Kant's verdict: ethical life springs not from the sublimity that unveils our immortality, but from the beauty that clothes our bestiality.

Burke's vision of political duty likewise begins at an opposite pole from Kant's moral law. He upheld instead the traditional, corporatist bonds of feudal society:

To be attached to the subdivision, to love the little platoon we belong to in society, is the first principle (the germ as it were) of public affections. It is the first link in the series by which we proceed toward a love to our country and to mankind.

Burke's emphasis on love as the binding force in this hierarchy harks back to his earlier *Enquiry*. There he had defined beauty as "that quality or those qualities in bodies by which they cause love, or some passion similar to it." Beauty thus encouraged harmonious sociability:

I call beauty a social quality; for where women and men . . . give us a sense of joy and pleasure in beholding them . . . they inspire us with sentiments of tenderness and affection towards their persons; we like to have them near us, and we enter willingly into a kind of relation with them.

The sublime, on the other hand, arouses the more primitive passion of "self-preservation," a feeling based upon terror and awe:

There is a wide difference between admiration and love. The sublime, which is the cause of the former, always dwells upon great objects, and terrible; the latter on small ones, and pleasing; we submit to what we admire, but we love what submits to us; in one case we are forced, in the other we are flattered into compliance.¹⁵

In Burke's gracious commonwealth the gentle suasion of love creates the true social bond.

Despite his nostalgia for a feudal order based on land and class, Burke was too practical a statesman not to recognize the benefits of a strong middle class, with its virtues of commercial vigor and self-betterment. As he conceded, "nothing is a due and adequate representation of a state that does not represent its ability as well as its property." Yet, as the events in France had proven, such a dynamic class might all too easily destabilize the state. Burke therefore proposed a balance between the bourgeoisie and aristocracy, based upon the English bicameral system, with the scales weighted heavily toward the latter: "As ability is a vigorous and active principle, and as property is sluggish, inert, and timid, it can never be safe from the invasion of ability unless it be, out of all proportion, predominant in the representation." This equilibrium strikingly resembles Schiller's reconciliation of the sublime and beautiful—another retrenchment from revolutionary enthusiasm: "Only if the sublime is wedded to the beautiful and our sensitivity for both has been cultivated in equal measure are we perfect citizens of nature without thereby becoming her slaves and without squandering our citizenship in the intelligible world."¹⁶ Burke was also fashioning an aesthetic state. Unlike Schiller, however, he could refer his readers to the concrete example of England's parliamentary monarchy. This lent his writings a particular credence, especially as Britain emerged as Napoleon's most powerful adversary.

Novalis was the first German Romantic writer to engage seriously with Burke's ideas. In the aphoristic *Blütenstaub* he quipped: "Many anti-revolutionary books have been written on behalf of the Revolution. Burke wrote a revolutionary book against the Revolution." In 1798 Novalis undertook his own contribution to aesthetic politics, *Glauben und Liebe*, to commemorate the ascent of Friedrich Wilhelm III and Queen Luise to the throne of Prussia. Subtitled *Der König und die Königin*, and furnished with a frontispiece of the much-idealized royal couple, the essay explicitly links politics to the marriage of man and woman. *Glauben und Liebe* reveals not only Novalis's admiration of Burke, but also his equal antipathy to Kant. Novalis aimed his polemic at the celebrated treatise *Vom ewigen Frieden* (On Perpetual Peace, 1795), in which Kant had entered an astounding claim:

As hard as it may sound, the problem of setting up a state can be solved even by a nation of devils (so long as they possess understanding). It may be stated as follows: "In order to organise a group of rational beings who together require universal laws for their survival, but of whom each separate individual is secretly inclined to exempt himself from them, the constitution must be so designed that, although the citizens are opposed to one another in their private attitudes, these opposing views may inhibit one another in such a way that the public conduct of the citizens will be the same as if they did not have such evil attitudes."

Novalis rejected such facile trust in rationalism, which he associated with the enlightened era of Frederick the Great:

No state was more converted into a factory than Prussia since the death of Friedrich Wilhelm I. While such a mechanistic administration may perhaps be needed for the physical health, strength, and facility of the state, the state will be destroyed in its very essence when it is treated solely in this manner. The principle of the famous old systems was to bind each person to the state through self-interest. . . . Much labor was poured into this political squaring of the circle: but raw self-interest appears to be entirely immeasurable and anti-systematic. It would not be contained, as every ordered state requires.

Not only did enlightened self-interest fail to benefit the Prussian state, it led to the debacle in France: "Meanwhile, through this formal establishment of base egotism as a principle, a monstrous damage was inflicted; and the germ of our current revolution lies nowhere else than here."¹⁷

Novalis, following Burke, proposed love—specifically, marital love—as the basis of the state: "Selfless love in the heart and her maxims in the head . . . that is the sole, eternal basis of all true, indivisible relationship—and what is the relationship of the state other than a marriage?" He reproved Kant, declaring that "only love possesses the talisman of perpetual peace—since only where love appears do the masses flow into one." Like Burke, Novalis described the opposition between nobility and bourgeoisie in gendered terms: "the estates [*Stände*] of marriage are the estates of the state—woman and man." Love arose from the experience of beauty, which attained its acme in the feminized, chivalric graces. "Without etiquette," he protested, "no court can stand"; hence, this beautiful decorum should be "no light concern for the intelligent king, for it exercises an important influence on the taste and love for the monarchical form." He decreed rather fancifully that "in the presence of the king the conversation of the citizens should be sparkling and as poetic as possible." So potent was the shield of

aesthetic illusion, claimed Novalis, that “the king and queen protect the monarchy more than 200,000 men.”¹⁸

Novalis did not utterly reject the individualistic currents of the age but, like Burke, placed them in a safe equilibrium with the more stable forces of society. *Glauben und Liebe* ends with a meditation on this necessary balance, with Burke’s contest of “ability” and “property” translated into the opposition of youth and old age. The scales again tip toward tradition and authority:

Now the perfect democracy and the monarch appear to be locked in an insoluble antimony, the advantage of the one offset by the advantage of the other. Youth stands on the side of the first, law-abiding patriarchs [*Hausväter*] on the side of the second. An absolute difference of inclination appears to occasion this separation. The first loves change, the other does not. In certain years, perhaps, we all love revolutions, free competition, contests, and other such democratic spectacles. Yet most pass through such years, and we feel ourselves drawn toward a more peaceful world, where a central sun conducts the dance—and one would sooner become a planet than fight a destructive battle over taking the lead.¹⁹

The adolescent vigor of the sublime preserves its place in the political family, but only within the confines of a civilized, patriarchal beauty.

Many authors in Napoleonic Germany shared Novalis’s nostalgia for the bygone graces of the medieval aristocracy. We might refer to the extraordinary Romantic cult of Queen Luise, to which *Glauben und Liebe* belongs; or the vogue for the *Ritterroman*, or chivalric novel; or to the Nazarene painters, who rejected the statuesque manner of neoclassicism in favor of the softer colors and brush strokes of the Italian Renaissance. We need look no further, however, than Beethoven’s own oeuvre. In the second number of the cantata *Der glorreiche Augenblick* (1814), following the opening chorus of jubilation, the poet turns a keen sartorial eye upon the approaching Hapsburg emperor:

O seht sie nah und näher treten! Jetzt aus der Glanzflut hebt sich die Gestalt!
Der Kaisermantel ist’s, der von dem Rücken der Kommenden zur Erde niederwält!
Sechs Kronen zeigt er den Blicken, an diesem hat den Busenschloss der Aar geheftet mit den gold’nen Spangen,
und um des Leibes Faltenguss seh ich des Isters, Silbergürtel prangen.

Erkennst du nicht das heimische Gebild,
Auf seinem Wappenschild?
Erscheinet dir die Lerchenschaar,

Der gotisch alte Thurm, der Doppelaar,
 Der durch Gebraus und Sturm in tausend-jährigem' Flug,
 Sein Volk empor zu dieser Glorie trug?

(Oh, see it come closer and closer! Out of the flood of light the figure arises! It is the imperial mantle that flows down to the earth from the shoulders of the approaching one. One sees six crowns, fastened at the breast with an eagle pin with golden clasps; and around the torrent of folds encircling the body I see the silver Danubian belt resplendent.

Do you not recognize the national image
 On his escutcheon?
 Do you see the flock of larks,
 The old gothic tower, the double eagle
 That through thunder and storm in a thousand-year flight
 Has borne its people upward to glory?)

After this fashion report (colored with swooning cello obbligato and appropriate fanfares), the chorus swings into a hymn to Vienna, feminine genius of the Hapsburg capital:

Vienna! Vienna!
 Krongeschmückte, Götterbeglückte,
 Herrscherbewirthende Bürgerin,
 Sei begrüßt von den Völkern allen und Zeiten,
 Die an dir vorüberschreiten,
 Denn jetzt bist du, du der Städte Königin,
 Vienna! Vienna!

(Vienna! Vienna!
 Crown-adorned, favored by the gods,
 Hospitable hostess to sovereigns,
 Let all people salute you, all ages
 That pass through you,
 For you are now the queen of cities,
 Vienna! Vienna!)

Beethoven sets these lines as a gay waltz—but not before slipping in a rakish quote from Don Giovanni's serenade, "Deh vieni alla finestra" (see Example 14). Not for the restored princes the stern civic virtues of neoclassicism; the new tokens of power are the glitter and frivolity of a poetic existence.

Adam Müller fell heir to the aesthetic politics of both Burke and Novalis. His mentor, Friedrich Gentz, was the translator and foremost German proponent of Burke, and Müller himself had once intended to publish Novalis's

works. The reconciliation of opposites had been central to Müller's thought ever since he studied Schelling's *Vorlesungen über die Methode des akademischen Studiums* (1803). In his own *Vorlesungen über deutsche Wissenschaft und Literatur* (1805–7), Müller applied his *Gegensatzlehre* (theory of oppositions) to the state, which consisted of

the nobility, that represents the enduring, plant-like element of society and is therefore bound to property interests, and the bourgeois class, that through its animal, masculine calling to unlimited gain and consumption is directed more to trade, civic affairs, and liquid assets. The reconciliation of these two essences is the highest problem of all theories of the state.

Benedickt Koehler has analyzed Müller's mixture of aesthetic and political terms:

Art is for Müller the mediation between the beautiful and the sublime, statecraft the mediation between the societal representatives of the beautiful and sublime, that is, nobility and bourgeoisie. The nobility, as the feminine element of the state, embodies the right of existing order; the bourgeoisie, its masculine pendant, stands for the demands of the present. The conflict of law and freedom is mirrored in the relationship of the two classes.²⁰

Müller's most famous work was the *Elemente der Staatskunst* (1808–9). The two elements are the nobility and bourgeoisie, which again embody the beautiful and the sublime, the feminine and the masculine. Political life fluctuates with the organic interaction between "visible and invisible power,

EXAMPLE 14. Beethoven's Use of Parody in *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, op. 136

a. Mozart, "Deh vieni alla finestra" (*Don Giovanni*)

Don Giovanni

Deh vie - ni al-la fi-ne - stra, o mio te -

(continued)

EXAMPLE 14 (continued)

b. Beethoven, *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, mm. 41–46

41

Vi - en - na!

44

Vi - en - na! Vi - en - na! Vi - en - na!

Vi - en - na! Vi - en - na! Vi - en - na!

Vi - en - na! Vi - en - na! Vi - en - na!

Vi - en - na! Vi - en - na! Vi - en - na!

force and love, severity and mildness." Müller showed no more sympathy than Novalis for Kant's serene formalism, portraying politics instead as a necessary struggle between opposites: "Perpetual peace cannot be the ideal of politics. Peace and war should complete one another like rest and movement. The reciprocal relationship and movements of states among one another are the requirements for the growth and flourishing of humanity." In a reworking of Novalis's familial metaphor, Müller explained how "the legalistic severity of the father and the spiritual mildness of the mother work in an unceasing interchange." Müller wished no more than Burke or Novalis to suppress the positive contributions of the French Revolution and Enlightenment. His ideal, like theirs, was a dialectic safely tilted toward the stable forces of history and custom. The polarity of youth and old age serves again as the favored metaphor:

The youth of a country loves, for very natural reasons, license; it loves free compass for ambition and the pursuit of wealth; it finds the boundaries of law and custom burdensome and is inclined to break them. The elderly, on the other hand, must honor boundaries more and more as their physical powers decrease, for the security of both their posterity and their own inheritance. . . . In this way nature insures that the state neither stands still (which would occur if the elderly held all power) nor stumbles (which must come to pass when, as we have experienced, youth and youthful attitudes have free rein), but rather progresses with measured, restful, serene steps.²¹

With Müller's systematic codification of Romantic political thought, Burke's German reception reaches a pinnacle. He completed the *Elemente* in 1809, just as Beethoven was introducing a new lyricism into his style, softening the vigor of his heroic style with a gentler, more "feminine" beauty. In these same years Beethoven first experimented with string quartet movements that strictly balance lyricism and dynamism, chorale and march, grace and aggression. The Anglo-Germanic tradition that culminates in Müller's *Elemente* offers a particularly apt framework for understanding *Wellingtons Sieg*, a German battle symphony apotheosizing a British victory and dedicated to the future King George IV.

THE MARRIAGE OF MARS AND VENUS

Beethoven had written a *Siegessinfonie* three years previously for Goethe's *Egmont*. He expanded enormously on that brief coda in *Wellingtons Sieg*,

with a sectional finale almost as long as the battle itself. The overall structure, after the introductory *Intrada*, suggests the scheme of sonata form:

- *Allegro con brio* (bars 371–422): D, $\frac{2}{2}$ (five separate motives)
- *Andante grazioso* (423–39): B \flat , $\frac{3}{4}$ (“God Save the King”)
- *Tempo primo* (440–92): D, $\frac{2}{2}$ (exact reprise)
- *Tempo di minuetto moderato* (493–515): D, $\frac{3}{4}$ (“God Save the King”)
- Coda: *Allegro* (516–698): D, $\frac{3}{8}$ (double fugue based upon “God Save the King”)

Although the tonal plan follows sonata form, the four thematic areas are uncharacteristically large and self-contained. The *Allegro* strings together five separate thematic ideas without any modulation, while the “second theme” introduces a new tempo and key signature. Beethoven seems to have taken the title *Sinfonie* more seriously than in *Egmont*, for there is a hint of the Ninth Symphony finale’s conflation of sonata form and symphonic cycle.

There is more than a hint of the “Ode to Joy”—and the *Dona nobis pacem* as well—in the abrupt transition between the first *Allegro* and *Andante*. Here is the prototype of that famous modulation to B \flat in both symphony and mass, with the same arresting *piano* and the same *pizzicato* unison in the bass. The *Siegessinfonie* also predicts the way in which the “Ode to Joy” will replay, at a transcendent level, conflicts from earlier movements. When “God Save the King” returns in D, the hymn is interrupted by *fortissimo* outbursts on the even bars from the orchestra, as the martial energy of the *Allegro* invades the sanctuary of the hymn (see Example 15). The *Siegessinfonie* thus reenacts, at the level of themes, the structural idea of the first half: that is, two opposing forces present themselves separately, then collide and interpenetrate. The literal battle has been abstracted to the dialectics of sonata form.

Although “God Save the King” is a national anthem, it is striking how little Beethoven plays up either its religious or patriotic character. In the first statement the four-part setting for paired clarinets and bassoons suggests either a sung chorale or a soft organ. Yet the *Andante grazioso* marking, the graceful flourishes in the strings and upper winds, and the added *appoggiatura* in the third bar of the hymn belong more to the *galant* manner of a minuet. When the anthem returns in D, the marking has indeed changed to *Tempo di minuetto moderato*. The instrumentation switches

EXAMPLE 15. Wellingtons Sieg, Siegessinfonie (recapitulation)

493 *Tempo di minuetto moderato*

Flauto piccolo

Flauti

Oboi

Clarineti in B

Fagotti

Corno I, II in D

Corno III, IV in D

Tromba I, II in D

Tromba III, IV in D

alto e tenore

Trombone

basso

Timpani in D-A

Triangolo

Piatti e Gran Tamburo

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Violoncello e Basso

p dolce, *ff*, *tr*, *p*

from chapel choir or organ to that most aristocratic of eighteenth-century instrumental ensembles—the *Harmonie*, or wind band. The delicate voice of the oboe, the poignant new harmonies, and the *piano* and *dolce* markings have nothing to do with either religious solemnity or patriotic bombast. They evoke not fervor, but *douceur*; not Westminster Abbey, but the lawns of a county squire. It is a gossamer vision but sturdy, that glides with quiet dignity through the massed salvos of the orchestra.

A closer look at the intrusive *fortissimo* bars reveals the depth of Beethoven's musical-poetic conception in the *Siegessinfonie*. The descending figure in the piccolo comes from the opening of the *Schlacht*, where it depicted the screaming missiles of the French and English cannon. It serves, in other words, as a generalized sign of battle, attached to neither of the two armies. The contest between the odd and even bars in the second statement of "God Save the King" rises above national politics. Beethoven is evoking the state of war itself, in contrast to the genteel refuge of the minuet. The *Siegessinfonie* transcends the iconic representation of the battle, spiritualizing the contest between French and English armies as a symbolic dialectic between war and peace, upheaval and aristocratic stability. Consciously or not, Beethoven has created a perfect musical analog to Burke's balance of ability and property, or Müller's dialectic of masculine and feminine elements.

After the discussion in the preceding chapters, it should be easy to predict where Beethoven will go with this alternating pattern of odd and even bars—it is time for double counterpoint. After the final *fortissimo* explosion, Beethoven makes good on his resolution in the *Tagebuch* that "I have to show the English a little of what a blessing 'God Save the King' is."²² What impresses him particularly is the motivic construction of the hymn, the economic way in which it recycles a simple three-note cell, in either rising or falling versions. The transition to the fugue toys with both versions, first in alternation then in contrary motion (bars 505–15). The double fugue plays still further with the three-note cell. While the lower subject reduces the first four bars of "God Save the King" to a $\frac{3}{8}$ *Teutsche*, the upper subject reiterates a diminution of the falling version (see Example 16). The two subjects, of course, invert immediately, even before another voice can enter the texture. This is very much the new "contrapuntal" Beethoven, delighting in vertical symmetries and inversions. In fact, the coda to the *Siegessinfonie* marks a significant advance in his contrapuntal development: the double fugue introduces a new way of balancing martial and lyrical energies, an opposition that was still treated sequentially in opp. 74 and 95.

There is more at stake in this coda, however, than abstract energies. The

EXAMPLE 16. Wellingtons Sieg, Siegessinfonie (transition to coda)

507 (Vln I, II) *tr* (*tr*) *p* *tr* *tr* *pp* (Ob) (Ob) (w/Hn 8vb)

511 *tr* *p* *più pp* *rit.* (Vln I Vln II w/Vla 8vb) (Ob) (Hn 8vb) (Hn 8vb)

Allegro

516 (Vln I) *pp* *sempre pp*

522

528 (Vln II) *sempre pp*

532

three-note cell that Beethoven has been toying with is also the head motive of "Marlborough," the French marching song. He spells out the connection in the transition to the fugue by returning to the exact rhythm from the French tune (bars 520–22). This motivic connection sheds light on the new meter of the coda. Compound meter has identified the French army, both in its opening march and in its drooping F#-minor retreat (346–62). The $\frac{3}{8}$ of the double fugue strikes a balance between "God Save the King" ($\frac{3}{4}$) and "Marlborough" ($\frac{6}{8}$). (Beethoven seems already to have planted a hint of the dissolving French march in the D-major *Allegro* sections of the *Siegessinfonie*, which swerve insistently and for no apparent reason toward F# minor in bars 393–401 and 464–71.) Beethoven, returning to the model of the Third and Fifth Symphony finales, has resurrected another disintegrated march. The parallel to the Ninth Symphony is again striking. Here is the model for the *Allegro energico*, another double fugue that infuses a hymn tune with the compound meter of a banished march. Within the mysterious solvent of counterpoint, the *Siegessinfonie* unites France and England, march and hymn, war and peace. Through the powers invested in him by the *stile antico*, Beethoven has married Mars and Venus.

By now it should be apparent that *Wellingtons Sieg* is neither hackwork, kitsch, nor even patriotic propaganda. The musical technique belongs fully within the mainstream of Beethoven's evolving style and even breaks new ground in the use of double counterpoint to reconcile martial and lyrical impulses. The work has an overarching, well-crafted formal plan that embodies a definite intellectual content: the two halves function as real and ideal versions of the same conflict, as in the *Siegessinfonie* the mimetic battle is *aufgehoben* in sonata form, and the clash of discrete nations in the dialectics of political theory. Once we perceive this larger direction in the piece, we can sit back and enjoy the fireworks without a guilty conscience (if that was ever a problem) and perhaps agree with Ludwig Misch that "Beethoven did not renounce his principles even in this occasional work, planned deliberately for its sensational and popular appeal."²³ While *Wellingtons Sieg* stands little chance of competing with the *1812 Overture* in the concert repertory, there is no harm in recognizing the merits of an intriguing, neatly crafted work. (Actually, by absorbing the French march into the coda Beethoven solved the main problem that plagues Tchaikovsky's tone poem—namely, that the "Marseillaise" is so much more catchy than the plodding Russian tunes that one ends up rooting for the French on strictly aesthetic grounds!)

Wellingtons Sieg, moreover, marks a crucial shift in Beethoven's conception of the finale. With the *Siegessinfonie* he absorbed the balanced tensions of the "Harp" Quartet finale into the heroic style, moderating the martial

drive with a counterpoise of opaque, feminized beauty. A similar beauty suffuses the finales of the Piano Sonatas in E Major and C Minor, the *Diabelli Variations*, the *Missa solemnis*, and the Ninth Symphony, moderating the linear triumphalism of the heroic style. More radically, *Wellingtons Sieg* introduces an entirely new type of finale, whose clearest successors are the *Arietta* of op. 111, the "Ode to Joy," and the *Grosse Fuge*. These movements neither complete, answer, nor balance the trajectory of the preceding movements. Instead, they elevate the argument to a higher plane of beauty or abstraction, re-presenting the whole at a transcendent level. These "microcosmic" finales seem to be another sign of Beethoven's growing impatience with the heroic plot line.

This discussion has not intended to champion *Wellingtons Sieg* as a maligned work of genius. It has to be judged inferior stuff, though not at all for Kinderman's reasons. In a word, *Wellingtons Sieg* is crude, lacking in aesthetic refinement; its symbols and gestures have not marinated long enough in the artistic imagination. By the same standards, however, we could just as easily damn the Bonn *Joseph-Kantate* as obvious propaganda. Yet we prize the cantata for its foretastes of *Fidelio* and the *Eroica* and because its liberal message flatters our modern sensibilities. If we are to extend the same sympathy to *Wellingtons Sieg*, it will be because we glimpse in its dark glass the *Dona nobis pacem* and "Ode to Joy." As for the message, we may simply have to let Beethoven be a man of his own times.

THE PEACEFUL WAR

The *Missa solemnis* and Ninth Symphony finales inherited three family traits from the *Siegessinfonie* of *Wellingtons Sieg*. Each movement juxtaposes a gentle hymn in triple time to a realistic military march; each shifts between these extremes by means of an abrupt common-tone modulation from D to B \flat , punctuated by a single staccato note in the bass; and each climaxes in a double fugue that adapts the melody of the hymn to a martial meter. These traits, of course, scarcely amount to a coherent form. They merely constitute a loose musical-poetic paradigm, one strand of many in a complex web of structures and meanings.

The *Dona nobis pacem* fundamentally alters the pattern of the *Siegessinfonie* by reversing the primacy of hymn and march. Both here and in the "Ode to Joy" it is the military music that makes the sudden B \flat disruption—peacable hymnody has become the norm, bellicose marches the exception. In the *Missa solemnis* the design arises naturally enough from the text,

as well as from the example of Haydn's *Missa in tempore belli*. The symphony finale, however, holds to the same pattern, mirroring the triumph of lyricism over march in the symphony. This inversion of the *Siegessinfonie* template speaks volumes about Beethoven's new aesthetic. In 1813 a delicate beauty had blossomed amid the tumult of the heroic finale; a decade later that beauty has so overgrown the finale that, by its gracious standards, the dispossessed heroism sounds like a barbarian invasion. Beauty triumphs, too, in the third monumental work of the period, the *Diabelli Variations*, which ends by rarefying the crude waltz into the most ethereal of minuets.

The hymns in the mass and symphony finales epitomize Beethoven's later attraction to descending third sequences—his attraction, that is, to the relaxed direction of the subdominant. The *Dona nobis pacem* begins with the falling thirds that have colored the entire *Missa solemnis* (bars 96–100), unwinding from the dominant to the subdominant in a sixfold sequence [E–C#–A–F#–D–B–G]. The new chant in the *Andante maestoso* of the “Ode to Joy” (“Seid umschlungen, Millionen”) likewise traces a sequence of descending thirds, outlining the subdominant triad. This subdominant outline also underlies the “Freude” theme, when it is yoked to the new cantus firmus in the *Allegro energico*. The double fugue thus draws the “Freude” theme, which originally traced a strong tonic-dominant profile, into the subdominant orbit of the G-major *Andante maestoso*. The rest of the “Ode to Joy” after the *Allegro energico* composes out the subdominant implications of the double-fugue subject: the three principal sections that remain (*Allegro ma non tanto*, *Poco Adagio*, and *Prestissimo*) begin in G, B, and D major. We may note a direct parallel to the finale of op. 131, where a new cantus firmus again emerges to temper a homophonic march. As Kerman has pointed out, the double fugue that materializes in the development restores the subdominant orientation of the first-movement fugue (whose subject also outlines the IV triad), thereby undercutting the tonic-dominant contour of the opening motive.²⁴

In stark contrast to these graciously descending hymns, the military bands etch out a jagged I–V outline in both the mass and symphony finales. Indeed, when the battle calls return at the end of the *Dona nobis pacem*, Beethoven strips the melody down to only two notes, $\hat{1}$ and $\hat{5}$. Gone is the *noble simplicité* of the *Eroica* finale. The tonic-dominant relationship has sunk to a brute primitivism, thrusting through the delicate artifice of civilization.

The battle music of the “*Dona nobis pacem*” comes after a textbook sonata-form exposition, yet it sounds less like a development than one of Kinderman's “parentheses.” Not only does this intruding section fail to develop any material from the hymn, it utterly changes key, meter, and overall

character. The realistic *Feldmusik* forces a particularly rude contrast with the hymn, which has emulated the polyphonic, even a cappella, purity of the *stile antico*. The vocal style itself now reverts to the most blatant theatrical manner, with the soloists declaiming the Agnus Dei *timidamente* over tremulous strings. (And well might they wail, for this is no ceremonial *pas ordinaire*, but an all-out *Sturmarsch* with bayonets fixed.) The battle music thus reawakens not only the text of the Agnus Dei, but the theatrical style that the *Dona nobis pacem* had seemed to have transcended. As in the late quartets, the march takes part in a broader dialectic between opposing stylistic ideals.

It falls to the double-fugal *Presto* (bars 266–326) to resolve the conflicting energies of the movement. In several ways the double fugue that follows the recapitulation seems to synthesize the peaceful hymn and the bellicose interruption. The lower subject obviously transforms the opening theme of the *Dona nobis pacem*; the quick duple meter, on the other hand, seems indebted to the battle music, as does the shift to a purely instrumental style. When the trumpet and drums again erupt at the end of the fugue, they seem to boil up from the increasing harmonic abrasions and *stretti* in the counterpoint. The intrusive military violence now appears to develop out of the formal process, even out of the hymn itself.

In a more specific way, the second battle music can be heard to grow organically out of the double fugue. The lower subject begins with an ascending tetrachord that, as in the opening theme from which it derives, outlines a I–IV progression. The answer, however, creates an odd harmonic ambiguity; as William Drabkin observed, the upper subject modulates to IV while the lower subject modulates to V.²⁵ The end of the fugal exposition plays out this ambiguity. After the final entrance, a brief extension leads to a cadence in G major (IV), approached through contrary tetrachords in the outer voices (bars 283–84). In this new key, the original rising tetrachord (D–E–F#–G) now traces a path from V to I—a reinterpretation that reflects the initial ambivalence within the two answers. Over the course of the fugue, the opening tetrachord commands ever greater interest, with the last sixteen bars pruning away the upper subject altogether in a concentrated series of canons. The final cadence to B^b arrives, like the end of the exposition, with tetrachords in contrary motion, the lower leading purposefully from F to B^b (bars 325–26). It is this dynamic, V–I version of the tetrachord that the trumpets seize on, hammering home the bare harmonic tones, F–B^b (see Example 17). The simplest harmonic reinterpretation thus jolts the motive from rest into dynamism. Peace and war, like subdominant and dominant, are flip sides of the same coin.

The synthesis of hymn and battle music in the *Presto* makes full sense

EXAMPLE 17. *Missa solemnis, Dona nobis pacem (Presto coda)*

a. Exposition, mm. 266–84

266 Presto

ff

tr

tr

I → IV

271

ff

tr

V → I

276

tr

280

V → I

b. Conclusion, mm. 324–26

324

sf

sf

V → I

only when we recall the contrapuntal nature of the opening theme. For the *Dona nobis pacem* began as a double fugue, with a full exposition in all four voices. The *Presto* most obviously borrows the tetrachordal upper subject, but we can also recognize the skeleton of the lower subject as well. The *Presto* thus transforms the rhythmic character, not the contrapuntal essence, of the opening theme. In this way the finales of the *Missa solennis* and the Ninth Symphony foretell the two ways Beethoven would use double fugue in the finales of opp. 130 and 131. In the former, a double fugue changes rhythmic character across the movement; in the latter, a new *cantus firmus* emerges to complete the contrapuntal texture. In all four movements the double counterpoint provides a sturdy framework for the conflicting energies of march and hymn.

ENGENDERING JOY

Any interpretation of the Ninth Symphony finale must revisit the vexed question of its form. Like the blind men with the elephant, each new critic has found a different shape. Webster, sifting through the mounds of interpretations, concluded in exasperation that “‘the’ form of the finale of Beethoven’s Ninth does not exist.” Michael Tusa also rejected any single interpretation but cautioned that this “should not cause one to overlook a more important point, namely, that many different formal archetypes are present in palpable ways.”²⁶ The following interpretation relies upon two such archetypes.

First, this reading draws on a view of the “Ode to Joy” as a microcosm of the entire Ninth Symphony. This notion idea stems from Charles Rosen’s suggestion that Beethoven “used the variation form to combine at once the symmetry of the sonata-allegro form and the larger conception of the four-movement symphony.” David Levy has argued more specifically that the four principal sections of the finale replicate the four movements of the symphonic cycle—a structural principle that Levy compared to fractal theory. According to the “fractal” model, the opening variations in D correspond to the first movement, the *Alla marcia* to the scherzo, the *Andante maestoso* to the slow movement, and the *Allegro energico* to the finale. The *Allegro energico*, moreover, serves as a kind of metafractal, uniting the themes and tempos of the previous sections just as the “Ode to Joy” synthesizes the preceding movements of the symphony. Levy’s model accounts particularly well for the central sections in B^b and G, a scherzo-like march and hymn that indeed reflect the character of the inner movements of the

symphony. It also helps explain why the recitative recollects a version of the first movement theme that is in D major, instead of D minor.²⁷ Levy might have strengthened his argument still further by pointing to the systematic way in which the recitative reviews the preceding movements. Beethoven was never careless about opening gestures, and it seems unlikely he would bother to review all three movements merely to leave them behind. The *Grosse Fuge* begins with a similar inventory, which the finale strictly follows (albeit in reverse order). This “fractal” type of finale, I have argued, stems from *Wellingtons Sieg*, whose *Siegessinfonie* translates the realistic clash of French and English armies into a formal dialectic between war and peace, strength and beauty. According to this model, the “Ode to Joy” revisits at a transcendent level tensions that span the entire symphony.

Second, this interpretation follows several critics in perceiving elements of sonata-form organization in the Ninth Symphony finale. Ernest Sanders proposed this model most strongly and has been followed by Robert Winter.²⁸ Both critics view the introduction of the “Freude” theme as a concerto double-exposition, the B \flat march as a second theme, and the return of the “Freude” theme in D major (bar 543 ff.) as the beginning of the recapitulation. The sticking point in all these sonata-form interpretations is the music following the first D-major reprise. The G-major hymn does not readily fit into a sonata form, nor does the *Allegro energico*, a moment of reprise even more impressive than the first return to D major. The situation makes perfect sense, however, if we alter the model to a sonata-rondo form. The first D-major reprise would thus mark the end of the exposition, the G-major section would figure as the development, and the double fugue would count as the real recapitulation. Development sections in sonata-rondo form regularly present entirely new material in the subdominant,²⁹ as in the finales of Beethoven’s Sixth Symphony and Violin Concerto. Sonata-rondo, moreover, is his inevitable finale form for the concerto, perhaps the most influential genre informing the “Ode to Joy.”

Whatever the form, there can be no doubt that the finale contains two striking reprises. These triumphal moments, which follow the B \flat and G sections (bars 543 ff. and 654 ff.), fulfill both functions of a traditional recapitulation, reasserting both tonality (D major) and theme (“Freude, schöne Götterfunken”). A poetic process complements the musical reprises. As Winter has stressed, the opening D-major variations set only the solo stanzas of Schiller’s ode, while the B \flat and G sections introduce the choral refrains. As the theme ventures into new keys, therefore, the poetic voice expands from individual to collective—even as it moves away from the tonic. The solo words return with each reprise, alone the first time, united to the

collective refrain the second time. Both musically and poetically, a double wave motion underlies the Ninth Symphony finale. The individual theme twice voyages into strange seas and twice returns enriched from the trip.

The theme also takes on musical cargo each time. In the first reprise the theme returns to its original melody but with the compound rhythm of the *Alla marcia*. In the second reprise the march rhythm persists at exactly the same tempo, and the theme also acquires the cantus firmus countersubject. These dramatic D-major reprises mark the stations of a sort of *Bildungsgeschichte*, as the individual theme gradually becomes transformed through immersion in the collective refrains. The process reaches a climax in the second reprise, as the double fugue unites the new martial version of the theme with its *stile antico* countersubject.

To understand the nature of this opposition, it is necessary to clear up a misconception about the *Alla marcia*. From the symphony's premiere to the present, critics have spoken unquestioningly of a "Turkish march" ("everyone knows that there is a Turkish march in the finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," wrote Lawrence Kramer recently).³⁰ Yet, with all due respect to the critical tradition, I see no reason to assume that Beethoven had anything Turkish or exotic in mind. Janissary instruments (bass drum, cymbals, and triangle) had long served as a standard battery for European military bands. Beethoven used these instruments in his March for the Bohemian militia, WoO 18; his Polonaise and Écossaise for military band, WoO 21 and 22; the Viennese militia in *Der glorreiche Augenblick*; and both armies in *Wellingtons Sieg*. In other words, he relied on the *banda turca* every time he wanted to portray a realistic military band, whether the nationality was Bohemian, Polish, Scottish, Austrian, English, or French. In his one explicitly Turkish march, from *Die Ruinen von Athen*, Beethoven conjured up the Near East through pedal points, modal harmonies, and coloristic grace notes (all features that survived the transcription to a four-hand piano variation set). When Viennese composers wanted to write *alla turca* they relied on just such harmonic and melodic exotica; that is why the finale of Mozart's Piano Sonata in A Major, K. 330, sounds Turkish, while the slow movement of the "Military" Symphony does not—even though Haydn used the Janissary instruments. The march in the "Ode to Joy" is certainly militant, vulgar, and realistic, but not exotic in the least.

The truly singular feature of the *Alla marcia* is not instrumentation, but meter. Beethoven's works before the Ninth Symphony contain only two marches in triple meter—the scherzo of the Fifth Symphony and the French "Marlborough" from *Wellingtons Sieg*. The point is worth noting, for it clarifies the nature of the opposition at the heart of the "Ode to Joy." If the

B♭ march signifies a broader musical context, it is certainly Beethoven's own earlier French-influenced style. The references to the conquering hero (a version of words set in 1802), the exaggerated triadic contour of the tenor line, and the straining conquest of the high note all hark back to a bygone style. Beethoven is awakening memories of heroism, but at the safe remove of the grotesque. We may perhaps speak of exoticism, but the foreign Other is the composer's own heroic style.

While the *Alla marcia* readily suggests a masculine element within the "Ode to Joy," the *Andante maestoso* may appear less obviously as its feminine opposite. True, the day/night imagery fits within a venerable Viennese tradition for the portrayal of the male/female polarity. Nevertheless, Beethoven had set similar nocturnal imagery in 1802 as the symbol of a sublime, and clearly masculinized, state of rational transcendence; it is a similar vision of the starry heavens in "Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur" that galvanizes the triumphal ascent of the sun-hero. By 1824, however, the same imagery seems to have taken on quite different shades of meaning.

As a clue, we might refer to Beethoven's 1820 song "Abendlied unter'm gestirnten Himmel," whose words and text setting Kinderman has related to the Ninth Symphony finale. The poem seems to draw upon the same passage from Kant's Second Critique that Beethoven noted in his conversation book during that same year: "The moral law within us, and the starry heavens above us' Kant!!!"³¹ The grandeur of the night sky first awakens in the poet a sense of inner majesty that transcends his own mortality:

Wenn die Sonne nieder sinket,
Und der Tag zur Ruh' sich neigt,
Luna freundlich leise winket,
Und die Nacht herniedersteigt;

Wenn die Sterne prächtig schimmern,
Tausend Sonnenstraßen flimmern:
Fühlt die Seele sich so gross,
Windet sich vom Staube los . . .

(When the sun sinks low
And the day inclines toward rest,
Luna beckons in a gentle, friendly way,
And the night descends;

When the stars glitter splendidly
And a thousand starry paths flicker:
The soul feels itself so great,
And wrests itself free from the dust . . .)

This sublime awakening does not lead, as in the Gellert song, toward a vision of heroic conquest. Instead, the poem ends on a note of pious resignation, as the poet imagines his posthumous reward before the throne of God—a reversion to theistic morality that would have disgusted Kant:³²

Eine leise Ahnung schauert
 Mich aus jenen Welten an;
 Lange, lange nicht mehr dauert
 Meine Erdenpilgerbahn,

Bald hab' ich das Ziel errungen,
 Bald zu euch mich aufgeschwungen,
 Ernte bald an Gottes Thron
 Meiner Leiden schönen Lohn.

(A quiet premonition tremblingly
 Comes over me from those worlds;
 My earthly pilgrimage will not last much longer;

Soon I shall have attained my goal,
 Soon I shall have risen to you,
 Soon I shall reap at God's throne
 The beautiful recompense for my sorrows.)

This is a popularized, Christian Kantianism, which adulterates the autonomy of human reason with appeals to a traditional deity.

Beethoven's setting moves in the same sentimental direction. A note of delicate languor runs through the singer's gavotte rhythm, the sweetly Mozartian chromatics in the piano, and the drooping descent through the circle of fifths in bars 6–8 (see Example 18). The pulsing triplets do recall the setting of "Über Sternen muß er wohnen" in the Ninth Symphony, but the truer comparison belongs with the final song of *An die ferne Geliebte*, where the lovesick poet darkling croons to his distant beloved. The song plays with pitch ceilings, but not in the heaven-storming manner of "Die Ehre Gottes." The piano line descends from an ethereal G#, toward which the strophic vocal line unsuccessfully strains, peaking each verse on an F# fermata (see bars 13–14); in the final bar of the piano postlude, the melody reascends to the initial G#, as the weary soul wafts away to its celestial home. "Abendlied," like the Ninth Symphony finale, refers to a Father above the stars ("I gaze so gladly at those stars, as toward the fatherland . . . where the judge of the stars is enthroned"). As in the symphony, however, Beethoven evokes less the sublime father than the trusting, quiescent child. The image of the firmament has switched meaning rather abruptly between 1802 and

EXAMPLE 18. "Abendlied unter'm gestirnten Himmel," WoO 150

Ziemlich anhaltend $\text{♩} = 76$

p
Wenn die Son - ne nie - der sin - ket und der Tag zur Ruh' sich

p *pp* *sempre pp*

Red. *

6
neigt; Lu - na freund - lich lei - se wink - et und die Nacht her - nie - der -

10
steigt; wenn die Ster - ne präch - tig

(3) *(3)*

Red. *

12
cresc. schim - mern, tau - send Son - nen - stra - ßen flim - mern: fühlt die

p cresc.

cresc. - - *p cresc. - -*

Red. * Red. *

1820. Where Beethoven once honed Gellert's devotion into a manifesto of enlightened rationalism, he now dilutes Kant's proud creed to a sickly Liguornian mysticism.³³

Perhaps the most telling comparison between the "Abendlied" and the Ninth Symphony lies in the way Beethoven freezes the V chord leading up to the fermata (bars 13–14). The pulsing dominant pedal at the end of the *Adagio ma non troppo, ma divoto* ("Über Sternen muß er wohnen," 643–54) produces an even more arresting effect on account of its harmonic preparation. The deceptive cadence to E \flat first deflects the tonality away from the expected tonic, G minor, while the following tritone modulation to A (V $\frac{4}{3}$ of D major) deepens the confusion. Although the succeeding dominant chord arrives logically enough (through semitonal voice leading in the bass and a II \flat –V Neapolitan relation), the abrupt modulations seem temporarily to suspend harmonic logic. Beethoven manages to make the dominant seventh chord (with minor ninth, no less) float like a disembodied, directionless sonority. This hypnotic pedal point suggests the closest thing to a noumenal moment in the late works, as a logical function seems to detach itself entirely from the empirical activity of the understanding. "It is," as Nicholas Cook put it simply, "as if time stood still."³⁴

This hovering cadence recalls the end of the third movement, the exact counterpart in the "fractal" model. On the final statement of the B \flat *Adagio*, the $\frac{4}{4}$ chorale melts into an ecstatic, $\frac{12}{8}$ cantilena. Approaching the final cadence, the first violins accelerate into a mesmerized trill on the dominant (bars 129–30). Such written-out trills appear throughout the late works, where they invariably suggest an escape from the exigencies of linear time. The final variation of op. 109 flows into just such a vanishing point, while the entire *Arietta* of op. 111 yearns toward the numinous trills in the final variation. The stern *Maestoso* of op. 127 relaxes into the circling *Allegro* through a written-out trill. Yet another example derails the first of the op. 126 Bagatelles. These moments simultaneously evoke regression and transcendence, that realm, as Pestelli put it, of " 'Mothers' and archetypes, beyond the problems of reason and the conflict of the passions."³⁵

The bracing return of the march rhythm in the *Allegro energico* acts like a reveille, recalling the movement to dramatic time. "In this context," wrote Cook, "the double fugue beginning at bar 655 represents a reawakening, a return to reality." In the third movement, a literal trumpet call awakens the violins from their tranced gyrations—a gesture that Solomon has further linked to the *Schreckensfanfare* that propels the finale beyond the lyrical oasis of the *Adagio*.³⁶ The rudest military intrusion of all comes, of course, at the beginning of the *Alla marcia*, where the new march rhythm disrupts

another frozen, contemplative dominant chord (“Und der Cherub steht vor Gott”). In each case the martial interruption shocks the music out of a beatific paralysis. Throughout the symphony there is a repeated fluctuation between this oblivious drifting and purposeful motion. In the finale this contrast occurs twice—when the march rhythm first appears (*Alla marcia*) and when it returns after the hymn (*Allegro energico*). Significantly, Kinderman’s “Deity” chord appears at both of these points. As in the Gellert song, these disjunctures in the harmony might seem to act as sublime spurs to action, both times calling forth a heroic march.

Beethoven’s symbols, alas, do not fit into such tidy categories. The “Deity” chord actually performs contradictory functions on its two appearances: the first time it disrupts a mystic vision, heralding in the military band; the second time it leads into the most static, mystical moment in the finale. Beethoven’s numinous trills play equally contradictory roles, not merely as sites of regression, but also as pathways to higher levels of experience. The final trill of op. 109 ushers in the reprise of the original theme, a full circle that returns the sarabande in a new, transfigured light. In op. 111 the tormented first movement emerges from a trill, yet the *Arietta* finds peace by returning thence. In the first of the op. 126 Bagatelles, the detouring cadenza leads back to an enhanced reprise of the opening section, in which right and left hands contrapuntally invert and expand from their initial close spacing. The dual function of the trill appears most clearly in the movement Beethoven wrote immediately after the Ninth Symphony, the opening of op. 127. The *Maestoso* melts into the *Allegro* through a trill, but the *Allegro* leads back to the *Maestoso* the same way.

The pulsating dominant pedal before the *Allegro energico* epitomizes this dual meaning of the trill. It both dissolves the hymn toward a timeless oblivion while simultaneously preparing the most monumental recapitulation in the symphony. This ambiguous cadence, like the “Deity” chords, seems to play a deliberately obfuscatory role. These numinous gestures blur the sharp edges of the form, serving as transrational portals between opposing states. Webster marveled at the way the Ninth Symphony finale resists formal closure, claiming that “there is no more impressive example of through-composition in the entire literature.”³⁷ We could strengthen this claim by saying that Beethoven not only eschews formal breaks, but actively evokes a sense of mystical transcendence across those demarcations.

The time has at last come to hazard a description of Beethoven’s androgynous design in the Ninth Symphony finale. This is what I hear:

The "Freude" theme, after its soloistic debut, passes into the military camp to learn of Mars. The lessons stick, for the theme thereafter retains the compound meter of the military march. After returning aglow with this new vitality, the theme falls sleep while a suitable help-meet is found for it. The two halves unite in a triumphant recapitulation, which weds the vigorous march to the subdominant orbit of the new chant. The hand of God, as it were, guides the theme from strength to strength, as sublime harmonic disjunctures and mystical trills mediate the stations of the journey. The double fugue consummates a journey that draws the Individual into the bosom of the Collective, the Hero into the service of the Divine, and the Masculine into the arms of the Feminine.

One last peak lies ahead in this erotic quest. In the *Prestissimo* coda, the three themes of the finale merge even more intimately than in the *Allegro energico* (bars 920–40). The head motive recalls the "Seid umschlungen" chant, the I–V contour and rhythm evokes the "Freude" theme, while the Janissary battery revives memories of the B \flat march. This vinous *stretto* has a direct precedent in the last pages of *Wellingtons Sieg*, where the *banda turca* returns to whip "God Save the King" into a waltzing frenzy. This profanation of the English anthem shocked Gottfried Weber, who fulminated: "Even van Beethoven's most ardent supporters can assign no higher title to this finale than that of a victory-drunken, boisterous folk celebration."³⁸ Weber's premonitions of plebeian excess recall the political point of the androgynous model. For the Ninth Symphony ends with the same carnivalesque license, in a bacchanal where high and low *Stände* briefly unite.

The crude oppositions of *Wellingtons Sieg* attain magnificent artistic expression in the Ninth Symphony, but further refinements still lay ahead. The idea of forging a counterpoint between march and chant exercised Beethoven's imagination throughout the late quartets, and it is only with the finale of op. 131 that he laid the problem to rest. Is it a sacrilege thus to yoke *Wellingtons Sieg* and the Quartet in C-sharp Minor, Beethoven's basest specimen of program music and his loftiest monument of absolute music? No more so than the composer's own thirteen-year project of wedding a vulgar march to a sacred chant. "Program" and "absolute" have no meaning in the work of a composer whose music was always open to external influences. The Ninth Symphony stands between the false extremes, boldly uniting "was die Mode streng geteilt."

The marriage of opposites in the "Ode to Joy," I would suggest, constitutes one of the noblest expressions of Romantic political thought. The vi-

sion springs not from the dashed hopes of the Restoration, but from the millennialist spirit of 1813, when one could still imagine a society that would safeguard the heroic gains of the middle classes within the secure embrace of a gracious, spiritual aristocracy. It is hardly a liberal vision. Yet Beethoven departs from the simple quietism of a Schlegel in his insistence on a vigorous, humanistic element in the commonwealth. Viewed from that angle, the Ninth Symphony may still be reckoned a utopian, perhaps even a resistant, work of art.

8 *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*

"Vox populi, vox dei. I never believed it." So Beethoven is said to have remarked a few weeks before his death.¹ The comment probably reveals little about his political outlook. Beethoven was actually venting his frustration about Italian opera, not politics. Such isolated remarks dot his letters, sketchbooks, and conversation books, furnishing a ready arsenal to pundits of every stripe. Still, the Latin proverb evokes a tantalizingly musical metaphor—voice. Voice has indeed emerged as a major topic of late Beethoven criticism, a topic tinged with political meanings. We might do worse than take Beethoven's words at their most literal meaning and search the late works for a "voice of the people" and a "voice of God."

Joseph Kerman devoted an entire chapter to voice in his influential analysis of the late style. He detected a frankly populist impulse,

a grandiose impulse toward directness of communication. Elemental song, in the form of the country dance, the folk song, and the nursery song, and sophisticated song, in the form of the aria, lied, recitative, and hymn, all converge in the major effort for immediacy of contact. . . . The development of song was forging language straight for the "common listener." This was, after all, Beethoven's most significant response to the Romantic stirrings of the 1820s, a response that did not fail to impress the nineteenth century.

Solomon retailed Kerman's view, agreeing that "speech and song together press to fulfill Beethoven's drive toward immediacy of communication."² For both critics voice signified Beethoven's heightened presence, his eagerness to communicate directly with an audience.

Kerman links Beethoven's turn to naive and folklike melody to Romanticism, presumably the folklorism of Clemens Brentano, Achim

von Arnim, and the Grimm brothers. The connection rings true, but it by no means points to a populist interpretation. The authors of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* belonged to the antiliberal *Christlich-Teutsche Tischgesellschaft* in Berlin. Folkish revivals, at least the Stadion-Hormayr program in Vienna that would have most influenced Beethoven, were often sponsored by aristocrats to serve aristocratic ends. It is by no means self-evident that Beethoven was aiming for a “common listener,” or even facilitating communication, with his appeal to the simple strains of folk music.

The vocal metaphor taps into a more esoteric strain in late Beethoven criticism. Voice here signifies authorial presence, as questioned by post-structuralism. Roland Barthes heard a liberating sense of incompleteness in the late style, exemplified by the *Diabelli Variations*. Such music, he claimed, invites the creative collaboration of the reader/listener/performer:

With respect to this music one must put oneself in the position or, better, in the activity of an operator, who knows how to displace, assemble, combine, fit together; in a word (if it is not too worn out), who knows how to structure (very different from constructing or reconstructing in the classic sense). Just as the reading of the modern text (such at least as it may be postulated) consists not in receiving, in knowing or in feeling that text, but in writing it anew, in crossing its writing with a fresh inscription, so too reading this Beethoven is to operate his music, to draw it (it is willing to be drawn) into an unknown praxis.

In the terms Barthes used in *S/Z*, the late works exemplify *scriptible* (“writerly”), rather than *lisible* (“readerly”), music.³ Beethoven renounces authorial control, bequeathing a text that demands the participation of the listener.

Solomon made similar claims for the Ninth Symphony, drawing upon Umberto Eco’s notion of the “open work.” In his searching study of Beethoven’s mythopoeic design, he concludes that

the Ninth Symphony is a symbol whose referent cannot be completely known and whose full effects will never be experienced. And there is no need to mourn the loss, for, as Eco explained, to decode a symbol is to render it mute. In uncovering the mythic substratum of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, we uncover a fragment of his intentionality; in refusing to accept the mythic design as the ultimate or sole meaning of the symphony, we remain true to the nature of music, whose meanings are beyond translation—and beyond intentionality.

Solomon was arguing against a view of the Ninth Symphony as totalizing ideology. In an earlier discussion he took issue with Herbert Marcuse and Thomas Mann, who heard in the choral finale an opiate “affirmative culture.” Solomon defended the value of utopian beauty, upholding the Schillerian paradigm of the artwork as an impossible yet necessary “effigy of the ideal”:

Masterpieces of art are instilled with a surplus of constantly renewable energy—an energy that provides a motive force for changes in the relations between human beings—because they contain projections of human desires and goals which have not yet been achieved (which may indeed be unattainable).⁴

It is the impenetrability of the Ninth Symphony, the overdeterminacy of Beethoven’s intentions, that lifts the work above ideology and into the realm of transformative art.

Theodor Adorno most famously argued for the loss of subjective presence in the late works. He heard the thematic and tonal process of Beethoven’s middle period break down in the late style, leaving behind fragments of conventional lyricism and faceless archaism. The late works thereby reject the chimera of subjective freedom: “The late Beethoven’s demand for truth rejects the illusory appearance of the unity of subjective and objective, a concept practically at one with the classicist idea. . . . The autonomous subject, that subject which otherwise cannot know itself capable of alienated form, secedes from freedom to heteronomy.”⁵ By shattering the illusion of subjective autonomy, the late works resist the illusion that the individual can harmonize with bourgeois society.

Vox populi, vox dei—a flow of popular voices, an ebb of authorial voice. Such seems to be the received wisdom on voice in the late works. This chapter will examine these twin claims by focusing on the most dramatic vocal display of all, the finale of the Ninth Symphony. The “Ode to Joy” enshrines Beethoven’s most famous populist melody. It also has another, transcendent voice that speaks through the recitative in the lower strings. Both voices trace their source back to 1809, winding through a rich intellectual landscape. By retracing this development, we may hear more clearly what Beethoven’s voices are saying.

VOX POPULI

The Piano Sonata in G Major, op. 79 (*Alla danza tedesca*), makes a strange contrast with Beethoven’s compositions from 1809. In this year he seemed

bent on infusing his texts with subjective presence, both by introducing a new lyrical intimacy and by writing out the cadenzas and improvisations for his concertos and fantasias. Yet the Sonata in G moves in precisely the opposite direction. The first movement exemplifies that fascination with musical mechanism that haunts Beethoven's later music. The German dance begins abruptly, like a wind-up toy, with a stream of eighth notes that tick incessantly through almost every bar of the movement. With the exception of the opening seven-bar melody, the exposition falls into neat four-bar phrases. The rotating *Hauptmotiv*, the crystalline arpeggiation, and the neatly invertible counterpoint all enhance the impression of a clicking, well-tooled machine. Beethoven even includes a witty moment of mechanical failure at the end of the exposition (bars 48–49), where the ticking clockwork seems to wind down in an uncertain sequence of falling thirds.

The development section exposes the gears, so to speak, within the music box. The opening theme, as noted, contains seven bars, an irregularity that contrasts with the otherwise four-square phraseology. The dance tune, moreover, lacks a clear periodic structure. It fragments instead into a 4+2+1 phrase structure; after an initial burst of energy, it simply succumbs to entropy. The development scrutinizes this aimless, open-ended structure. After seven bars the melody gets stuck in a loop (bars 59–74), repeating the falling thirds from the end of the exposition for sixteen bars (see Example 19). The musical flow finally resumes but, after only eight bars, slips into the same obsessive groove for sixteen more bars (83–98). A third loop serves as retransition (111–22), bringing to a close one of Beethoven's most bizarre development sections.

The falling thirds have earned the Sonata in G the moniker "Cuckoo," but I believe Beethoven's interest lay in mechanism rather than birdcalls. The repeating thirds emerge from the end of the exposition, where the whirling dance has ground to a halt. Beginning on the eighth bar of the waltz theme, they supply the cadential completion missing from the irregular seven-bar melody. The obsessive repetitions mock the entropy of the waltz theme, its failure to grow and develop. The development does succeed in imposing a regular, 4×4 phrase structure on the melody, but only by reducing the material to a mind-numbing repetition. The waltz emerges as a standardized cog, drained of all inner vitality.

The coda puts the finishing touches on the new phrase structure. Beethoven finally rounds the waltz into an eight-bar period, chiming between the two hands (bars 176–90). This new version exemplifies what Kerman has termed "doublets," those banal 4+4 tunes that dot the late works. The banal shades easily into the ludicrous as, on repetition, the dou-

EXAMPLE 19. Piano Sonata in G Major, op. 79 (*Alla danza tedesca*), first movement (development)

48

51

55

60

blet develops a grace-note tick. This trivialization of the waltz completes the process begun in the development (and Beethoven signals the connection by returning once more to the falling thirds in bars 191–98). Exposed as a lifeless machine, the waltz ends as an object of buffoonery.

The Sonata in G highlights the problem of integrating naive melody into art music. Doublets, as Kerman explained, make primitive building materials: “If a composer insists on coaxing them to generate fully rounded tunes, as Beethoven does with the finale tune of the Ninth Symphony, the outcome must have the effect of studied naïvete.”⁶ This actually sounds far more polite than what goes on in the Sonata in G. Beethoven does not so much coax as browbeat a rounded tune into existence, stamping out a standard-issue waltz. The doublet that issues from the whirring factory is as lifeless as

Hoffmann's automata or Kleist's marionettes. The first movement, in the clearest possible manner, drives a wedge between naive object and subjective development.

Op. 79 provides a trenchant introduction to Beethoven's later use of naive melody. Kerman heard such doublets as fragments of a collective memory, evoking "the village green or else the nursery" (and perhaps, as Adorno thought, "something of the ogre"). The Sonata in G lays claim to such a collective appeal. Not only does it stylize the popular *Teutsche*, but the "sonate facile" or "sonatine" (as Beethoven variously called it) ranks as bona-fide *Gebrauchsmusik*, commissioned by Muzio Clementi for a market of musical amateurs.⁷ Yet Beethoven satirizes his popular material, dissecting it with clinical detachment. By reducing the waltz to mere mechanism, Beethoven exposes its hollow soul, its utter lack of inner life.

This was not always Beethoven's way with naive objects. The *Eroica* begins with a simple *Teutsche*, which also falls into entropy after a few bars. In the symphony, however, this deficiency in the theme unleashes a questing organic development, as the triadic fragment gropes toward completion. When, at the beginning of the finale, the broken triad finally reintegrates in a periodic phrase, we seem to behold the rebirth of tonality itself. Naive object and subjective development interpenetrate in this exploration of the musical language. Indeed, it is the very simplicity of the *Eroica* themes, their appeal to a fundamental substratum of nature, that validates Beethoven's humanistic teleology.

The *Pastoral* progresses toward the same synthesis of naive object and subjective process. When the shepherd's hymn returns in the finale reprise, shorn of all but its harmonic framework, we perceive the elemental link between nature and observing mind—to wit, an inconspicuous subdominant progression planted in the opening bars of the symphony. As in the *Eroica*, the simplicity of the folk materials in the *Pastoral* matches the elemental quality of the musical exploration. Both symphonies affirm an Enlightenment faith in nature and reason as guides to humanity's utopian destiny.

In his later works, however, Beethoven tends to treat naive materials in the more detached, mechanistic manner of op. 79. We can pick up the thread in the "Archduke" Trio (1811), in which Beethoven for the first time built a whole movement out of doublet phrases. The scherzo consists entirely of two *Teutsche* fragments that Beethoven repeats, ostinato-like, in constantly shifting textures and instrumentations. Counterpoint plays a central role in this development. Indeed, this first doublet "medley," as Kerman would call it, also provides the earliest glimpse of Beethoven's new fascination with

vertical contrapuntal combinations. The opening sixteen bars exploit this principle with almost pedantic rigor. The cello and violin trade subjects in the quasi-fugal repetition of the double counterpoint (bars 9–16), reversing the contrary motion from contraction to expansion; moreover, the head motive itself is melodically inverted in the second half of each doublet (5–8, 13–16). The following fifteen bars introduce a new countersubject, which again undergoes inversion, as the strings take over the left-hand part of the piano (17–31). Two further double counterpoints emerge (46–61, 62–85), both submitted to inversion. The learned style may seem absurdly incongruous to the bumpkin *Teutsche*, yet this movement falls squarely within Beethoven's serious musical development. Learned counterpoint and folksong, incompatible as they may seem, develop as equally crucial elements of his late style.

In fact, these two new elements frequently pair up in Beethoven's late works. The *Scherzando vivace* of op. 127, the *Allegro ma non tanto* of op. 132, the *Alla danza tedesca* of op. 130, and the *Presto* of op. 131 all spin out their melodic snippets by means of double counterpoint. Beethoven submits the Arcadian strains of the Ninth Symphony trio to invertible counterpoint, as well as "God Save the King" in *Wellingtons Sieg*, once he has humbled the English anthem to a four-bar waltz. And this is precisely how Beethoven treats the "Freude" theme of the Ninth Symphony. The theme emerges as a two-bar motive, proposed sequentially by the orchestra. In the climactic *Allegro energico* it dissolves back into a sequence of two-bar fragments, locked into a rigid double fugue. From beginning to end, Beethoven seems to have associated his primitive doublets with the cool geometry of counterpoint.

The first movement of the Eighth Symphony (1812) finds Beethoven again manipulating a simple *Teutsche*. The five-note opening motive is another circling triadic figure and invites the same kind of repetitive treatment as in op. 79. The development section fixates on the revolving motive, repeating it in a rising sequence. It spins to a frenzy until, shedding its moderate quarter note, it turns into a *perpetuum mobile* (bars 180–83). The immense torque built up in the development seems to overflow into the recapitulation, which is well underway before we even realize it has started. The theme does not grow and develop in this development, any more than in op. 79. Rather, Beethoven reduces the *Teutsche* to a mere cog in a mechanical process, recalling Burnham's remark about the Eighth Symphony sounding "something like a staging of the heroic style in a marionette theater."⁸

The *Diabelli Variations*, of course, provide Beethoven's most extensive

treatment of a naive theme. The variations mercilessly scrutinize the most unflattering features of Diabelli's waltz—the routine phrase structure (no. 1), the empty bars of harmonic filler (no. 13), the incessant turn figure (nos. 9 and 11). The sheer triviality of Diabelli's "cobbler's patch" seems to have been one of its prime attractions. Having so little character of its own, the waltz readily serves as a foil to Beethoven's fantastic and satirical whims, as he transforms it into a French overture, a piano etude, a Renaissance motet, or an *opera buffa* aria. The sketch history seems to confirm Beethoven's less than reverent attitude toward his theme; the new variations of 1823, as Kinderman has shown, tend to heighten the parodistic tone.⁹ Solomon has recently argued for a more substantial view of Diabelli's theme, objecting that critics have overemphasized Beethoven's parodistic intent. Perhaps so, but we surely miss the full impact of the *Variations* if we fail to see the pasquinade beside the poetry.

Beethoven treats the doublets in the late quartets with the same ironic distance. The *Allegro ma non tanto* of op. 132, as shown above, locks two doublets in a metrical deadlock, with each fragment suggesting a different downbeat. The perpetual tug-of-war between the competing meters destroys the illusion of subjective perspective, freezing the waltz into an almost Cubist abstraction. The *Presto* of op. 131 strings together its doublets in simple sequences, whose unvaried repetition saps any sense of organic development. This movement provides another peek into the musical gear box, in the little G#-minor point of imitation that emerges after the breakdown of the first motive (bars 37–44)—a moment that eerily resembles recent "phase" music. The *Alla danza tedesca* of op. 130 contains the most extreme example of mechanical manipulation, as the coda splits the waltz into two-bar fragments, scattered pointillistically among the instruments and recombined in reverse order.

Moments like this seem to vindicate Adorno's view that the late works abandon subjective presence, leaving behind only a detritus of objectified gestures. The situation, however, is more complex. For Beethoven always paired his coolest mechanical movements with his warmest lyrical effusions. The dissection of the *Alla danza tedesca* gives way to the confessional *Cavatina*, a movement reportedly "composed in the very tears of misery." The collage of waltz fragments in op. 132 yields to the sublime *Heiliger Dankgesang*, and the quartet concludes with the most visceral waltz Beethoven ever wrote. Likewise, the *Presto* of op. 131 proceeds first to an impassioned recitative, then to a finale of such intensity that Adorno refused even to class it with the late works.¹⁰ The *Diabelli Variations* move effortlessly from irony to exaltation, as in variation nos. 13–14, 23–24, 28–29—or,

moving in the opposite direction, between the earnest fugue and the disembodied minuet that conclude the set. Even the broken music box in op. 79 yields to a beguilingly lyrical second movement, whose Italianate melody looks ahead to the *Klagender Gesang* of op. 110. Finally, the “Ode to Joy” juxtaposes the primitive “Freude” tune to the recitative in the lower strings, the clearest possible suggestion of a subjective authorial voice. Adorno’s assessment thus demands a serious refinement. If at times Beethoven drains subjectivity from the late works, he does so to enhance a new outpouring of lyrical effusion. As naive tunes freeze into inert objects, they throw into relief a new vocal presence.

This growing rupture in the late works most obviously corresponds to the ideal of Romantic irony, a topic Beethoven scholars have not neglected. The Romantics drew upon the radical idealism of Fichte, whose *Wissenschaftslehre* portrayed the rational subject (*Ich*) in a constant subjugation of objective nature (*nicht-Ich*). This exalted view of the ethical subject, translated into aesthetic doctrine, demanded that the true artwork display the hand of the artist, whose sovereign presence must constantly shatter the illusion of aesthetic form. Schlegel’s *Athenäum Fragment 238* gives a classic formulation:

But we should not care for a transcendental philosophy unless it were critical, unless it portrayed the producer along with the product, through a characterization of transcendental thinking. . . . [Romantic] poetry should portray itself with each of its portrayals; everywhere and at the same time, it should be poetry and the poetry of poetry.

Rey Longyear compared Schlegel’s ideal to Beethoven’s “flouting of musical conventions, his contrast of prosaic roughness and poetic beauty, his blunt destruction of sublime moods, and his practical jokes on musicians and audiences.” Stephen Hinton drew a more specific parallel with Beethoven’s self-conscious review of earlier movements in the Ninth Symphony finale:

The gesture of the false start of the movement, with the composer audibly retracing his creative steps in public before proposing an alternative conclusion, is quintessentially ironic. It is a device with a theatrical counterpart in the works of Tieck, in particular those that have the actors destroying the theatrical illusion by commenting on their roles and even appearing to negotiate the play’s ending.¹¹

The Fichtean-Romantic model aptly describes the way the recitative voice interacts with the naive anthem in the Ninth Symphony finale. The

words beneath the recitative in the sketches leave little doubt that Beethoven intended some representation of a creative, compositional presence intruding upon the artwork: "This is a solemn day my friends let it be celebrated with song and dance" (Heute ist ein feierlicher Tag meine Freunde dieser sei gefeiert), or "This is it—Ha, now it is found—I myself will intone it" (Dieses ist es ha es ist nun gefunden Ich selbst werde vorsingen).¹² A distinctly authoritarian tone emerges when we compare this voice with its likeliest models in Beethoven's earlier music. The evolution of the "Freude" theme clearly derives from the Choral Fantasy, where the orchestra and soloist (originally Beethoven himself) together discover the variation theme (bars 27–58). In the Fantasy the two parties enjoy a genuinely egalitarian dialogue. The unison strings repeatedly pose a stern, dotted motive that the soloist answers with a rhapsodic plaint. The orchestra itself steers the soloist away from the improvisational cadenza, and when the variation theme finally takes shape, the pianist accepts a motive proposed first by the horns. This exquisite balance of forces tips markedly toward the solo voice in the Ninth Symphony. Orphic suasion gives way to more aggressive oratory as, instead of charming or pleading with the orchestra, the cellos and basses simply shout it down. The lower strings peremptorily reject each proffered theme ("O no not this . . . not this either . . . this too is too tender"), seizing upon the "Freude" theme with sovereign whim ("Ha, this is it"). The vocal exposition proves no less hierarchical, with the bass soloist bellowing "Freude!" at the men's choir like an officer haranguing the troops.

A comparison with the *Eroica* finale proves equally instructive. As in the "Ode to Joy," the variation theme emerges from the ground up, starting in the low strings and progressively infiltrating the full orchestra. The resemblance ends there. In the *Eroica* the *tema* arrives at the end of an evolutionary process, crowning the resurrection of the entire musical language. Not only does the *Eroica* theme emerge through an immanent process, but it sheds every traces of its origins at the climactic reprise; with the *Poco andante*, the *basso* falls away entirely, leaving behind only the individuated *tema*. In the Ninth Symphony, on the other hand, the double basses assert the theme at the outset. The teleological, "expressivist" impulse of the earlier symphony vanishes in this a priori fiat. Where the Third Symphony *tema* shed its *basso* at the climax of the finale, the unison "Freude" theme acquires a new *cantus firmus* ("Seid umschlungen"), whose mechanical sequences denature the original theme. If the *Eroica* finale vindicates naive melody as the sole and sufficient end of utopian history, the "Ode to Joy" portrays it as raw material in need of civilizing completion.

The recitative voice in the “Ode to Joy” also reverses the expressivist teleology of the *Eroica*. The Third Symphony has its own *deus ex machina*, the explosive scales that begin the finale and end the coda. The Ninth Symphony finale opens with a similar thunderbolt, a gesture that is also reprised. In the *Eroica* the two gestures frame the finale, creating a logical V–I tonal relationship; Beethoven thus submits even these godlike interventions to the immanent logic of sonata form. In the “Ode to Joy” both passages remain in the tonic, as two halves of a concerto-like “double exposition.” In the propositional structure of sonata form, both gestures still belong to the subject. The Ninth Symphony thus replaces the logical relationship of the *Eroica* with mere parallelism, the principle of “analogy” that Rose Rosengard Subotnik has proposed as characteristic of post-Enlightenment music.¹³ The emphasis again shifts from destination to origin, teleology to ontology.

These changes from the Choral Fantasy and *Eroica* models all tend in the same direction as Beethoven’s other treatments of naive music in the late works. The Ninth Symphony theme, like the other simple tunes or dance snippets, has become an inert object, to be shaped and manipulated by a transcendent subject. No longer the origin and telos of human striving, the naive has become lifeless matter to be penetrated and subdued by the will. Mind and nature, so carefully conjoined in the *Eroica*, fly apart again in the Ninth Symphony finale.

VOX DEI

The history of the double-bass voice in the Ninth Symphony also leads back to 1809. While opera might seem the obvious source of this recitative, the affinities with the Choral Fantasy point still more strongly to the concerto genre. The “Ode to Joy,” of course, has many concerto features—the double exposition of the “Freude” theme, the concerted use of soloists and chorus, the cadenzas in the coda. The dialogue between the recitative voice and the orchestra also derives from the concerto texture of the Fantasy. Still another debt to the concerto tradition is the review of the first three movements at the beginning of the Ninth Symphony finale. This gesture unmistakably recalls the tradition of the cadenza, in which the improvising soloist pianist freely recalls and develops themes.

It was in 1809, immediately after writing the Choral Fantasy, that Beethoven took a marked interest in inscribing such soloistic passages within his musical texts. In the “Emperor” Concerto, composed in March

and April, he fused improvisation and composition more fully than ever, incorporating the virtuosic cadenzas and flourishes into the score. Most prescient for the Ninth Symphony are the three mysterious bars before the final rondo. The horns sink to a B \flat pedal, preparing a return to E \flat from the B-major *Adagio*. The piano lingers upon this dominant pedal, pensively introducing the opening strains of the finale theme. Still basking in the glow of the *Adagio*, yet forecasting the theme of the finale, the passage seems to hover outside of either movement.

This passage introduces a new space in Beethoven's musical discourse. Similar passages do occur in his earlier music, as in the *Adagio* introduction to the First Symphony finale. Here, too, Beethoven seems to represent the compositional process itself, as the contredanse theme emerges note by note in the violins. Yet a crucial difference distinguishes the *Emperor* passage. There is now an actual agent, the concerto soloist, who enacts the creative process. The convention of the solo cadenza affords the soloist a space outside the normal flow of musical time, a lyrical vista from which to survey and comment upon the dramatic events. In the "Emperor" Concerto this privileged vantage point passes from the performative realm into the text itself.

Beethoven's other composed cadenzas from 1809 show the same concern for inscribing an active presence within the concerto score. The cadenzas he supplied for his earlier concertos and Mozart's K. 466 seem deliberately to create a distance from the text, serving almost as an improvisatory commentary. As Richard Kramer remarked, "An analytical abstraction is entered, by implication, into the text of the concerto."¹⁴ The seam between text and cadenza appears, for example, in the first-movement cadenza of Beethoven's early Concerto in B-flat Major, op. 19, where the light Mozartian movement suddenly yields to a fugal disquisition prescient of the *Grosse Fuge*.

A cluster of three works from 1815–16 forms the first link between the written-out improvisations of the "Emperor" and the recitative in the Ninth Symphony finale. In the Cello Sonata in C Major, op. 102, no. 1, *An die ferne Geliebte*, and the Piano Sonata in A Major, op. 101, the finale theme also evolves out of an improvisatory passage. As in the Ninth Symphony, each of these evolutionary passages recalls a theme from the beginning of the work.¹⁵ While Beethoven completed no further concertos after 1809, it seems significant that he was working on one during the same years he wrote this trio of works. For in these three chamber works with piano the improvising soloist enlarges its powers, even as it migrates from the concerto proper.

Where the “Emperor” merely foreshadows the finale theme, the works from 1815–16 link invention to the memory of past ideas. In the Cello Sonata the finale theme grows out of a recollection of the opening *Andante*. As Elaine Sisman has elegantly demonstrated, the crystallization of the finale theme is triggered by the gradual return of motives from the opening of the work, a process she has related to rhetorical theory. The Piano Sonata in A Major demonstrates still more clearly the link between past memory and present invention. The finale again emerges from a rhapsodic *Adagio* that, after a miniature cadenza, brings back the opening theme of the work in fragments. One three-note motive is repeated over and over, as if an improvising pianist were lingering over a particularly memorable idea (bars 24–27). The isolated motive (E–C#–B) turns out to provide the structural tones underlying the finale theme (1–2, including pickup). The halting fermata in bar 25 and the excited *stringendo* that follows portray the process of composition, enacted in real time before the listener (see Example 20). In both piano and cello sonatas Beethoven challenges the linear logic of the sonata cycle, opening up a transcendent space beyond episodic progress of the form. “Beethoven’s new, complex teleology,” Sisman explains, “moves cyclic works not in a straight line toward a goal, but through a process of finding the right places for revelatory recollections.”¹⁶

In *An die ferne Geliebte* the poetic text explicitly links memory with authorial presence. In the final poem the speaker implores his beloved to sing again the songs he sang her, as a way of overcoming their separation:

Denn vor Liedesklang entweicht
 Jeder Raum und jede Zeit,
 Und ein liebend Herz erreicht,
 Was ein liebend Herz geweiht.

(For at the sound of song
 All space and time gives way,
 And a loving heart reaches
 What a loving heart has consecrated.)

Beethoven realizes the notion of reunion musically by returning the melody of the opening song (“Auf dem Hügel sitz ich spähend”), joining beginning and end in a perfect circle. He finds, as Nicholas Marston put it, “the musical means to render ‘now’ and ‘here’ that willed future reconstitution of past happiness that must remain always imaginary for Jeitteles’s lover.”¹⁷ Significantly, the reminiscence emerges from a miniature *Eingang* in the piano, a faint but unmistakable residue of the fantasia-cadenza tradition.

EXAMPLE 20. Piano Sonata in A Major, op. 101, transition to finale

Zeitmaß des ersten Stückes
 Tempo del primo pezzo: tutto il cembalo ma piano
 Alle Saiten

21

p dolce

25

stringendo *Presto*

cres. f p cresc.

29

Allegro *tr*

f sf

Geschwind, doch nicht zu sehr, und mit Entschlossenheit

The poem may speak of song, but Beethoven is thinking through the fingers of an improvising pianist.

Kerman heard the return of the opening theme as Beethoven's transcendence of time, revealing "space-distance as a metaphor, gradually clarified by the poet, for time-distance." The poem, however, speaks of transcending both time and space, terms that inevitably recall Kant's famous Transcendental Aesthetic. Overcoming these basic forms of phenomenal perception means entering the noumenal realm itself. Karol Berger has proposed precisely this interpretation for such dreamy moments in Beethoven's piano works. Such music, suggests Berger, "assumes the existence of two distinct ontological levels, the real and the imagined or remembered worlds of the protagonist, and . . . makes palpable a shifting of attention between two levels."¹⁸ Berger's formulation exactly describes the new sense of presence in the works of 1815–16. Beethoven has introduced a voice into the musical text that, by

speaking from beyond the confines of the episodic time, can both reflect upon the past and invent the future.

The *Hammerklavier* Sonata, op. 106 (1817–18) provides a further link between the thematic recollections of 1815–16 and the Ninth Symphony finale. The finale again evolves from an improvisatory passage, that drifts through a series of keys and tempos before reaching a grand, concerto-like cadence. While this *Largo* does not literally quote previous themes, the opening expansion across six octaves recalls the first page of the sonata (bars 31–34), which explores the identical span. The opening descent by thirds and the immediate modulation to F# (key of the previous movement) also call up subtle memories. The *Largo* also enacts the evolution of the finale theme, albeit in a more recondite manner than the works of 1815–16. As Charles Rosen noticed, the pointed play between F and A immediately before the *Allegro risoluto* forecasts the opening tenth of the fugue subject, while the series of trills preceding the fugue pass into the subject itself.¹⁹ The absorption of the trill involves more than just motivic derivation. By transforming this cadential gesture into the opening of the subject, Beethoven plays between different levels of musical discourse, elevating a conventional formula into thematic material at the same time that he turns a cadence into an opening gesture. This urbane witticism exemplifies the new sense of compositional intelligence that has entered into Beethoven's texts.

In the 1820s improvisatory transitions become a regular feature before Beethoven's finales. These take the form of recitatives in opp. 110, 132, 131, and 135; a mediative enharmonic transition before the final *Diabelli* variation; a single, highly significant note before the *Grosse Fuge*; and a recitative with thematic recollections in the Ninth Symphony. While the concerto has vanished from Beethoven's oeuvre, one curious reference to keyboard improvisation occurs in the *Missa solemnis*. The Praeludium preceding the Benedictus, as Warren Kirkendale noted, imitates a traditional organ meditation with woodwind and low strings. Kirkendale related this unusual passage to Beethoven's composed improvisations, suggesting that "in composing his own Elevation music for the *Missa solemnis*, [Beethoven] removes it from the unreliable hands of an improvising organist—just as he and later nineteenth-century composers wrote out the cadenzas for their concertos."²⁰ The Praeludium, according to this view, represents yet another example of Beethoven absorbing a spontaneous performing tradition into the integral musical text.

The Praeludium stands out in story of Beethoven's composed improvisation in that, for the first time, he transcribed a keyboard improvisation for

orchestra. To that point all his written-out cadenzas and fantasia passages had still been played by an actual pianist. Now the physical presence of pianist and keyboard passes into the orchestral instruments. It is perhaps not coincidental that the concerto soloist should pass into the orchestra at precisely that moment of the Mass when Christ enters into the elements. With the Praeludium performance becomes fully transubstantiated into text.

Having wound their way through the intimate chambers of the solo sonata and song cycle, and even through the organ loft, Beethoven's keyboard improvisations at last return to the concert stage. The recitative in the Ninth Symphony sums up each development along the way. As in the "Emperor" Concerto, a solo voice muses in a transcendent space outside the normal sequence of the sonata cycle. As in the works from 1815–16 and the *Hammerklavier*, this voice participates actively in the piece, calling up themes from earlier movements and spontaneously inventing the finale theme. And, finally, as in the Praeludium, the improvising soloist resides immanently within the orchestra itself.

The godlike voice of the Ninth Symphony suggests diverse connections to the intellectual context of Beethoven's age. The new sense of contemplation matches Berger's notion of a noumenal aesthetic realm beyond the roil of heroic time. The recollection of themes, as Sisman emphasizes, shows the influence of rhetorical and psychological theory. The self-conscious disruption of the symphonic cycle, Hinton reminds us, parallels the practice of Romantic irony, especially as found in the plays of Tieck. Fichte's *Ich* looms behind the Romantic imperative that a willful subjectivity display itself within the work of art.

The Fichtean interpretation must be tempered by the comparison Burnham has drawn to Hegel's very different notion of *absolutes Wissen*. Hegel critiqued the relentless futurism in Fichte's thought, the ceaseless exercise of the will that left a permanent rupture between reason and nature. He dismissed this "bad infinity": "This infinity is the bad or negative infinity, in which it is nothing more than the negation of the finite, which nonetheless arises again, as it is not at all sublated—or this infinity urges only the imperative of sublating the finite." Such alienation could be overcome only by the moment of self-conscious reflection, or "absolute knowledge," that stood at the summit of the dialectical odyssey of the *Phenomenology of Spirit*. In *absolutes Wissen*, spirit, having passed through countless stages of alienation and sublation, finally attains knowledge of itself as pure spirit: "The Self has to penetrate and digest this entire wealth of its substance. As its fulfillment consists in perfect knowing what it is, in knowing its substance, this knowing is its with-

drawal into itself in which it abandons its outer existence and gives its existential shape over to recollection." This introversive movement distinguishes the shapes of Fichtean and Hegelian history. The first, as George Armstrong Kelly explained, unfolds as "the straight line," the second as "the circle whose end is a perpetual beginning."²¹

Burnham perceived a Hegelian self-consciousness in Beethoven's music, an "epic" perspective that appears most clearly in those codas that review previous conflicts from an Augustan perspective:

The extrovert voice of this music speaks from outside the formal process, across that process, or of that process. This is perhaps most perceptible at the coda, as we have seen, but can be heard throughout a movement as that pressurized utterance that tells of beginnings, middles, and ends. This voice is both a distanced, narrating entity, speaking from a place beyond the moment-by-moment temporal enactment of the music, and the very sound of that music's process. It is both the voice of Goethe's chariot, pulled by the steeds of Time, and of Hegel's realm of absolute knowledge, imagining those steeds and their journey.²²

The Hegelian comparison makes good sense, yet reaches only so far in the heroic style. For there is as yet no perspective outside of dramatic time. The coda of the *Eroica* may rehearse the opening theme in a transfigured light, yet it remains trapped within the time of the movement. The coda is subject to the same teleology as the events it revisits. In this way the heroic style fails to escape the linearity of Fichte. The essentially Fichtean quality of Beethoven heroic temporality appears most clearly in the coda of the *Eroica* finale. After the triumphant final statement of the contredanse the movement falls into disarray, as troubled memories of G-minor tribulations come swarming back; it is only the return of the introductory "Promethean" gesture, logically transposed to the dominant, that restores the symphony to E♭ victory. To the very last bars the symphony remains embroiled in the dialectics of sonata form.

With the late works, however, the Hegelian analogy makes perfect sense. Beethoven's works now contain a genuinely contemplative space outside of dramatic time. By incorporating the improvising pianist of fantasia and concerto tradition Beethoven introduces a free agent into the musical text, a subject who hovers above the formal events. While the review of material in the heroic coda can still be heard as part of a continuous drama, the recitative voice in the Ninth Symphony opens an unmistakable fissure between past drama and present reflection.

Not only do the late works contain a subject capable of *absolutes Wissen*,

but the moment of recollection now occurs at the appropriate moment. As in the *Phenomenology*, the moment of recognition occurs immediately before the finale. These recollections not only review past music, but introduce the final, culminating stage of the drama as well. In a Hegelian reading, the review of themes that begins the "Ode to Joy" would represent the consummatory moment in which spirit, having alienated itself in concrete manifestations (the separate movements), returns to unity through self-contemplation.

All these comparisons, whether to philosophy, rhetoric, or literary theory, fall short of the mark in one crucial respect. They fail to account for the essentially public forum of the Ninth Symphony's voices. The history of Beethoven's inscribed improvisations leads back to the "Emperor" Concerto and the cadenzas of 1809. By splitting musical time into soloistic lyricism and orchestral drama Beethoven was playing with a fundamental tension of the concerto. Sisman rightly stressed the fantasia elements in Beethoven's finale introductions. Yet the fantasy that most influenced the Ninth Symphony, the Choral Fantasy, casts the improvising pianist in the role of concerto soloist. Indeed, what is so remarkable about the "Ode to Joy" is the way Beethoven weds the intimate lyricism of the fantasy to the monumental public genres of symphony, concerto, and cantata. From start to finish, the contemplative voice in late Beethoven belongs within the dialectic of the one and the many, the individual and the collective. The interpretation, in short, demands a political context.

VOX POPULI, VOX DEI?

It is Hoffmann, once again, who uncannily predicted the new direction in Beethoven's work. In the Fifth Symphony review he claimed that the composer "separates his ego [*Ich*] from the inner realm of tones and rules it as unlimited ruler [*unbeschränkter Herr*]" Hoffmann's metaphor illustrates the way the Romantics transposed the Fichtean doctrine of the sovereign ethical self into their political thought. If, as they insisted, the state represented a spiritual unity, and not merely a jumble of individual interests, then the state needed a single representative through whom spirit could express itself. If the state was a work of art, then it needed a master craftsman.

This mediator, the Romantic authors unanimously agreed, was the hereditary monarch. In *Glauben und Liebe*, Novalis had described the mystical role of the monarch in ennobling his subjects:

Monarchy is an authentic system, because it is tied to an absolute midpoint, to a being who belongs to humanity but not to the state. . . . All men should become worthy of the throne. The means of education to this distant goal is the king. He gradually assimilates the mass of his subjects.

Adam Müller likewise explained in the *Elemente der Staatskunst* that the monarch “stands in the middle of his nation and his time, elevated above every individual law.” Particularly suggestive for the Ninth Symphony is Müller’s insistence that the sovereign “should weave together past and future.” Friedrich Schlegel claimed in *Philosophie des Lebens* (1827):

The sanctified character of the godly foundation of the state appears far less visibly where the responsibility of the highest officials wanders from one point to another in a simple human sphere, than in the hereditary monarchy, on one point at least, as the first link that binds the whole together directly to the Godhead and godly righteousness, and which alone must render an account before this judgment seat.

Even Hegel, working from the different premises of idealism, arrived at the same demand for a mediating monarch. As he insisted in *Philosophie des Rechts*:

Taken without its monarch and the articulation of the whole which is the indispensable and direct concomitant of monarchy the people is a formless mass and no longer a state. . . . This absolutely decisive moment of the whole is not individuality in general, but a single individual, the monarch.²³

It is perhaps Fichte who invites the closest comparison with the Ninth Symphony. In his final work, *Die Staatslehre* (1813), Fichte portrayed the evolution of the state as the passage from an Old to a New World—much as Beethoven fashioned his symphony as an odyssey from minor struggle to major transcendence. Fichte’s own *Wissenschaftslehre* would light the way. If in the Old World nature and natural law ruled, in the New World the rational will would prevail, establishing the higher law of freedom: “The ego or the will must therefore be the absolute force of nature: no being outside of it, all being only through it, and as its domain.” To bring about this goal, Fichte prescribed a period of compulsory education, “a state of emergency occasioned by the unconsciousness and unpreparedness in the whole.” After this enforced tutelage, perhaps comparable to the intruding recitative in the “Ode to Joy,” the tutelary State would wither away entirely—just as the

“Freude” theme, once planted, blooms independently in the orchestra and chorus. Schiller’s ode hints at the fate of dissidents within the utopian commonwealth: “Und wer’s nie gekonnt, der stehle / Weinend sich aus diesem Bund” (And who ever has never known [Joy], let him steal / Weeping out of this circle). Fichte spelled out the suppression of individual rights:

The emergency pardons all departure from the law. Whoever would make this emergency last forever wills this lawlessness upon himself. He is the enemy of the human race. . . . The law must take its course; if he does not get out of the way, then the way must run over him.²⁴

Fichte’s equivalent to Beethoven’s didactic voice is an elite intelligentsia, headed by the absolutist *Zwingherr*. This aristocracy of the mind was responsible for guiding the unenlightened to rational freedom:

The educated estate in its particular unification into an organic unity, in the case such a unity is realized, rules by law the second estate; for this latter is its product, whom it intimately understands, knowing its needs, what it can achieve, and of what it is capable.

The *Zwingherr* would arise from the ranks of the learned class and carry out the work of God (that is, the universal Ego) with all the authority of a divinely ordained monarch:

[He will educate them] to the law, which is an absolutely determined and universal concept, that all should have, and that all will have so long as they lift themselves up to the training; and which he possesses in the name of all, as representative of the grace of God working through him.²⁵

While Fichte located the *Zwingherr* in either an individual or a collective senate, he insisted that this executive speak unanimously, as the “ultimate source of decision in all affairs of the people, whose decree admits no appeal and governs unmediated in this work.” Fichte’s description of the *Zwingherr* could aptly describe the recitative voice of the Ninth Symphony, which intervenes to guide orchestra and chorus toward enlightenment. This hortatory voice, indeed, sounds like Fichte’s “educator of mankind, ordained by God himself in the voice of ethical law.”²⁶

What rescues Beethoven from this invidious comparison is the unmistakably Hegelian shape of the Ninth Symphony finale. Hegel, as noted, condemned Fichte’s “bad infinity,” the endless battle of the will against nature. This struggle left a rift between the will and its external productions that

only the moment of self-reflection could overcome. In the *Philosophie des Rechts* Hegel again insists that “it is only by raising itself to become thought again, and endowing its aims with immanent universality, that the will cancels the difference of form and content and makes itself the objective, infinite will.” It is this crucial moment of rational self-knowing, the moment of spirit “in-and-for-itself” (*anundfürsich*) that distinguishes Hegel’s political vision. Where Fichte portrays a linear drive from Old to New World, Hegel portrayed a spiral journey that returns to its origin at a transcendent level. In Hegel’s narrative the primal unity of the family fragments into civil society but returns to a higher integrity in the paternalistic state; the biological family reunites in the transcendent family of the state.²⁷ Indeed, Hegel did not gaze toward some future age for his ideal commonwealth: he could point proudly to the modern Prussian state as the consummation of this historical development. It is hardly a progressive vision, as Hegel’s *Vormärz* disciples realized all too well. Still, it precludes the indefinite state of martial law in Fichte’s grim Republic of Knowledge.

Returning to the Ninth Symphony, David Levy’s “fractal” theory of form proves indispensable. According to this view, the four main divisions of the “Ode to Joy” form a microcosm of the entire symphony. As Michael Tusa explains, “By suggesting a symphony in microcosm, the last movement invites the listener to reexperience the basic sequence of events, issues, moods, and characters of the entire symphony from a new perspective, one that is “angenehmer” and “freudenvoller” than what has come before.”²⁸ The “Ode to Joy” thus parallels the Hegelian notion of progress. Rather than merely lunging forward into the future, it loops back to retrace the journey at a higher level. It thus differs fundamentally from, say, the Fifth Symphony. While motivic memories do return in the Fifth Symphony finale, and while the reprise of the scherzo does impart something of a circular shape, the movement itself does not claim to relive the events of the symphony. It portrays a simple transcendence of the past, a straight drive into the New World. The Fifth Symphony discharges its utopian energy into an indefinite, unbounded future—hence, all that anxious bashing at the tonic in the coda. The Ninth Symphony, on the other hand, presents its utopia as a *fait accompli*, an achieved state celebrated in the present. “Today is a festive day,” reads the inscription beneath the sketches—today, not some coming age. Again, the vision verges on a justification of the status quo. Yet it guards against a fanaticism that would tyrannize the present in the name of the future.

The Romantic ideal of monarchy and the circuitous Hegelian narrative converge in Heinrich von Kleist’s final drama, *Prinz Friedrich von*

Homburg. Kleist's political career closely parallels Beethoven's shifting sympathies. The author also cherished high hopes for Napoleon in 1803 and even volunteered for the planned French invasion of England. With the 1806 defeat of Prussia, Kleist suffered a complete *bouleversement*. After serving time in French prisons for espionage, he emerged as a leading spokesman for the Austrian patriotic movement of 1809, penning numerous propaganda tracts as well as the patriotic play *Der Hermannschlacht*. Kleist wrote *Prinz von Homburg* during this fevered time, although it was not performed until 1821 in Vienna. The dramatic form of his final masterpiece affords a particularly instructive comparison with Beethoven's last symphony.

Both symphony and play follow a consciously cyclical course, in which the ending returns to resolve a problematic opening. In the symphony this return comes at the beginning of the finale, where the three preceding movements are called up then rejected in favor of the D-major hymn. A similar spiral takes shape between the first and last scenes of the play. The drama, like the symphony, begins in a mysterious twilight. Prince Friedrich lies half asleep beneath an oak tree in the castle garden at Fehrbellin, weaving himself a laurel wreath as he dreams of victory in the coming battle against the Swedes. Friedrich's uncle, the Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm, descends a ramp to the prince with his retinue and his young niece Natalie. The elector, in jest, winds his necklace about the wreath and has Natalie hold it out to the prince. When the somnambulist fervently grasps at it, the elector recoils from him declaring, "It's not in dreams you'll capture such as these!" The final scene begins with the prince seated under the same tree, now blindfolded and awaiting execution for insubordination. The elector again descends the ramp with his court circle, but he now allows his niece to place the wreath with his necklace upon Friedrich's head, simultaneously granting him pardon and Natalie's hand in marriage. The symbols of the wreath, the necklace, the round bench ringing the oak tree, and the circle of courtiers all enhance the cyclical structure of the plot.²⁹

The "Ode to Joy" reaches its D-major happy ending by rejecting the preceding movements, in effect, by overriding the logical sequence of the Classical symphony. The *lieto fine* of Kleist's play transcends another expression of Enlightenment rationalism, the Prussian code of military discipline. The prince, having been expressly ordered not to attack before receiving the proper signal, leads his troops impetuously into the fray, seized by heroic ardor and inspired by his dream of Natalie and the wreath. The elector, concerned to uphold military discipline, orders the prince shot. The young man decries this legalism, so different from his own nature:

A loving heart of good old German stock,
 I'm much more used to generosity.
 And if he chooses to confront me now
 With the stony rigor of antiquity,
 I'm sorry for him and must pity him.³⁰

The unfolding drama turns largely on this conflict between the rational demands of the law and the emotional impulses of the individual.

This dialectic is played out at one level in the prince's own development. Friedrich first appears as a romantic opportunist, obsessed with personal glory. After receiving his death sentence his heroic pretensions collapse in cowardice, as he ungallantly forswears his love for Natalie to save his life. By the final act, however, he has ascended to a higher conception of heroism. In his famous "Unsterblichkeit" speech, the blindfolded prince bids farewell to the world with imagery that depicts a transition from the senses into the purely spiritual realm:

Now, O immortality, you're mine!
 Your light, intenser than a thousand suns,
 Pierces the bindings of these earthly eyes.
 Mighty pinions grow on both my shoulders,
 My spirit soars into the silent aether;
 That sees the lively harbor shrink and vanish,
 So below me life grows dark and fades away:
 Colors I can still perceive, and forms;
 Then all lies beneath me in a mist.

He publicly proclaims his new moral vision to his comrades:

Be calm! It is my absolute desire
 To glorify the sacred code of battle,
 Broken by me before the entire army,
 With voluntary death. What do I care
 For one more glorious victory, brothers, over Wrangel,
 In my more glorious triumph over pride,
 That devastating enemy within us?
 Down with every foe who would enslave us!³¹

Worldly victory has become transformed into spiritual transcendence, individual ambition into blatant statism.

The elector also undergoes a spiritual evolution that challenges his equally blinkered devotion to abstract law. Natalie first beseeches his mercy,

reminding him of the vital, emotional qualities missing from his rational concept of the state. Later the old realist Colonel Kottwitz extends Natalie's argument, opposing the elector's legalism with a more personal vision of heroism and political duty:

Sire, the most supreme legality
 Your generals' breast should feel, and hearken to,
 Should not be the letter of your will;
 It is the Fatherland, it is the crown,
 It is yourself, upon whose head that garland rests.
 I ask, what do you care about the rule
 By which he's routed, if the enemy
 Still sinks with all his banners at your feet?
 The rule that beats him, that the most supreme!
 Should the fiery troops that cleave to you
 Become a simple tool, like the sword,
 That hangs there lifeless in your golden belt?
 . . . Do I shed my blood for you in battle
 For pay, be it in honor or in coin?
 God forbid! It's much too good for that.
 For myself alone, in quiet independence,
 I take delight in your magnificence,
 The growth and glory of your splendid name!³²

This speech, planted just before the final *dénouement*, offers the solution to the conflict between elector and prince. Kottwitz assails enlightened absolutism, which portrayed the state as a machine and the monarch as a mere servant of the state. On the contrary, argues Kottwitz, the sovereign incarnates the state, commanding in his person the immediate loyalty of his subjects. By personifying the state, the monarch provides a link between political duty and the subjective experience of the individual, who can cherish his loyalty alone, "frei und für sich." The conflict between individual and state resolves itself within the transcendent subjectivity of the sovereign.

The recitative in the Ninth Symphony plays a role comparable to Kottwitz's ideal sovereign. This new voice bridges the gap between the rational course of the symphony and the vision of the finale. As the double basses teach the "Freude" theme to the ensemble, they become the conduit through which new life enters the ensemble, voice by voice. Like the Romantic monarch, the recitative voice serves as the source through which true individuality can flow into the collective.

The analogy with Kleist's dramatic structure reaches still further. After Kottwitz has delivered his appeal, Count Hohenzollern reminds the elector

that it was his own jest with the wreath that instigated the prince's crime, planting the dream that distracted him during the prebattle briefing. The elector sweeps aside this sophistry with a rebuttal that actually weakens his position still further:

Fool that you are! Stupid Fool! Had you
 Not called me down with you into the garden,
 Would I, compelled by curiosity,
 Have staged that harmless jest before his eyes?
 Of course not! So, with fully equal right,
 I say that you are guilty of his crime!—
 The Delphic wisdom of my officers!

The elector, as Seán Allan put it, has “virtually sawn off the very branch he is sitting on.” For he acknowledges that he himself is caught within a causal web beyond his control or understanding. Kleist thus weaves Kottwitz's subjective vision of sovereignty into the circular framework of the outer scenes: the elector's clear morality, like the logical trajectory of the inner scenes, fades into the oneiric twilight of the encircling garden scenes. Indeed, the boundary between fantasy and reality appears fatally weakened in the prince's final exchange with Kottwitz after his reprieve:

PRINCE: No, tell me! Is it a dream?
 KOTTWITZ: A dream, what else?³³

The play ends with the suspicion that Kleist has not resolved the conflict between elector and prince at all, but has merely shuffled it off into the realm of the irrational.

The same vertiginous play between levels haunts the Ninth Symphony. The recitative voice emerges from an unknowable realm beyond the real time of the symphony—perhaps the noumenal realm that Berger heard Beethoven visiting in his dreamier moments. As this voice reflects upon the first three movements, the dramatic actuality of the symphony fades into a series of disjointed memories, echoing in a transcendent mind. Lyric contemplation temporarily engulfs dramatic time. Yet the question remains: how do the two modes interact over the course of the movement? After serving as *deus ex machina* does the recitative voice simply withdraw to its mystical realm, like Lohengrin with his dove? Or is the entire “Ode to Joy” a lyrical fantasy emanating from the noumenal voice? (The movement was, according to Czerny, a “faithful illustration of [Beethoven's] improvisations

in this form.”)³⁴ This ironic ambiguity, like Kottwitz’s last words, calls into question the claims of the finale to have actually resolved the conflicts of the preceding movements. The transcendence of the recitative voice threatens to strand the symphony on the shores of an irrational fantasy—“Ein Traum, was sonst?”

The evidence from Beethoven’s stylistic development tips the scales against this interpretation. Beethoven’s written-out improvisations and fantasies date from 1809, a time when he was extending control over every aspect of his musical language. The same conservative impulse that caused him to withdraw from the monumental heroic style into lyricism and archaic counterpoint seems also to account for the new “composer’s voice” in the musical text. Moreover, the Choral Fantasy and “Emperor” Concerto show Beethoven’s concern from the beginning to unite this new voice to the collective, public sphere. To be sure, the “Ode to Joy” has its ironic ambiguities, Kermode’s “skepticism of the clerisy”³⁵ that separates artworks from propaganda. But there is no reason to doubt that Beethoven intended anything less than a totalizing vision in the Ninth Symphony.

Yet there may, in fact, be a way in which the recitative voice rejoins the massed voice of the ensemble. Critics have traditionally identified two incarnations of the annunciatory voice, in accordance with the double exposition of the “Freude” theme: the voice speaks through the lower strings as they introduce the “Freude” theme to the orchestra, and speaks again through the bass soloist as he introduces it to the chorus. Yet the finale has not one but two integral themes. There is not only the “Freude” theme, but also the “Seid umschlungen” chant introduced in the G-major *Andante maestoso*. The contrapuntal union of these two themes in the *Allegro energico* marks the climax of the entire movement. The second theme is also introduced by an unaccompanied voice, the unison male chorus. The men’s voices inhabit the exact tessitura of the preceding recitatives and again introduce the new theme in responsorial manner. They are even doubled by lower strings (and trombones), thereby combining the vocal and instrumental forces of the preceding recitatives. Here, then, is a third voice, which manages to overcome the division between soloist and ensemble, transcendence and immanence.

This third voice suggests a historical trajectory within the “Ode to Joy.” The voices of the finale travel backwards in time, from modern instrumental style to operatic *stile concertato* to purely vocal *stile antico*. This stylistic procession perfectly matches the stages of poetic expression, which proceed

from wordless recitative to solo stanzas to choral refrains. More generally, the steady shift from instrumental to vocal expression matches the overall trajectory of the Ninth Symphony.

And thus, the *Andante maestoso* perhaps accomplishes that synthesis of *vox populi* and *vox dei* that Beethoven affected to scorn. The voice of God—or *Geist*, or *das Absolute*, or simply Beethoven himself—does seem to join with the voice of the people in the new “Seid umschlungen” plainchant. This rapprochement cannot be mistaken for populism, of course, not at least according to Western liberal standards. The voices of the “Ode to Joy” by no means vindicate the free individual of Enlightenment imagination. On the contrary, they crawl backwards into the womb of a pre-individualistic, feudal Christendom. There are many ways in which the Ninth Symphony departs from Beethoven’s heroic ideals. This historical regression perhaps ranks as the most startling, as well as the most disturbing.

9 A Modernist Epilogue

This study ends where it began, amid the pages of musical criticism. This is a fitting homage to a lively and creative tradition. For two centuries the evolving image of Beethoven has taken shape in the passionate echolalia of critical prose, no less than in the concert hall, the classroom, or the sculptor's studio. E. T. A. Hoffmann stands at the head of this line as its first great genius. His reviews and literary rhapsodies translated the heroic style into Romantic terms, bequeathing the nineteenth century a compelling portrait of Beethoven as mystic visionary and conquistador of the spirit world. Hoffmann's was, of course, a distorted image; like any interesting critic, he brought strong prejudices to his material. In particular, his allegiance to the transcendent metaphysical realm blinded him to the enlightened aspects of the heroic style. Yet even this distortion proves illuminating. As we watch Hoffmann tailoring the Fifth Symphony to his specifications, we see a fascinating preview of the way Beethoven himself would rework his style as he fell under the Romantic spell.

Beethoven's late works did not enjoy the same journalistic coverage. Not until a century after the composer's death did a literature arise dedicated specifically to the late period. This critical tradition emerged in tandem with modernism, the objectivist, anti-Romantic movement bounded roughly by the end of World War I and some time in the recent past. At the same time that avant-garde composers were turning back to classical forms, that pioneers of the early-music movement were challenging Romantic interpretations, that formalism was ousting metaphysics from musical aesthetics—at just this time critics became intensely interested in the late works of Beethoven. The modernists rediscovered Beethoven's late music, analyzed its style, and cleared a space for criticism. I shall thus conclude this study with a brief, irreverent tribute to my penates.¹

Irreverent, I say, but not incredulous. It is true that the modernist critics entered Beethoven's shrine burdened with devout hopes and fears; and, granted, they did at times resort to rather odd readings to sustain their faith. Yet, as Hoffmann's review teaches, those very moments when a critic's agenda strains most clearly against the musical text possess their own hidden wisdom. At such moments we glimpse the affinity between Beethoven's late works and the modernist age, and gain musical insights that perhaps lay too close to the bone for the critics themselves to articulate.

BEYOND ROMANTICISM

A convenient entrance into the political thought of modernism leads through the work of the German jurist Carl Schmitt. His monograph *Politische Romantik* (1925) offered readers an influential introduction to, and denunciation of, Romantic political thought. Schmitt's attack began with the Jena school and extended to the entire nineteenth century. The peculiar vice of Romantic politics, according to Schmitt, was promiscuity. He condemned the ease with which Romantic artists could transfer their loyalties from revolutionary republicanism to reactionary monarchism (Wagner comes in for special abuse), without the least damage to their underlying beliefs. Schmitt blamed this fickleness on "subjective occasionalism," the Fichtean tendency to endow the *Ich* with absolute transformative power over reality. The Romantic subject, he explained, "treats the world as occasion and opportunity for his Romantic productivity." The sovereignty of the individual subject, in turn, mirrors the underlying structure of bourgeois society:

Only in a society dissolved into individualism could the artist, the aesthetically producing subject, misplace the spiritual center in himself, only in a bourgeois world that isolates the individual in the spiritual realm, that exiles him into himself, and that loads him down with the entire burden that formerly was shared among different hierarchical functions in the social order.²

Romantic thought thus indicts the malaise of an entire society whose traditional structures have dissolved into anarchic individualism. Schmitt does not offer any aesthetic solutions, but his political remedy was unambiguous: he avidly embraced Nazism, authoring such apologetics as "Der Führer schützt das Recht" (1934), a perverse response to the Night of the Long Knives.

In 1927 the musicologist Arnold Schmitz published another influential

polemic, *Das romantische Beethovenbild*, drawing openly upon Schmitt's critique of bourgeois individualism. Schmitz set out to smash four images of Beethoven, perpetrated by four of his most eloquent critics: the portrait of composer as Rousseauian "nature child" (Bettina Brentano), as political revolutionary (Robert Schumann), as high priest (E. T. A. Hoffmann), and as sorcerer (Richard Wagner). Schmitz paints instead a sober portrait of Beethoven as steadfast citizen of the Enlightenment, committed to universal principles of reason and natural religion. The book concludes with a telling dismissal of Wagner's characterization of the Seventh Symphony:

Out of the literary description of the Heroic also emerges the widespread saying about Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, that it is an apotheosis of the dance. In truth, if it is an apotheosis at all, it is more likely of the march. The misunderstanding is not coincidental, but rather typical for the generation around Wagner. It reveals not only a false conception of Beethoven, but above all a confusion of the simplest musical elements, which were apparently no longer felt by that generation. It amounts to nothing less than the end of music.³

No mere hairsplitting, Schmitz's correction entails serious charges against the musical culture of his own day: that fantasy has usurped the place of careful analysis, and that the intoxicated Wagnerites have lost touch with the essence of musical art. The apocalyptic envoi underlines the historical urgency of the message.

Schmitt and Schmitz introduce the two central themes that run through the modernist criticism of Beethoven's late music: a revulsion with the individualistic tendencies of Romanticism, and a desire to recenter Beethoven within a rationalized, pre-Romantic universe. Given these priorities, it is striking that the modernists did not focus on Beethoven's earlier works, which apparently embody enlightened principles most closely. It is instead the eccentric, wildly individual late works that become the battleground for the campaign against Romanticism. An examination of five of Beethoven's leading modernist critics will explore the attraction of these problematic works to a generation bent upon normality and reason, and the crucial role they played in redefining a post-Romantic musical aesthetic.

WALTER RIEZLER

The name of Walter Riezler lives on solely through his important 1930 monograph *Beethoven*. Although the Munich-based scholar did not rate an

entry in any major musical dictionary or lexicon, his book has served as the standard “life-and-works” in Germany, running to seven editions. The book has also circulated widely in English translation. In *Beethoven* Riezler set forth the first comprehensive treatment of Beethoven’s late style. While not the earliest of the major modernist critiques, his seminal work presents the main themes with particular clarity.

Riezler shared Arnold Schmitz’s aversion to Romantic hermeneutics. His preface renounces every sort of extramusical interpretation and affirms

a deep conviction of the autonomy of music. Music is itself a language, whose field of expression comprises all nature and all Humanity. What it has to say it says outright, without need of help from the literary and visual arts, though it can enter into close and very mysterious relations with these. But, in the last analysis, it is music and nothing else.

A spirited rebuttal of Beethoven’s most colorful interpreters—A. B. Marx, Wagner, Arnold Schering, Hermann Kretzschmar, Paul Bekker—builds to the pronouncement that the only way to comprehend the composer’s music is “to confine the analysis strictly to the musical facts, and to try and explain them by reference to the inner laws of music. . . . The road must lead from the ‘word’ to the ‘music,’ and not from the music away into other domains of spiritual expression.”⁴ This salvo, with its sneers at *Wort* and *Ton*, clearly targets Wagner and his celebrated deduction of the *Musikdrama* from Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony. Riezler thereby denies the Beethovenian lineage of Wagner and, by extension, the Romantic music culture he spawned.

Having exorcised his demons, Riezler sets forth on a dialectical history of “pure instrumental music.” His first epoch, from the late sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century, exhibits instrumental music in a state of unconscious immediacy; Riezler quotes Goethe’s remark about the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, that it seemed “as if Eternal Harmony were conversing with herself, as we might think happened before the Creation, deep in the heart of God.” This Edenic calm was blasted apart by C. P. E. Bach and his generation, as they fell under the intoxicating influence of Rousseau and the *Sturm und Drang* movement: “Music has descended into the rough-and-tumble of human existence. . . . None of the forms that had until now held sway could be preserved in their original shape.” The triumphant *Aufhebung* arrived with Haydn and Mozart, who reintegrated the violent eruptions of their predecessors into a Classicism that “achieved perfection by means of a development that was at once free and disciplined.” Riezler

located the breakthrough in a new handling of thematic development. Classicism was free

because there was no limit to what could happen to the thematic material; and disciplined because nothing was permitted to happen to it that was not subservient to the growth of the themes, and moreover, because it was the duty of the composer to choose one of those alternatives that would ensure the perfect—i.e. the organic—development of the whole work. Only when this duty has been faithfully carried out do we get the satisfying impression that what we hear must sound just so—not because man has willed it but because it is part and parcel of nature itself.⁵

Classicism thus attained objectivity by answering to a reality beyond individual human decision.

Riezler locates Beethoven firmly within Classicism, resisting any suggestion that he might belong to a later age:

The deeper we delve into the essence of Beethoven's music the more obvious it is that it belongs to the classical world, and the more clearly it is divided from the romantic. Seen from the standpoint of Haydn and his age, it appears as a further organic development, each phase of which can be traced, but which soon led to a world that could not but be alien to that age.

Riezler takes great pains to distinguish Beethoven's music from Romanticism. He explains the fundamental difference in terms that suggest that he too had studied Carl Schmitt:

But those sudden contrasts, spoken of above, which are only to be found in Beethoven, are also subject to this classical style of structure. They are not known to romantic music—very characteristically, for its contrasts arise from changes in the moods and feelings of the "Ego" [*Ich*]. This Ego is affected, now in one way and now in another, by the outer world. . . . But Beethoven sees the contrasts in the outer world as objective entities, and gives them form in his works. They are more abrupt than any romantic contrast, and therefore often seem to imperil the unity of the work. But just as Beethoven includes contrasts in his works because his gaze is directed on the World as a whole [*das Ganze der Welt*] so, from his devotion to the cause of the Work as a whole [*das Ganze des Werks*] he gathers strength to bend them to his will and to safeguard the unity of that work.⁶

Beethoven's essential Classicism rescues him from the solipsism of the Romantic artist. Unlike the Romantics, he understands the outer world as

real and objective, and that understanding is mirrored in the formal integrity of his works. The disruptions in Beethoven's music, which, as Riezler admits, surpass even those of the Romantics, do not arise from the whims of the *Ich*. Instead, they reflect faithfully the nature of reality as a whole—*der Welthintergrund*, as Riezler calls it.

The late works posed the greatest threat to Riezler's definition of Classicism. In the case of the late quartets, with their crisscrossing network of shared motivic material, he reluctantly concedes that the integrity of the individual work has blurred: "It may certainly be said that these last Quartets no longer have the individuality that from the very beginning was so typical of Beethoven's works." Riezler dwells at length on the unexampled contrasts in the quartets, the apparent abandonment of Classical form. He nevertheless distinguishes them from the superficially related experiments of the Romantics:

We still read that Beethoven's last works entirely lack real form, and that its place is taken by a "succession of visions". . . . This may perhaps apply to some of Schumann's works, for with him sonata form is indeed simply a framework that holds the release of emotions within due bounds, but remains outside the actual musical substance and is thus always clearly in evidence. It is the opposite with Beethoven's last works, for in them framework and content are so entirely one that the former is not seen, with the result that the impression might arise that these works are beyond all external form. As compared with his earlier ones this is nothing fundamentally new, but only a step—decisive, no doubt—further along the path he had followed from the beginning; and thus it is a fresh proof of the perfect consistency and homogeneity of his development.⁷

At this point we need the eye of faith to spy the logic in Riezler's argument. We must simply take his word that the late works possess an objective form (a form so inseparable from content as to be utterly invisible), and that this form somehow consummates the efforts of Viennese Classicism. With this passage we have arrived at the most sacred, self-evident article of Riezler's creed.

Significantly, Riezler does not deny the disruptive, Romantic temper of the late works. On the contrary, he rejoices in these Dionysian excesses precisely because they enhance Beethoven's Classical capacity for self-possession:

Even when Beethoven seems to have lost all self-control, and to have worked himself up into the wildest frenzy, he sees the world with eyes that are as clear as ever. But he is not afraid to draw aside the curtain that

veils the abyss. He knows no fear of chaos, out of which matter is made form, because he is aware of his power to give form to all that his eyes have seen.

We catch a glimpse of the sort of abyss Riezler had in mind when he briefly opens his discussion beyond the purely aesthetic dimension:

That Beethoven succeeded, at a time when all culture was menaced with disintegration, in firmly establishing form, was owing to his own creative genius, which was subject only to his own will and was not dependent upon any sociological condition whatever.⁸

The suspicion easily arises that Riezler, writing in Germany between the wars, was projecting the anxieties of his own age onto the historical narrative. This would explain his fascination with Beethoven's most unruly creations, as well as his fervent belief in their underlying organization. Gazing back from his troubled times, Riezler could take solace in the Orphic composer who managed to tame chaos and bring order out of madness.

HEINRICH SCHENKER

In Riezler's severe review of Beethoven scholarship, Heinrich Schenker consistently earns high marks. Although Riezler's thematic analyses owe little if anything to the Austrian theorist, he must have sensed a kindred spirit. Schenker also attacked fantastic Romantic interpretations, insisting upon precise technical analysis in accordance with the doctrine of "absolute music." His early work also focuses to a remarkable extent on Beethoven's late works. His first major study was an exhaustive analysis of the Ninth Symphony (1912), complete with performance suggestions and a survey of the critical literature. Schenker proceeded to publish editions of Beethoven's late piano sonatas, opp. 109, 110, 111, and 101 with accompanying analytical *Erläuterungen* (1913–20). It was in the final volume of this series that he first proposed the *Urlinie*, the breakthrough that led to his systematic theory of linear analysis. No less than Riezler, Schenker entered into dynastic politics, defending Beethoven's Classical lineage against the bastard claims of Romanticism and Wagner.

Schenker advertised his quarrel on the dedication page of the Ninth Symphony monograph, which hails Johannes Brahms, "the last master of German composition." This homage implicitly repudiates the historical claims of the *Musikdrama*, tracing a line instead from late Beethoven to

Wagner's rival and the last champion of Viennese Classicism. Schenker worked energetically to demonstrate "a chasm between Beethoven's and Wagner's artistic outlook and practice that is deeper and more unbridgeable than any that could be imagined"; this chasm, he maintained, would allow his readers "to understand and judge the course that music history took in the nineteenth century in a way completely different from the usual one!"⁹

Schenker did not disguise the political dimension of his polemic. He explicitly equated Wagner's influence with the liberalizing politics of the nineteenth century:

It was he who bestowed, with what may be compared to usurped imperial powers, the general suffrage, and thus elevated the 'naïve' listeners, the millions of ciphers, to the status of 'individuals' and 'personalities'!

Schenker himself scorned any such accommodation with *Liebhaber* and dilettantes, heading his monograph with Lessing's admonition that "true connoisseurs of poetry have at all times and in all places been precisely as rare as true poets themselves." He deliberately kept his analyses beyond the reach of populist commentators, against whom he fulminated:

Break the back of the fierce resistance of mankind, which always reduces the force of genius to an effortless sunshine, beaming down on the Edenic garden of Art—which, apparently by the grace of God (and, once again, effortlessly) dispenses pleasures of blossoms and fruits.

Schenker reserved particular contempt for the Wagnerian obsession with melody. This vulgar tunefulness betrayed Wagner's essentially theatrical style, which Schenker viewed as inimical to Beethoven's symphonic style:

It was the theatrical blood in Wagner that determined him to understand all clarity only in terms of the hearing habits of a crowd of a thousand, of whom a more refined aural culture is not to be expected. The public of the theater must be given melos "up front" [*obenauf*], so to speak, and all higher and subtle arts of music, even when they act to secure melos, must falter before that public. The most drastic measures must be invoked to affect the theatrical crowd, merely because the eternal law of the crowd as such demands it. But matters are different outside the theater and in the realm of absolute music, where the psychological principle of the crowd no longer applies.

Schenker, not unpredictably, added a nationalistic spin to his critique, comparing Wagner's operatic tunefulness to "the Italians' superficial natural tendency."¹⁰

Schenker refuted Wagnerian melomania with a reductive mode of analysis, burrowing beneath the tuneful topsoil in search of deeper musical processes. His analyses leave behind the accessible surface of the music, which even the groundlings could grasp, and search out the arcana of "symphonic" logic. (Schenker's first publication, it is worth noting, was an essay on the relationship between ornamentation and musical structure.) The discussion of the opening bars of the Ninth Symphony indicates the reductive direction of Schenker's analytical method. He explains that the descending, double-dotted *Urmotif* is "inseparably bound up with the harmony in such a way that one must view as the finished motif not so much the individual fifth- or fourth-leap as rather the sum of several leaps within the same harmony." He proceeds to reduce the melody of the opening fourteen bars to triadic outlines, demonstrating in the process Beethoven's systematic rhythmic diminution of the motive. By demonstrating this underlying structure, Schenker distinguishes Beethoven's patrician art from the shallow entertainments of Romanticism.¹¹

Schenker's hermetic method of analysis reached a logical conclusion in the *Ursatz*, an objective standard of coherence comparable to Riezler's *Ganze der Welt*. Writing in 1926, after the formulation of his mature theory, Schenker returned to the same invidious comparison between the deep-rooted art of Beethoven and Wagner's tunesmithery:

Only a few geniuses were able to meet the demands of organic structure in sonata-form. What they accomplished for this structure was because of improvisational gifts. This art was neither perceived nor was it teachable. . . . After this there developed a misconception fostered by Wagner. To be sure his Leitmotiv technique was in accord with a world used to categorizing melodies. On the other hand, because of his overemphasis on the musical foreground (Wagner was no background composer!) due to theatrical requirements, he introduced a heaviness which previously had not existed at all in music. People imagined that they heard a similar heaviness also in the improvisational works of our masters. The desire strongly arose to escape from this heaviness. They clamored for "melody"!

Unlike his American followers, Schenker did not view this deep structure as a normative feature of all tonal music, but rather as the sacred property of genius. And, like any product of genius, the *Ursatz* possessed universal validity. The genius, states the introduction to the op. 101 *Erläuterung*, "is also

bound by universal laws, only, unlike the non-genius, he can bring them to consummation through the artwork." This statement echoes the claim in the study of the Ninth Symphony that "a musical content that is so perfect in itself as that of the Ninth Symphony uncovers laws of tonal construction that most other human beings do, indeed, carry within their own bosoms, but that only the genius, by dint of natural gifts, can actually make manifest!"¹²

Schenker drew political conclusions from this Kantian doctrine of genius, as he brooded upon the mass popularization of art music:

The bankruptcy of the false personalities can be observed today, incidentally, in other domains as well—in politics, for example, where the all-too-many unproven 'personalities' in turn long in identical hopelessness for the one true personality who could bring reason and change to the exigencies of socio-political life! How clear the inference from this that all salvation is ultimately to be expected only from the genius, who also truly activates personality, in contrast to which the many putative 'personalities' rolled up together once again amount to only a—mass!¹³

This pronouncement might seem curiously out of place in a study of the Ninth Symphony, a work that many have considered the populist work par excellence. Yet perhaps Schenker was responding to something distinctly unpopulist and authoritarian in the symphony. His politics, rather than obscuring his criticism, may actually shed a valuable light on Beethoven's work, making even the most tendentious passages of criticism repay a closer reading.

JOSEPH KERMAN

Crossing the Atlantic and hopping forward a few generations, we find a familiar cluster of themes among the American critics writing after World War II. Joseph Kerman stands out as the most influential American expositor of Beethoven's late works in the second half of the century. In *The Beethoven Quartets* (1967) he provided not only a brilliant study of the late quartets, but a general analysis of the late style that has nourished countless studies as well. His article on Beethoven in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) has lent additional clout to his vision of the composer's development and style.

Unlike Riezler and Schenker, Kerman frankly acknowledged the mo-

ernity of Beethoven's late style. Reflecting on the renewed interest in the late works, he suggested that

it has to do with the main line of musical evolution into the twentieth century, and new ways of comprehending new music have helped to illuminate the third style. Various trends of modern music can be seen to be prefigured by technical aspects of the third style. . . . At the same time, the twentieth-century consciousness has been able to respond very directly to something in the expressive content of the late quartets—something overreaching and characteristically indefinable.

Kerman reinforced this point with more than a few references to Igor Stravinsky's music and his critical opinions on the late quartets. In a neat culmination, *The Beethoven Quartets* received a handsome review in the Stravinsky/Craft memoir *Themes and Conclusions*.¹⁴

Kerman took pains to demonstrate the order underlying the troubled surface of the late works. Whereas Riezler found salvation in the *Ganze der Welt*, and Schenker in the deep structure of the *Uralinie*, Kerman pinned his hopes on the integrity of the individual work. He took issue with those critics, Riezler included, who deduced a cyclical conception of the late works from the evidence of thematic interrelationships. Dismissing this pseudo-Wagnerian line of interpretation, Kerman reminded his readers that "Ultimately, and most seriously, our interest is presumably not in stylistic features and techniques any more than it is in groups of quartets—in pairs or 'trptychis.' We should be attending to each separate work of art in its own private intensity." The late quartets, he contended, epitomized Beethoven's commitment to the organic wholeness of the individual artwork:

Individuality, integrity, coherence—these are hard conceptions to distinguish, and in my view the Quartets in E \flat , A minor, and C \sharp minor are Beethoven's greatest works because each creates a more profound and individual impression of coherence than he or anyone else had achieved before. Contrasts—within movements or between movements—may be more extraordinary than ever, but the really extraordinary thing is how inevitably the expanding range of sentiment is subsumed into a total integrity. . . . It is not enough to allow the late quartets a 'certain wholeness'; each of them provides us with a separate paradigm for wholeness.¹⁵

Kerman's value system is straightforward—coherence equals greatness. The late quartets reveal their glory in the way they control maximal disruption.

Kerman's doctrine of the individual work serves as the focus of a dialecti-

cal drama played out in the chapter entitled "Dissociation and Integration." He saw these antithetical principles incarnated in opp. 130 and 131. The Quartet in B-flat (conspicuously absent from Kerman's list of Beethoven's greatest works) plays the black sheep in his discussion of the late quartets. In this disconcerting work, as Kerman heard it, chaos threatens to overwhelm even Beethoven's sense of control:

Beethoven's central concern for contrast, all through the late quartets, here thrusts hard toward the breaking point. . . . More than any other of his great compositions, the Quartet in B \flat bears in its very blood the seeds of disruption. . . . The Quartet in B \flat is a truly radical conception, *the* truly radical work of the third period.

To this musical bedlam Kerman opposed the Quartet in C-sharp, paragon of the integrated musical work. He lovingly detailed the unity of the quartet's structure—the projection of the opening Neapolitan harmony into the larger tonal planning; the composing-out of the key areas of the opening fugue in later movements; the uninterrupted continuity of movements; the cyclical recollection of the fugue subject in the finale. This extraordinary unity, Kerman claimed, belongs to the very essence of the quartet, defining its individuality:

The uniqueness of the quartet lies exactly in the mutual dependence of its contrasted parts, or as some will prefer to put it, in their organic interrelation. Freedom, normality, and the solution of conflicts may surely be bound up with this. The Quartet in C \sharp minor is the most deeply integrated of all Beethoven's compositions; in which respect it stands at the very opposite end of a spectrum from the Quartet in B \flat .

Op. 131 thus pours oil on the troubled waters of op. 130, restoring sanity and averting chaos. In his article for the *New Grove Dictionary*, Kerman ventured even broader claims for these two quartets. Summarizing his previous argument, he stated of op. 130:

As though in reaction to this study in musical dissociation, Beethoven next wrote the most closely integrated of all his large compositions. From this point of view, the Quartet in C \sharp minor op. 131 may be seen as the culmination of his significant effort as a composer ever since going to Vienna.¹⁶

This amounts to a more persuasive, empirically verifiable version of Riezler's claim that the late quartets consummate Beethoven's work as composer.

Kerman's argument effectively translates the vision of Riezler and Schenker into terms more amenable to the empiricism of Anglo-American scholarship and its reigning paradigm, the New Criticism. By tailoring his critique to the individual work, Kerman hewed to the musical text with a specificity lost in the broad vistas of the *Welthintergrund* or the *Urfinie*. At the same time, he preserved the philosophical dimension by investing individual works with metaphysical properties: the concepts of dissociation and integration become, as it were, transubstantiated in opp. 130 and 131.

While ingeniously constructed, Kerman's argument creaks loudly at several joints. First, while we might easily agree with him that Beethoven was exploring the abstract idea of integration in op. 131, we might also object that such self-consciousness actually alienates the concept from the immediacy it once enjoyed in his music. By bracketing musical unity, Beethoven would seem to be admitting that it is no longer something to be taken for granted in his musical language. Kerman tellingly concludes his analysis of op. 131 with Beethoven's alleged comment "An Phantasie fehlts, Gottlob, weniger als je zuvor" (Thank God, there is less lack of fancy than ever before). "Fancy" is not a term one naturally associates with integration, or normalcy. Yet the coherence of the Quartet in C-sharp Minor is precisely that—a thoroughly fanciful, individual way of unifying a string quartet. Op. 131 may solve the problem of integration, but only as an isolated, sui generis instance.

Second, it is far from clear how the particular form of integration in op. 131 fits within the trajectory of Viennese Classicism—whether, that is, it really culminates Beethoven's "significant effort as a composer since going to Vienna." The features that unify the Quartet in C-sharp Minor are not at all characteristic of the music of Haydn, Mozart, or even earlier Beethoven. The running together of movements seems chiefly indebted to Beethoven's proto-Romantic song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte* and certain other lyrical works from the 1810s. The diffuse tonal organization of the quartet has more in common with the Bagatelles, op. 126, and later Romantic experiments in cyclical form, as does the thematic recall in the finale. As for the projection of harmonic details into the overall structure, this is a compositional tendency that could as easily point ahead to Brahms or Schoenberg as back to the *Eroica*. The most characteristic principles of Classical structure—the four-movement cycle, the tonic-dominant axis, sonata form—these are stretched, flattened, and obscured almost beyond recognition.

Integration there certainly is, but hardly in terms of Haydn, Mozart, or earlier Beethoven. Kerman has purchased coherence at the price of history, leaving the late works as problematic as ever.

CHARLES ROSEN

The modernist interpretation of late Beethoven found an influential new formulation in Charles Rosen's *The Classical Style* (1971). Rosen's single lengthy chapter on Beethoven gave a novel twist to the themes traced in Riezler, Schenker, and Kerman. True to form, Rosen both acknowledged the radical nature of Beethoven's late works and defended them vigorously against the taint of Romanticism. His particular contribution was to locate Classical coherence in style.

The "Classical style" served Rosen as an objective principle, equivalent to the *Ganze der Welt*, the *Urlinie*, or the individual work, which ensured musical unity and order. It too enjoyed universal validity, yet yielded its secrets only to the genius: "It is only in the works of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven that all the contemporary elements of musical style—rhythmic, harmonic, and melodic—work coherently together, or that the ideals of the period are realized on a level of any complexity."¹⁷ His chapter on Beethoven purports to demonstrate the unbroken integrity of this style even into the late works.

Rosen begins his argument by cleansing Beethoven of any stain of Romanticism. The first sentence sets the tone: "In 1822, five years before his death, Beethoven felt himself completely isolated from the musical life in Vienna." Not only did Rosen stress Beethoven's indifference toward newer music, he even denied Beethoven's influence on his younger contemporaries. Harmonic language lies at the heart of Rosen's definition of Classical style, and he accordingly contrasted Beethoven's adherence to the tonic-dominant axis with the looser tonal schemes of the Romantics. Beethoven's fascination with third relations did not deter Rosen, who declared that

We cannot even claim that Beethoven's harmonic license within the classical style was a step towards the greater freedom of the Romantic generation, or that his magnificent stretching of the tonic-dominant polarity made it possible for those who followed to supersede it, or at least to bypass it.

Nor does Beethoven's chromaticism betray a loosening of tonality:

There are moments when Beethoven is as chromatic as any composer before late Wagner, including Chopin, but the chromaticism is always resolved and blended into a background which ends by leaving the tonic triad absolute master.

In rhythmic organization, too, Beethoven holds fast to Classical principles:

The Romantic composer rejected [binary rhythmic construction], with some malaise, in favor of a more fluid conception, but Beethoven was absolute master over the classical articulation of rhythmic forces.

The tone painting of the *Pastoral* Symphony causes Rosen some discomfort, but he again asserts the primacy of Classical principles:

It cannot be said that this contradiction [between explicit tone-painting and formal structure] affects the beauty of the work: the mood-painting is contained easily within a classical symphonic structure organized as dramatically as ever.¹⁸

In his concern to separate out Beethoven from his successors, Rosen paid special attention to the late works, the creations contemporary with the first stirrings of Romanticism. His argument assumes a dialectical form reminiscent of Kerman's treatment of opp. 130 and 131, with style taking the place of the individual work as the governing principle. Rosen's phase of "dissociation" encompasses the experimental pieces that Beethoven wrote during the fallow years following the Seventh Symphony. Rosen comes close to admitting Beethoven's capitulation to the new musical trends:

During this time when it was so difficult for him to complete a work, it was as if the classical sense of form appeared bankrupt to him, spurring him to search for a new system of expression. . . . Except for *An die ferne Geliebte*, the Romantic experiments are only tentative: neither classical tonality nor classical proportions are really abandoned except in details. Yet it is in the rare works of this period that Beethoven is closest to the generation that followed his death.¹⁹

Nevertheless, the Titan battled his way back to integration with the watershed *Hammerklavier* Sonata, Rosen's equivalent for the Quartet in C-sharp Minor:

The decision to continue with the more purely Classical forms was, in its way, heroic. The act of will was marked by the composition of the

Hammerklavier Sonata, which took him the two years of 1817 and 1818. . . . The *Hammerklavier* had pointed the way to this renewed activity, and in the severity of its treatment it put an end to experiments with more loosely constructed, open patterns. The apparently freely expanded forms of the late quartets are closely tied to the severity of the *Hammerklavier* and to its clarity of definition. They start from its principles, transforming and reworking them, rather than from the experimental works of 1813–16.²⁰

Unfortunately, Rosen said nothing further about the late quartets, leaving this last tantalizing statement hanging. Instead, he devoted a hefty analysis to the *Hammerklavier* Sonata and its structural unity. Like op. 131 in Kerman's critique, the *Hammerklavier* serves a totemic function, symbolizing the unbroken Classical lineage of the late works.

Rosen introduces his analysis with Beethoven's celebrated description of working out an entire composition from one basic idea (a remark, Rosen happens to mention, delivered to "a young musician from Darmstadt"). This biographical detail is meant to assure the reader that op. 106 adheres to standards of Classical rigor, in particular to Haydn's technique of "allowing the music to grow out a small kernel, the simplest, most condensed of musical thought announced, generally, at the very opening." With the *Hammerklavier* Beethoven outdid his teacher in economy of means: "Not only the discursive melodic shape but the large harmonic forms as well have become thematic, and derive from a central and unifying idea."²¹ This idea is the descending third in bar 2, and Rosen's analysis tirelessly pursues its implications in every movement and layer of harmonic structure throughout the sonata, in an analysis totaling twenty-seven pages. Readers who have puzzled over Rosen's decision to devote nearly half of his single chapter on Beethoven to this tedious chore should bear in mind the stakes involved: Rosen was playing for nothing less the Classical integrity of the late works, those prized but problematic possessions of the modernist imagination.

Rosen proves beyond any doubt that the *Hammerklavier* is a unified, orderly work. Yet he offers no more assurance than Kerman of its Classicism. Once again integration emerges as a self-conscious, alienated idea. Rosen even admits that op. 106 looks ahead to the self-reflexivity typical of modernist art:

The content—the subject matter—of the *Hammerklavier* is the nature of the contemporary musical language. The work of art which is literally about its own technique is almost too familiar by now: the poem about

poetry itself (like most of those by Mallarmé), the film in which the principal subject-matter is cinematic technique and the cross-references to other films, the painting which actually attempts to depict the process of projecting space upon a flat surface or which refers, not outside itself, but directly to the medium of paint.²²

If, as Rosen claimed, Classical coherence itself has become the thematic matter of op. 106, then surely this undercuts the continuity between late Beethoven and, say, Haydn, for whom such coherence was an unquestioned principle. The Classicism of the *Hammerklavier* amounts to a lonely, atavistic ideal, as isolated as the individual work of art itself. At this point we might ask what separates Beethoven's late works from the "subjective occasionalism" of the Romantics—besides the fact that he chose to exercise his sovereign *Ich* upon the ruins of Viennese Classicism, rather than upon opium dreams, Alpine scenery, or Norse mythology.

A more serious inconsistency undermines Rosen's argument. He begins the chapter on Beethoven by drawing an absolute distinction between Beethoven's fidelity to the tonic-dominant axis and the third-based harmonic language of the Romantics. He then proceeds to scrutinize one of the most rigorous exercises in third relations ever written. Rosen heightens the paradox by reminding the reader at the outset of the Classical interrelationship of part and whole that op. 106 allegedly epitomizes. If, as Rosen so arduously demonstrates, third relations permeate every level of harmonic structure, then the sonata amounts to nothing less than a systematic renunciation of Classical tonality. In his endeavor to uphold Classicism, Rosen has pitted two Classical tenets against each other—on the one hand, the tonic-dominant axis; on the other, the organic interrelation of part and whole. Ultimately, the latter triumphs at the expense of the former. The Classicism that Rosen has demonstrated in the *Hammerklavier* resides solely in the organic unity of the harmonic and thematic structure—a standard by which he could as easily have declared a Schoenberg quartet or Webern cantata "Classical." The elusive late works once again slip the snare.

MAYNARD SOLOMON

In *Beethoven* (1977) Maynard Solomon set forth the most significant biography since Thayer's *Life*, viewing the composer's life and creativity through a Freudian lens. Solomon's major foray beyond biography, a long article on the Ninth Symphony, reveals the modernist interpretation alive

and well in 1986. Yet while Solomon upholds the core doctrines of modernism, unmistakable glimmers of a newer approach appear in his critical mode.

The title of Solomon's article, "The Ninth Symphony: A Search For Order," should by now have a familiar ring. No less than his predecessors, Solomon dedicated himself to demonstrating the Classical, enlightened worldview of Beethoven's last period. His discussion of the late works begins with the assertion that

Beethoven continued to uphold the ideals of the Enlightenment, of Classicism, and of aristocratic excellence even after historical conditions had rendered these anachronistic. Nor did he abandon—rather, he expanded—the search for a multiplicity of musical syntheses.

This is not to say that Solomon did not acknowledge the disruptive, idiosyncratic aspects of the late works. Like Kerman, he recognized their unmistakable modernity, claiming that Beethoven's

unprecedentedly complex use of text, scenarios, programmatic indications, characteristic styles, musical symbolism, and the web of forecasts, reminiscences, and other denotational devices is the hallmark of a profoundly modernist perspective.²³

In order to explore these meanings Solomon charted seas of biographical and extramusical interpretation into which none of the other critics, save perhaps Kerman, would have ventured. Nevertheless, Solomon insisted that "Beethoven never relinquished his reliance upon the Classic structures; rather he imbued them with greater freedom and fantasy." In a familiar strategy, Solomon recognized the most chaotic tendencies of the late works even while insisting on their underlying coherence:

Ultimately, in seeking to accommodate such disruptive elements within essentially classical designs, Beethoven's structural powers are put to their most extreme test: he succeeds in retaining each of the cross-references both as a functional image and as a part of the formal structure.

Solomon demonstrated this integration through a sort of musical psychoanalysis of the Ninth Symphony—Freud meets *Freude*. Like a therapist probing for subconscious drives, he unearths a series of archetypal "quests": the quest for theme, the quest for mythological meaning, the quest for Elysium. The innermost level does not, however, reveal an unruly

Id, but a surprisingly well-ordered core. At the heart of the symphony lies an integrative principle that bestows order on its most entropic, *avant-garde* energies:

Beethoven's modernist contribution, then, was to symbolize extreme states by means of a host of new musical images and image clusters. . . . This disruptive new content forced a reshaping of sonata structure in the direction of extreme organicist integration of highly dissociative materials. To the other Ninth Symphony quests, therefore, can be added a quest for style and a quest for form. And at the root of the symphony's many questing patterns is a single impulse: to discover a principle of order in the face of chaotic and hostile energy.²⁴

Thus, all appearances to the contrary, the Ninth Symphony receives a clean bill of health.

The orderly core of the Ninth proved for Solomon the survival of Classicism in Beethoven's late works. In a familiar historical dialectic, he depicted the late style as a sublation of modernity and enlightened principles:

Beethoven's is a risky Classicism, which introduces the original and the bizarre (i.e. the modern) in the service of a higher conception of the Classic, one that does not remain content to imitate a preexistent model of harmony. . . . The late works alter, or dispense with, easy conceptions of order, symmetry, and decorum. Ultimately, of course, his new forms may be even more coherent than those of his predecessors, but their coherence bears the impress of a journey through the reaches of chaos.

Like the critics above, Solomon carefully distinguishes Beethoven's enhanced Classicism from Romanticism:

Unlike the main exponents of German literary Romanticism, whose works so often splintered into oracular aphorism or into truncated structures, Beethoven achieved what Schiller had thought in principle to be impossible—to map the infinite without losing hold of the center.²⁵

The final words of this sentence hint at the real enemy lurking behind Romanticism. Solomon has called up a famous line from William Butler Yeats's apocalyptic poem of 1924, "The Second Coming":

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned.

Behind Solomon's paean to order looms the shadow of an atrociously disorderly, chaotic century. At the root of his critique, and that of all Beethoven's modernist critics, lies this one fundamental quest: "to discover a principle of order in the face of hostile and chaotic energies."

Ultimately, Solomon's is the risky Classicism. He conjures up a host of demons but does little to exorcise them. We never do learn just how the Ninth Symphony tames its unruly quests. In fact, as Solomon himself acknowledged, every agent of order can be seen simultaneously as a force of disruption; the evolution of the finale theme, for example, can be read either as a unifying musical feature or as an intruding extramusical "quest." It is the questing, modernist elements of late Beethoven that emerge with greatest vitality in Solomon's essay, while his assurances of order and Classicism ring hollowly, like lip service to an obsolete dogma. Disruption, chaos, multiplicity have begun to attract interest for their own sake, not merely as wild beasts to be tamed.

THEODOR ADORNO

The work of Theodor Adorno provides a particularly apt conclusion to this survey. For Adorno did not just propose an explicitly political critique of Beethoven's late works, but situated the discussion in a continuum with twentieth-century modernism. According to Adorno, the late works displayed the first symptoms of a sociological-aesthetic malaise that culminated in Arnold Schoenberg's dodecaphonic works.²⁶ More obviously than any other critic, Adorno addressed the issues of coherence and bourgeois individualism in Beethoven late works. His conclusions, however, differ so fundamentally as to amount to a critique of the entire modernist tradition.

Adorno viewed Beethoven's middle-period works as a mirror of bourgeois liberalism in its confident first flush. The subjective processes of thematic development and rhetorical expression mesh perfectly with the formal principles of tonality and sonata form, just as the individual subject experienced a sense of harmonious self-realization in society. So fused are part and whole within the heroic works that the implicit subject of Beethoven's heroic works seems spontaneously to discover the forms of Viennese Classicism; in like manner, Kant discovered within the subject the universal form of the moral law. In this way, Adorno argued, Beethoven "seeks to rescue the objective formal canon that has been rendered impotent, as Kant rescued the categories: by once more deducing it from the liberated subjectivity."²⁷ The logical processes of motivic development and

sonata form reflect a faith in the individual who, having torn free from the structures of traditional society, replaces them with a universal and, presumably, self-evident rationality.

This synthesis, Adorno continues, harbors its own negation and cannot long sustain its illusion in musical expression. For no sooner has the subject drawn the universal wholly into himself, than he finds itself at the mercy of an external world emptied of rationality. Having slipped the chains of feudalism, the emergent bourgeoisie finds itself again enslaved by the blind forces of industrial production and market demand. This dawning realization, however, did not dampen Beethoven's advocacy of the individual subject. On the contrary, the late works grow increasingly subjective, until each work becomes a world unto itself. The illusion of contingency, the sense that the individual work is somehow discovering universal laws, falls away. Instead, the music accumulates strangely opaque features, wholly foreign to the middle period—archaic modality, unpenetrated lyricism, conventional ornaments and formulae. These inert, "objective" elements, which Adorno compared to Schoenberg's twelve-tone technique, represent the retreat of subjective necessity into the structure of the individual artwork. As necessity withdraws into the subject, musical representations of subjectivity grow increasingly brittle and irreducible.

And yet, to carry Adorno's dialectic to its grim conclusion, this rigid autonomy destroys the individual it was meant to protect. The illusion of the free subject vanishes from Beethoven's late works, leaving behind only a hollow space:

The power of subjectivity in the late works of art is the irascible gesture with which it takes leave of the works themselves. It breaks their bond, not in order to express itself, but in order, expressionless, to cast off the appearance of art. Of the works themselves it leaves only fragments behind, and communicates itself, like a cipher, only through the blank spaces from which it has disengaged itself.²⁸

Beethoven's uncompromising defense of subjective autonomy leads inexorably to the death of the subject, mirroring the impotence of the bourgeois subject in modern society.

Adorno thus reverses the verdict of Beethoven's modernist critics by insisting on the fundamental rupture between individual and society in the late style. There is no question of repatriating the late works in the prelapsarian Enlightenment. These pieces belong to the fallen modern world. Indeed, the whole attempt to turn back the clock on the late style bears a suspicious resemblance to the regressive, collectizing tendencies that

Adorno castigated in twentieth-century neoclassicism. His critique of Stravinsky applies devastatingly to Beethoven's modernist critics: "The seemingly positive return to the outmoded reveals itself as a more fundamental conspiracy with the destructive tendencies of the age. Any order which is self-proclaimed is nothing but a disguise for chaos."²⁹ Adorno's critique would be valuable if for no other reason than as a counterbalance to the totalizing strategies of modernist criticism.

And, frankly, I find little else of value in his interpretation of late Beethoven. Consider, for instance, the supposed examples of objective, faceless convention that he adduces from the late piano sonatas:

The works are full of decorative trill sequences, cadences, and fiorituras. Often convention appears in a form that is bald, undisguised, untransformed: the first theme of the Sonata, op. 110 has an unabashedly primitive accompaniment in sixteenths that would scarcely have been tolerated in the middle style.³⁰

None of these points stand up to inspection. We have only to look at op. 111 (or op. 109) to see Beethoven integrating a trill sequence into the most fundamental structural and expressive levels of the work. Or we could turn to the fugal subject of the *Hammerklavier* fugue to find the most penetrating and witty transformation of a standard cadential formula. As for op. 110, Dahlhaus has demonstrated how the accompaniment figure undergoes a systematic rhythmic development, accelerating from eighth to sixteenth to thirty-second notes, and returning at the smallest level of diminution in the recapitulation.³¹

The larger points prove just as problematic. Adorno viewed the archaic counterpoint in the *Missa solemnis* and late quartets as signs of a retreat from middle-period subjectivity. Yet, as this study has labored to show, Beethoven integrated counterpoint into his late style with the same rigor as sonata form or motivic development in his heroic works. Subjective presence is stronger than ever throughout the late works. Indeed, it often emerges most palpably against the foil of the blankest conventions, as in the *Diabelli Variations* or in the contrast between the *Alla danza tedesca* and *Cavatina* of op. 130. And the improvisatory "composer's voice" that emerges in the Ninth Symphony and elsewhere thrusts subjectivity to the foreground in the most palpable way imaginable.

At stake is Adorno's whole conception of the relationship between music and society. He is nowhere closer to the modernists than in his distaste for

musical hermeneutics. In his rarefied materialist critique music reveals its social message obliquely, by pursuing its own purely formal logic:

The relation of the works of art to society is comparable to Leibniz's monad. Windowless—that is to say, without being conscious of society, and in any event without being constantly and necessarily accompanied by this consciousness—the works of art, and notably of music which is far removed from concepts, represent society. Music, one might think, does this the more deeply the less it blinks in the direction of society.³²

This formalist bias can admit only the most abstract comparisons between music and social constructs, as in Adorno's reduction of the archaic modes, counterpoint, and liturgical conventions of the *Missa solemnis* to the "objective" antithesis in his dialectic. This kind of philosophical allegorizing ignores the obvious political associations of the *stile antico*, so clearly recognized by Beethoven himself. Adorno pinned the "official Zeitgeist" of the Restoration on Rossini, yet Beethoven's glorification of the Hapsburg church tradition smacks no less of official culture than does the Italian composer's hedonistic bel canto. Rossini's monad has windows; why not Beethoven's?

Like the other modernists, Adorno seems to have allowed hero worship to cloud his judgment. In his urgency to enlist Beethoven's late music in his philosophical critique, he hoisted the composer unhistorically beyond the unique political conditions of his day. Echoes of the familiar Promethean rhetoric emerge as Adorno exults in Beethoven's pursuit of the inner path:

A sublimated art like music that has passed through the interior requires the crystallization of the subject. It needs a strong, resistant ego to objectify itself as a social slogan, to leave the accidental quality of its descent from the subject beneath.

Or, again, in this absurd dualism:

[Beethoven represents] an extreme contrast to Wagner in the formation of the bourgeois character. A man who becomes a monad and clings to the monadological form to preserve his humanity. Wagner, by contrast becomes inordinately loving because he cannot withstand the monadic situation.³³

Beethoven once again ends up bearing the superhuman burden of historical purity, of somehow shaking free of every accident of time and place and expressing the Ideal. The modernist myth lives on.

BEYOND MODERNISM

From the vantage point of the new century, the legacy of modernist Beethoven criticism can appear both strange and persistently familiar. It may seem odd today to find the most puzzling, fantastic works Beethoven ever wrote described as exemplars of Enlightenment rationality and clarity. In an age so concerned with diversity and difference the insistence on totalizing, unifying structures may seem not only passé, but frankly distasteful. The currency these authors still enjoy, however, indicates that the passion for a clear and orderly world, the nostalgia for the Archimedean point, has by no means vanished. As the most prestigious expositors of Beethoven's most revered music, they proclaim modernism alive and well in the twenty-first century.

Recognizing critical bias does not, of course, mean rejecting the criticism itself. On the contrary, I believe that it was precisely their totalizing, reactionary bias that lent the modernist critics such insight into Beethoven's later music. For the late works, as this study has argued, contain more than their share of totalizing, reactionary tendencies. The modernists may have pined for the Enlightenment, but Beethoven and the Romantics gazed back still further, to the Renaissance and Middle Ages. If the twentieth-century critics found a kindred spirit in the late works, the reason certainly lies in historical affinities. Both Beethoven and his twentieth-century critics witnessed unprecedented social upheaval and warfare. Both beheld an explosion of militant populism—Jacobinism in Beethoven's day, Bolshevism and fascism some hundred years later. It need come as no surprise that the late works should have slumbered through the nineteenth century and awakened only in the throes of a political crisis as acute as that of the Napoleonic age.

Studying late Beethoven therefore means coming to terms with the modernist legacy. Our understanding of this repertory is twisted up at the roots with the axioms of a bygone age. It seems telling that the most vital new studies of Beethoven have returned to the *Eroica* and the heroic works, resuscitating modes of interpretations the earlier critics disdained. The late works await the same kind of research by critics who will not shy away from the paradoxical and contingent aspects of this music. Mythology will have to give way to history, the cultic Beethoven to a more human figure. Then perhaps these fascinating works can tumble from their pedestal of absolute music into the melee of real human discourse.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. James Sheehan, *German History, 1770–1866* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 358; the final phrase comes from the conversation between Goethe and Napoleon in October 1808, reported by Friedrich von Müller; see *Goethes Gespräche: eine Sammlung zeitgenössischer Berichte aus seinem Umgang*, vol. 2, ed. Wolfgang Herwig (Zurich: Artemis, 1969), p. 335.

2. Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1977), pp. 138–41; Joseph Kerman and Alan Tyson, *The New Grove Beethoven* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983), p. 99; Felix Markham, *Napoleon* (New York: New American Library, 1966), p. 56.

3. Constantin Floros, *Beethovens Eroica und Prometheus-Musik* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1978); Keisuke Maruyama, "Die Sinfonie des Prometheus: zur Dritten Sinfonie," in *Analecta varia*, ed. H. K. Metzger and R. Riehn (Munich: Edition Text & Kritik, 1987), pp. 46–82; Martin Geck and Peter Schleuning, "Geschrieben auf Bonaparte." "Beethovens Eroica": *Revolution, Reaktion, Rezeption* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rororo Sachbuch, 1989); Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Thomas Sipe, *Beethoven: Eroica Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); David Charlton, "The French Theatrical Origins of *Fidelio*" and Paul Robinson, "Fidelio and the French Revolution," in *Ludwig van Beethoven: Fidelio*, ed. Paul Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 51–67, 68–100; *Music and the French Revolution*, ed. Malcolm Boyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Helga Lühning and Sieghard Brandenburg (eds.), *Beethoven: zwischen Revolution und Restauration* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1989).

4. J. W. N. Sullivan, *Beethoven: His Spiritual Development* (New York: Vintage Books, 1953), p. 122; Donald Jay Grout and Claude Palisca, *A History of Western Music* (New York: Norton, 1988), p. 392.

5. Theodor Adorno, "Alienated Masterpiece: The *Missa Solemnis*," trans.

Duncan Smith, *Telos* 28 (summer 1976), p. 122; Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 318; Brandenburg and Lühning (eds.), *Beethoven*, p. 3.

6. Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, trans. E. B. Ashton (New York: Seabury Press), p. 211; Frida Knight, *Beethoven and the Age of Revolution* (New York: International Publishers, 1973), p. 160; Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 8–15; Beethoven quoted in Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, ed. Eliot Forbes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980) (hereafter Thayer-Forbes), p. 956.

7. David Blackburn, *The Long Nineteenth Century* (London: Fontana Press, 1997), p. 121.

8. See, for example, Thomas Nipperdey, "Auf der Suche nach der Identität: romantische Nationalismus," in *Nachdenken über die deutsche Geschichte: Essays* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1986), pp. 110–25; and Hans Reiss's traditionalist rebuttal, "Politische Romantik: eine Antwort auf Thomas Nipperdey," in *Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts 1995*, ed. Christoph Perels (Tübingen, 1995), pp. 301–18. For Schlegel and Müller see Ulrich Scheuner, "Staatsbild und politische Form in der romantischen Anschauung in Deutschland," in *Romantik in Deutschland: ein interdisziplinäres Symposium*, ed. Richard Brinkmann (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche, 1978), pp. 70–83.

9. Robinson, "Fidelio and the French Revolution," p. 80.

10. F. Scott Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), p. 236.

CHAPTER 1

1. E. T. A. Hoffman, *Sämtliche Werke in Sechs Bänden*, vol. II, no. 1, ed. Hartmut Steinecke (Frankfurt am Main: Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker, 1993), p. 453. All translations of Hoffmann are my own, made in consultation with the recent English translation, *E. T. A. Hoffmann: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Musical Writings*, ed. David Charlton, trans. Martyn Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

2. E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Schriften zur Musik: Nachlese*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp (Munich: Winkler, 1963), pp. 34, 36–37, and 37. All further citations of the Fifth Symphony review refer to the Schnapp edition and will be given parenthetically within the text.

3. Hoffmann, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. II, no. 2, pp. 60.

4. Robin Wallace, *Beethoven's Critics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 24; Peter Schnaus, *E. T. A. Hoffmann als Beethoven-Rezensent der Allgemeinen musikalischen Zeitung* (Munich: E. Katzbichler, 1977); Peter Gülke, "... immer das Ganze vor Augen": *Studien zu Beethoven* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), pp. 175–79.

5. Hoffmann, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. I, no. 2, p. 19; Benedikt Koehler, *Ästhetik der Politik: Adam Müller und die politische Romantik* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980), pp. 114–15.

6. Michael Rohrwasser characterized *Die Vision auf dem Schlachtfeld bei Dresden* as “one of those propaganda writings called for by Baron Stein, even if it remains the only such contribution of the author”; see Rohrwasser, *Copelius, Cagliostro, Napoleon: der verborgene politische Blick E. T. A. Hoffmann* (Basel: Stroemfeld/Roter Stein, 1991), p. 31. Hoffmann’s journal entry in the *Tagebücher*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp (Munich: Winkler-Verlag, 1971), pp. 234–35; the excerpt from *Der Dei von Elba in Paris* in *Schriften zur Musik*, p. 641.

7. “Be of good cheer . . .”: Hoffmann, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. II, no. 2, p. 68; “the heartfelt wish . . .”: Hoffmann, *Schriften zur Musik*, p. 272; “Ferdinand pressed his friend . . .”: Hoffmann, *E. T. A. Hoffmann: Musikalische Novellen und Aufsätze*, vol. 1, ed. Edgar Istel (Regensburg, 1921), pp. 330–31.

8. Walter Simon, *The Failure of the Prussian Reform Movement, 1807–1819* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955), pp. 6–7.

9. See his journal entry for 20 May 1808, *Tagebücher*, p. 77; and his letter to Hippel, 12 December 1807, in *E. T. A. Hoffmanns Briefwechsel*, 3 vols., ed. Friedrich Schnapp (Munich: Winkler, 1967), vol. I, p. 231.

10. Hoffmann, *Schriften zur Musik*, p. 234.

11. Rudolf Vierhaus, “Bildung,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: historisches Lexikon zur politische-soziale Sprache in Deutschland*, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1972), vol. I, p. 526.

12. Hoffmann, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. II, no. 2, p. 454.

13. “It is clear . . .”: Hoffmann, *Schriften zur Musik*, pp. 209–10; see W. H. Bruford, *Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, rev. ed., trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 5–30.

14. “There once were . . .”: Novalis, *Schriften: die Werke Friedrich von Hardenbergs*, ed. Paul Kluckhohn and Richard Samuel (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1960), vol. 2, p. 507; Overbeck quoted in Herbert Schindler, *Nazarener: romantischer Geist und christliche Kunst im 19. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1982), p. 19; *Catechism for the Germans*: Heinrich von Kleist, *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe in vier Bänden*, vol. III, ed. Helmut Sembdner (Frankfurt am Main: Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker, 1990), p. 484; “The old, great masters . . .”: Hoffmann, *Schriften zur Musik*, p. 235.

15. See John Toews, *Hegelianism: The Path toward Dialectical Humanism, 1805–1841* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 60–61.

16. Carl Schmitt, *Politische Romantik* (Munich: Duncker und Humblot, 1925); Paul Kluckhohn, *Persönlichkeit und Gemeinschaft: Studien zur Staatsauffassung der deutschen Romantik* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1925); Jakob Baxa, *Einführung in die romantische Staatswissenschaft* (Jena: G. Fischer, 1933); Jacques Droz, *Le Romantisme allemand et l'état: résistance et collaboration dans l'Allemagne napoléonienne* (Paris: Payot, 1966); Klaus Epstein, *The*

Genesis of German Conservatism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).

17. See, for instance, Ludwig Malsch, "Europa": *poetische Rede des Novalis. Deutung der französischen Revolution und Reflexion auf die Poesie in der Geschichte* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1965); Werner Weiland, *Der junge Friedrich Schlegel oder die Revolution in der Frühromantik: Studien zur Poetik und Geschichte der Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1968); Günter Birtsch, "Aspekte des Freiheitsbegriffs in der deutschen Romantik," in Richard Brinkmann (ed.), *Romantik in Deutschland*, pp. 47–58; Klaus Peter, *Stadien der Aufklärung: Moral und Politik bei Lessing, Novalis und Friedrich Schlegel* (Wiesbaden: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1980); W. A. O'Brien, *Novalis: Signs of Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995). Brinkmann quotation from "Deutsche Frühromantik und französische Revolution," in Richard Brinkmann et al., *Deutsche Literatur und französische Revolution: sieben Studien* (Göttingen, 1974), p. 181; Wolfgang Schieder, "Einführendes Referat," in Brinkmann (ed.), *Romantik in Deutschland*, p. 40.

18. "Hardenberg's suggestion . . .": O'Brien, *Novalis*, p. 191; "there is no reason . . .": Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 223; "I had long cherished . . .": Emily Anderson (ed.), *The Letters of Beethoven*, 3 vols. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961), Appendix H (6), III, p. 1438; "parody and farce . . .": Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 222; "in historical retrospect . . .": William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 177.

19. Ernst Hanisch, "Der 'vormoderne' Antikapitalismus der politischen Romantik: das Beispiel Adam Müller," in Brinkmann (ed.), *Romantik in Deutschland*, pp. 135–36; Schön quoted in Marion W. Gray, *Prussia in Transition: Society and Politics under the Stein Reform Ministry of 1808* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1986), p. 140.

20. Hoffmann, *Musikalische Novellen*, pp. 330–31.

21. Letters of 14 and 17 November 1813, Hoffmann, *Briefwechsel*, vol. I, pp. 417, 420.

22. Hoffmann, *Tagebücher*, pp. 234–25; letter of 1 December; Hoffmann, *Briefwechsel*, vol. I, p. 424. These statements argue against Celia Applegate's economic interpretation of Hoffmann's musical criticism: "How German Is It? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century," *19th-Century Music* 21 (spring 1998): 274–96. Applegate claims that the collapse of courtly patronage during the Napoleonic years led Hoffmann and other musicians to develop a serious musical aesthetic as a means of gaining the support of the bureaucratic intelligentsia. Hoffmann's tale, however, turns Applegate's theory on its head. The Napoleonic wars actually drove him out of the state bureaucracy and into the provincial courts. During 1806–14 Hoffmann could scarcely expect help from the prostrated Prussian bureaucracy, which could not even support its own ranks. Victory over the French, on the other hand, promised a rising tide for every sector of the economy.

23. Rüdiger Safranski, *E. T. A. Hoffmann: das Leben eines skeptischen Phantasten* (Munich: C. Hanser, 1984), p. 322.

24. Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man. In a Series of Letters*, trans. Elizabeth M. Wilkinson and L. A. Willoughby (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 219; Novalis, *Schriften*, vol. 2, p. 510; Uwe Schadwill, *Poeta Judex: eine Studie zum Leben und Werk des Dichterjuristen E. T. A. Hoffmann* (Münster: LIT, 1993), p. 198.

25. Otto M. Johnston, *The Myth of a Nation: Literature and Politics in Prussia under Napoleon* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1989), p. 10.

26. Hoffmann would have had in mind the 1785 symphonies based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, trans. George Armstrong Kelly (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 58–59.

27. Compare Hoffmann's description of Haydn's oratorio *Die Jahreszeiten* in "Alte und neue Kirchenmusik": "There is no more magnificent or more colorful picture of the whole of human life than that which the composer has displayed musically in *The Seasons*; and even the ingenious whimsy only colors more vividly the bright figures of the world who dance about us in glimmering circles"; *Schriften zur Musik*, p. 228.

28. M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971), chaps. 3–4.

29. Adam Müller, *Vom Geiste der Gemeinschaft: "Elemente der Staatskunst" und "Theorie des Geldes,"* ed. Friedrich Bülow (Leipzig: A. Kroner, 1931), p. 150; G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 156; Hoffmann, *Briefwechsel*, vol. I, pp. 415–16.

30. Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), chap. 3; Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Gottfried Herder, *On the Origin of Language*, trans. John H. Moran and Alexander Gode (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 57–58; Hoffmann, *Schriften zur Musik*, p. 215.

31. Hoffmann, *Schriften zur Musik*, pp. 19–23; Wallace, *Beethoven's Criticisms*, p. 24.

32. *Schriften zur Musik*, p. 211.

33. "the golden doors . . .": Hoffmann, *Musikalische Novellen*, p. 330; "Then the voices": Hoffmann, *Schriften zur Musik*, p. 602.

34. Hoffmann, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. II, no. 2, pp. 54–55; "Nun gibt es eine höhere Bessonnenheit, die, welche die innere Welt selber entzweit und entzweiteilt in ein Ich und in dessen Reich, in einen Schöpfer und dessen Welt": Jean-Paul Richter, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, quoted in Carl Dahlhaus, "E. T. A. Hoffmanns Beethoven-Kritik und die Ästhetik des Erhabenen," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 38 (1981), p. 85; Fichte quoted in George Armstrong Kelly, *Idealism, Politics and History: Sources of Hegelian Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 279.

35. Hoffmann, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. II, no. 2, p. 55; Charlton (ed.), *E. T. A. Hoffmann*, p. xii. For more on Hoffmann's judicial career, see Alfred Hoffmann, *E. T. A. Hoffmann: Leben und Arbeit eines preußischen Richters* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1990).

CHAPTER 2

1. See Ernst Wangermann, *The Austrian Achievement, 1700–1800* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), pp. 166–76.

2. Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1941), p. 775; Dahlhaus, “E. T. A. Hoffmanns Beethoven-Kritik; Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to His Music*, trans. Mary Whittall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 67–76. Mark Evans Bonds has expanded on Dahlhaus’s study in “The Symphony as Pindaric Ode,” in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 131–53; Eberhard Müller-Arp, *Die langsame Einleitung bei Haydn, Mozart und Beethoven: Tradition und Innovation in der Instrumentalmusik der Wiener Klassik* (Hamburg: K. D. Wagner, 1992), pp. 180–202; Richard Taruskin, “Resisting the Ninth,” *19th-Century Music* 12 (spring 1989): 241–56; Kinderman, *Beethoven*, pp. 1–14; Roland Schmenner, *Die Pastorale: Beethoven, das Gewitter und der Blitzableiter* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998); James Webster, “The Creation, Haydn’s Late Vocal Music, and the Musical Sublime,” in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, p. 97.

3. Elaine Sisman, *Mozart: The “Jupiter” Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 9–20.

4. Helga Lühning, in editing the songs for the *Werke*, chose to print all the strophes, although only the final song is truly through-composed. She based her decision on the repeat marks and added strophes found in several of the earliest sources, while acknowledging the conflict between strophic performance and the obvious signs of a continuous cyclical design. By printing the strophes she left the question open. See *Beethoven: Werke*, vol. XII, no. 1, *Lieder und Gesänge mit Klavierauszug. Kritischer Bericht*, ed. Helga Lühning (Munich: G. Henle, 1990), p. 23.

5. Lühning has pointed out the posthumous categories imposed on Gellert’s heterogenous collection, noting Beethoven’s symmetrical placement of the two “Gebete”; *Kritische Bericht*, p. 22.

6. Günther Massenkeil, “6 Klavier Lieder, Op. 48,” in *Beethoven: Interpretationen seiner Werke*, ed. Albrecht Riethmüller, Carl Dahlhaus, and Alexander L. Ringer, (Laaber: Laaber, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 345–46.

7. This same kind of tonal symmetry seems to underlie *Fidelio* where, as Douglas Johnson noted, Leonore’s “light” E major and Florestan’s “dark” F minor/A \flat major tonalities straddle the C-major finale; “Fidelio,” in *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan, 1992), vol. 2, p. 186.

8. Massenkeil, “Op. 48,” p. 343.

9. Hans Boettcher, *Beethoven als Liederkomponist* (Augsburg: B. Filser, 1928), p. 57; William Kinderman, “Beethoven’s Symbol for the Deity in the *Missa solemnis* and Ninth Symphony,” *19th-Century Music* 9 (fall 1985): 102–18; *Beethoven*, pp. 241–52.

10. Thayer-Forbes, p. 305.

11. Max Braubach, *Die erste Bonner Hochschule: Maxische Akademie und*

Kurfürstliche Universität. 1774/7 bis 1798 (Bonn: Bouvier, Rohrscheid, 1966), pp. 188–203.

12. Schiller, *Schillers Werke. Nationalausgabe*, vol. 34, no. 1, ed. Ursula Naumann (Weimar: H. Bohlhaus, 1991), p. 225.

13. Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, trans. Werner Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987), pp. 68, 225.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 114–15, 106.

15. Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*, trans. Lewis White Beck (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1956), p. 166.

16. Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, p. 99.

17. David Wyn Jones, *Beethoven: Pastoral Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 10; Jones cites A. Peter Brown's detailed study *Performing Haydn's "The Creation"* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 2–7.

18. Schiller, "Naïve and Sentimental Poetry" and "On the Sublime": *Two Essays*, trans. Julius A. Elias (New York: F. Ungar, 1966), pp. 210–11.

19. Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*, p. 115.

20. Sipe, *Beethoven*, pp. 112–16.

21. Alan Tyson, "Beethoven's Heroic Phase," *Musical Times* 110 (1969): 139–41; Robinson, *Fidelio*, p. 92.

22. Steven Moore Whiting, "'Hört ihr wohl': zu Funktion und Programm von Beethovens 'Chorfantasie,'" *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 44, no. 2 (1988), p. 139.

23. Beethoven left no doubt about the impression he meant to convey. In a letter of 21 August 1810 he insisted that, should his publishers change the text of the Fantasy, "the word 'Kraft' would have to be retained or replaced by some other exactly similar expression" (*Letters of Beethoven*, vol. I, p. 288.)

CHAPTER 3

1. F. E. Kirby, "Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony as a Sinfonia Characteristica," in *The Creative World of Beethoven*, ed. Paul Henry Lang (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), pp. 116–17. Richard Will elaborates on the religious connotations of the *Hirtengesang*, citing further inscriptions from the sketches and autograph, in "Time, Morality, and Humanity in Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50 (summer-fall 1997), p. 323.

2. Schiller, *Naïve and Sentimental Poetry*, pp. 83, 84–85, 85.

3. Alexander Hyatt-King, "Mountains, Music, and Musicians," *Musical Quarterly* 31 (1945), pp. 401–3.

4. Philip Gossett, "Beethoven's Sixth Symphony: Sketches for the First Movement," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27, no. 2 (1974), p. 253.

5. Will, "Time, Morality, and Humanity," pp. 317–19; Rose Rosengard Subotnik, *Developing Variations: Style and Ideology in Western Music* (Min-

neapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), pp. 112–13; Theodor Adorno, *Beethoven: The Philosophy of Music*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 111.

6. Jones, *Beethoven: Pastoral Symphony*, p. 79.

7. Hugo Riemann, “Beethovens Prometheus-Musik: ein Variationswerk,” *Die Musik* 9, nos. 13–14 (1909–10): 19–34, 107, 125; Floros, *Beethovens Eroica und Prometheus-Musik*. The sources for the ballet libretto come from the original playbill of 1801, a review from the same year in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, and Carlo Ritorni’s *Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Salvatore Viganò e della coregrafia e de’corepei* (1838); see Floros, *Beethovens Eroica und Prometheus-Musik*, pp. 35–48. See also Lewis Lockwood, “Beethoven’s Earliest Sketches for the Eroica Symphony,” *Musical Quarterly* 67 (1981): 457–78; Maruyama, “Die Sinfonie des Prometheus”; Geck and Schleuning, “*Geschrieben auf Bonaparte*.”

8. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism*, esp. pp. 65–70.

9. Solomon, *Beethoven*, pp. 309–16.

10. Friedrich Meinecke, *Historicism: The Rise of a New Historical Outlook*, trans. J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 62.

11. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings*, trans. Donald A. Cress (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987), pp. 150–51; “Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality among Men” (1754), *ibid.*, p. 34.

12. Kelly, *Idealism, Politics, and History*, p. 171; Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Werke* (Munich: Hanser, 1979), vol. 7, p. 508; Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden*, ed. Fritz Medicus (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962), vol. IV, p. 406.

13. Schiller, *Naïve and Sentimental Poetry*, pp. 32–33; Charles Taylor, *Hegel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 388.

14. Immanuel Kant, *Kant’s Political Writings*, ed. Hans Reiss, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 226; Schiller, *Werke*, vol. 17, p. 400; G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Dover Books, 1956), p. 63; Fichte, *Ausgewählte Werke*, vol. IV, p. 401.

15. Sipe, *Eroica Symphony*, p. 98.

16. Kinderman also calls attention to this reminiscence in *Beethoven*, p. 94.

17. Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, pp. 18–19; Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980), p. 237. Beethoven’s musical shapes seem to resonate with a broader symbology. Marshall Brown has argued in *The Shape of German Romanticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) that after 1800 German Romantic authors adopted as their favorite spatial metaphor the ellipse—that is, a broken circle with two foci.

18. Geck and Schleuning, “*Geschrieben auf Bonaparte*,” p. 150; Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, p. 16.

19. Thayer-Forbes, p. 376.

20. Sarah Bennet Reichart, *The Influence of Eighteenth-Century Social Dance on the Viennese Classical Style*, Ph.D. diss., City University of New York (1984), p. 356; Sipe, *Eroica Symphony*, pp. 12, 14. Sipe’s attempt to connect the

scherzo with a soldier's song (an obscure tune dredged up by A. B. Marx) seems farfetched.

21. Thayer-Forbes, p. 273.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 304, 305, 306.

23. The woodwind theme, wrote Philip Downs, "is in itself the antithesis to any sense of tension. The one feature which causes a degree of anxiety is the fact that its constant rhythmic figure, which occurs eleven times without interruption, while in triple meter, places the stress of the meter, the strong beat, on the second beat of the measure": "Beethoven's 'New Way' and the *Eroica*," in *The Creative World of Beethoven*, ed. Paul Henry Lang (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), p. 90.

24. Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), p. 393.

25. Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, p. 457.

26. Rousseau, *Basic Political Writings*, p. 46; *Kant's Political Writings*, p. 227; Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 18–19, 19.

27. "Ma Melpomene allora, recatasi in mezzo, a' Giovanetti attoniti rappresenta una tragica scena, facendo vedere col suo pugnale come morte termini i giorni dell'uomo. Raccapricciandone essi, volgesi al Padre confuso, e lo rimprovera, aver fatti nascere que' misteri a tali calanità, nè crede punirlo soverchiamente colla morte, il perchè, invan rattenuta da' pietosi figli, di pugnale l'uccide": quoted in Floros, *Beethovens Eroica und Prometheus-Musik*, p. 42.

28. Kant, *Kant's Political Writings*, p. 44; Lessing, *Werke*, vol. 7, pp. 509–10; Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, trans. T. Churchill (London: Bergman, 1966), p. 230; Schiller, "Was heisst und zu welchem Ende studiert man Universalgeschichte," in *Werke*, vol. 17, p. 375.

29. See Claude Palisca, "French Revolutionary Models for Beethoven's *Eroica* Funeral March," in *Music and Context: Essays for John M. Ward*, ed. A. D. Shapiro and P. Benjamin (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Music, Harvard University, 1985), pp. 198–209.

30. Dahlhaus, *Beethoven*, pp. 29–30; Renate Beling, *Der Marsch bei Beethoven*, inaugural diss. (Universität Bonn, 1960), pp. 25–26.

31. Warren Kirkendale, *Fugue and Fugato in Rococo and Classical Chamber Music*, trans. Margaret Bent and Warren Kirkendale (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979), pp. 91–92; see Maruyama, "Die Sinfonie des Prometheus."

32. Beethoven copied out this chorus for study, although the autograph remains frustratingly undated. See Otto Albrecht, "Beethoven's Autographs in the United States," in *Beiträge zur Beethoven-Bibliographie: Studien und Materialien zum Werkverzeichnis von Kinsky-Halm*, ed. Kurt Dorf Müller (Munich: Henle, 1978), p. 10.

33. See Thomas Röder, "Beethovens Sieg über die Schlachtenmusik: Opus 91 and die Tradition der Battaglia," in *Beethoven: zwischen Revolution und Restauration*, ed. Helga Lühning and Sieghard Brandenburg (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1989), pp. 229–58; Geck and Schleuning, "Geschrieben auf Bonaparte,"

p. 128; Méhul also deploys his trumpet call both in the overture and during the opera, to signal the arrival of the just governor-judge.

34. Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 28–31.

35. Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), p. 312.

36. Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*, p. 30.

37. "Find a form . . .": Rousseau, *Basic Political Writings*, p. 148; "A constitution allowing . . .": Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), p. 312; "so act that . . .": Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*, p. 30; "Rational beings . . .": Kant, *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, trans. H. J. Paton (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 101.

38. Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, p. 38; Wilhelm von Humboldt, *The Limits of State Action*, ed. J. W. Burrow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 77; Fichte, *Ausgewählte Werke*, vol. IV, p. 404; Schiller, *Aesthetic Education*, pp. 9, 215.

39. Whiting, " 'Hört ihr wohl,' " p. 139.

40. George Grove, *Beethoven and His Nine Symphonies* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), p. 87.

41. *Kant's Political Writings*, pp. 41–42.

42. Isaiah Berlin, "Herder and the Enlightenment," in *Aspects of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Earl R. Wasserman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), p. 54; Herder, *Outlines*, p. 125; Friedrich Schlegel, *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel Ausgabe*, vol. 14, ed. Ernst Behler (Munich: F. Schöningh, 1966), p. 3.

43. Arthur Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964); Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 138; Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, p. 29.

44. Kelly, *Idealism, Politics, and History*, p. 77.

45. Dahlhaus, *Beethoven*, pp. 170–71. See also Janet Schmaldfeldt, "Form as the Process of Becoming: The Beethoven-Hegelian Tradition and the 'Tempest' Sonata," in *Beethoven Forum 4*, ed. Christopher Reynolds, Lewis Lockwood, and James Webster (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), pp. 37–71.

46. Walter Riezler, *Beethoven*, trans. G. D. H. Pidcock (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1938), pp. 247–48.

47. Geck and Schleuning, "Geschrieben auf Bonaparte," p. 153.

CHAPTER 4

1. Maynard Solomon, "The Creative Periods of Beethoven," in *Beethoven Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 125. See also Kerman, *The New Grove Beethoven*, pp. 89–91; Tia de Nora, "Deconstructing Periodization: Sociological Methods and Historical Ethnography in Late 18th

Century Vienna," in *Beethoven Forum* 4, ed. Christopher Reynolds, Lewis Lockwood, and James Webster (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), pp. 1–15; James Webster, "The Concept of Beethoven's 'Early' Period in the Context of Periodization in General" in *Beethoven Forum* 3 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), pp. 1–27; K. M. Knittel, "Imitation, Individuality, and Illness: Behind Beethoven's 'Three Styles,'" in *Beethoven Forum* 4, ed. Christopher Reynolds, Lewis Lockwood, and James Webster (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), p. 35.

2. Giorgio Pestelli, *The Age of Mozart and Beethoven*, trans. Eric Cross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); originally published as *L'età di Mozart e Beethoven* (Turin: EDT, 1979), as part of the *Storia della Musica* series issued by the Società Italiana di Musicologia; Pestelli's title already announces this bias in his selection criteria, including only those Classical masters who exemplify the new postfeudal role of the composer; quotation from p. 240.

3. Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, pp. 54–113.

4. See James Allen Vann, "Hapsburg Policy and the Austrian War of 1809," *Central European History* 7 (December 1974): 291–310; the chargé d'affaires quoted in Walter C. Langsam, *The Napoleonic Wars and German Nationalism in Austria* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), p. 31.

5. Wangermann, *The Austrian Achievement*, p. 24; Gustav Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana* (Leipzig: J. Rieter-Biederman, 1887), p. 262.

6. *Letters of Beethoven*, vol. I, pp. 234–36, 246, 250.

7. Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 149; Julia Moore, "Beethoven and Inflation," in *Beethoven Forum* 1, ed. Christopher Reynolds, Lewis Lockwood, and James Webster (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), pp. 191–222; *The Letters of Beethoven*, vol. I, pp. 233–34, 236, 243, 247, 421.

8. Thayer-Forbes, p. 801.

9. *Letters of Beethoven*, vol. I, pp. 235, 246, 241, 243, 289, 355.

10. Kirkendale, "New Roads to Old Ideas in Beethoven's Missa Solemnis," in *The Creative World of Beethoven*, ed. Paul Henry Lang (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), pp. 163–99.

11. The slow movement of the "Archduke" also seems to pay tribute to the *Goldberg Variations*, with a sarabande theme whose intact return and systematic diminution foreshadow the finale of the Piano Sonata in E Major, op. 109.

12. Johann Joseph Fux, *The Study of Counterpoint, from Johann Joseph Fux's Gradus ad Parnassum*, trans. Alfred Mann (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971), p. 17; "religious concepts . . .": quoted in Kirkendale, *Fugue and Fugato*, p. 247; for the archduke's participation, see *ibid.*, p. 4; *Adam Müllers Lebenszeugnisse*, ed. Jakob Baxa, 2 vols. (Munich: Schöningh, 1966), vol. II, p. 242.

13. *Letters of Beethoven*, vol. I, p. 73. Sipe has noted the many religious references in this quote, suggesting a critique of both Bonapartism and orthodox Catholicism (Sipe, *Eroica Symphony*, p. 40). Thayer-Forbes, p. 466.

14. On the number and dating of the Thomson arrangements, see Barry Cooper, *Beethoven's Folksong Settings: Chronology, Sources, Style* (Oxford:

Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 5–38. See also Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (W. W. Norton, 1966), pp. 191–222.

15. Elaine Sisman has suggested that Beethoven may have intended the Sonata in F-sharp as a sort of *tombeau* for Haydn, choosing the key of both the “Farewell” Symphony finale and the *Largo e mesto* of his penultimate string quartet. See “After the Heroic Style: Fantasia and the ‘Characteristic’ Sonatas of 1809,” in *Beethoven Forum* 6, ed. Glenn Stanley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), pp. 86–87.

16. *Letters of Beethoven*, vol. I, pp. 337–38.

17. Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, p. 166.

18. Dahlhaus, *Beethoven*, pp. 202–18.

19. Ludwig Misch, “Non si fa una cadenza,” in *Beethoven Studies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), pp. 174–75. See F. G. Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Leipzig: Schuster und Loeffler, 1906), pp. 93–94.

20. Thayer-Forbes, p. 599.

21. *Letters of Beethoven*, vol. I, pp. 283–88.

22. The Revolution may well account for the upsurge in Beethoven’s creative life in 1790–92, as John J. Haag suggests in “Beethoven, the Revolution in Music and the French Revolution: Music and Politics in Austria, 1790–1815,” in *Austria in the Age of the French Revolution*, ed. Kinley Brauer and William E. Wright (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), p. 111; see also Maynard Solomon, “Beethoven’s Productivity at Bonn,” *Music and Letters* 53 (April 1972): 165–72.

CHAPTER 5

1. Schlegel, *Ausgabe*, vol. VII, pp. 483–84.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 553, 548.

3. *Ibid.*, vol. X, p. 281; Novalis, *Schriften*, vol. III, p. 523.

4. The allusion can scarcely be doubted even if, as William Drabkin objects, no explicit allusion to Handel’s oratorio appears in the sketches; see *Beethoven: Missa solemnis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 92.

5. As Schlegel pronounced in the *Vorlesungen über Universalgeschichte*, all the stages and epochs of human development aspired to “the constitution by estates [ständische Verfassung], and for this there is but one rule, that is as eternal and inalterable as mathematics, that rule erected by moral philosophy, to wit, concerning spiritual power, the opposing relations of the nobility and bourgeoisie, and the legitimate monarchy”: *Ausgabe*, vol. XIV, p. 254.

6. Donald Francis Tovey, *A Companion to Beethoven’s Pianoforte Sonatas* (London: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1935), p. 258; Philip Radcliffe, *The Age of Beethoven, 1790–1830 (New Oxford History of Music 8)*, ed. Gerald Abraham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 348–49; William Rhea Meredith, *The Sources for Beethoven’s Piano Sonata in E Major, Opus 109*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1985), vol.

1, pp. 114–19; for a complete list of the fragments in the *Hammerklavier* sketches, see Kirkendale, *Fugue and Fugato*, pp. 212–14; for the connection between the *Diabelli Variations* and Bach's works see William Kinderman, *Beethoven's Diabelli Variations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 106–7, 114–15, and 118–20.

7. Dahlhaus, *Beethoven*, p. 214. By "subthematicism" Dahlhaus seems to mean a new layer of thematic substance in Beethoven's late works, which is not confined to discreet themes or motives, but rather manifests itself in such abstract parameters as "chromaticism" or "linearity."

8. Jürgen Uhde, *Beethovens Klaviermusik*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980), vol. 1, p. 481.

9. Kinderman, *Beethoven's Diabelli Variations*, pp. 63–64.

10. Pieter van den Toorn, *The Music of Igor Stravinsky* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 61–66.

11. Nicholas Marston, *Beethoven's Piano Sonata in E, Op. 109* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 16–17.

12. Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, p. 204.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

14. This interpretation of the "missing" *Maestoso* enhances Kinderman's observation of the identical vertical expanse at the climax of the E-major variation of the second movement (*Adagio molto espressivo*), of which he ventures, "the significance of the *Maestoso* goes beyond its role in the first movement" (*Beethoven*, p. 290).

15. See Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana*, pp. 467–68; William M. Drabkin, *The Sketches for Beethoven's Piano Sonata in C Minor, Opus 111*, Ph.D. diss. (Princeton University, 1976), p. 72.

16. See also Rosen's discussion of rhythmic transition in *The Classical Style*, pp. 64–66.

17. Heinrich Schenker (ed.), *Die letzten Sonaten: Sonata C Moll Op. 111: Kritische Ausgabe mit Einführung und Erläuterung*, ed. Oswald Jonas (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1971), p. 32.

18. See Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 21–71.

19. Schenker, *Sonata C Moll*, p. 5.

20. See also the overture to *Die Weihe des Hauses*, composed in the same year as op. 111 and also featuring a rising tetrachord that evolves across the *Maestoso* and *Allegro*.

CHAPTER 6

1. David Levy, *Beethoven: The Ninth Symphony* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1995), p. 92.

2. See, for example, the finale of the Fifth Symphony, the *Lebhaft, marschmässig* of op. 101, or the *Alla marcia, assai vivace* of op. 132.

3. Ivan Mahaim, *Beethoven*, vol. 1, *Naissance et renaissance des derniers*

quatuors (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1964), p. 309, quoted in Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, p. 226; *The Beethoven Quartets*, pp. 225–26.

4. Of interest here is Bathia Churgin's discovery that Beethoven not only copied out but even sketched a cursory analysis of the Kyrie from Mozart's Requiem among sketches for the *Missa solemnis*. Mozart's movement not only features a "pathotype" subject, but also takes the form of a double fugue; see "Beethoven and Mozart's Requiem: A New Connection," *Journal of Musicology* 5 (fall 1987), pp. 457–77.

5. Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, p. 231.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 249; Sieghard Brandenburg, "The Autograph of Beethoven's Quartet in A Minor, Opus 132: The Structure of the Manuscript and Its Relevance for the Study of the Genesis of the Work," in *The String Quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Studies of the Autograph Manuscripts*, ed. Christoph Wolff (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 278–300.

7. Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, p. 248.

8. Leonard Ratner has proposed the same metrical reading in *The Beethoven String Quartets: Compositional Strategies and Rhetoric* (Stanford: Stanford Bookstore, 1995), p. 268.

9. Daniel K. L. Chua, *The "Galitzin" Quartets of Beethoven. Opp. 127, 130, 132* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 134. See Chua's searching analysis of the ambiguities in the *Allegro ma non troppo*, pp. 111–26.

10. See the recent treatments by Klaus Kropfing, "Das gespaltene Werk. Beethovens Streichquartett Op. 130/133," in *Beiträge zu Beethovens Kammermusik. Symposion Bonn 1984*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg (Munich: G. Henle, 1987), 296–335; and Richard Kramer, "Between Cavatina and Overture: Opus 130 and the Voices of Narrative," in *Beethoven Forum* 1, ed. Christopher Reynolds, Lewis Lockwood, and James Webster (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 165–89; Kinderman, *Beethoven*, pp. 301–7.

11. Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, p. 277.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 303–25.

13. Kramer, "Between Cavatina and Overture," p. 188; Kinderman has drawn an interesting parallel to another problematic finale: "Beethoven once before had authorized puzzling changes in a piece that culminates similarly in an astonishing and extremely difficult fugue—the *Hammerklavier* Sonata" (*Beethoven*, p. 304.) The *Hammerklavier* fugue, as Rosen has pointed out, also pulls together diverse sections in the manner of the Ninth Symphony (*The Classical Style*, p. 440). Beethoven's willingness to detach both finales may owe to his sense of their fullness as "microcosms" of the entire cycle.

14. These rising and falling appoggiature return in the *Alla danza tedesca*, and become the countersubject of the gigue-like *Allegro molto e con brio* of the finale.

15. Amanda Glauert, "The Double Perspective in Beethoven's Op. 131," *19th-Century Music* 4 (fall 1980), p. 120.

16. See Donald Francis Tovey, "Some Aspects of Beethoven's Art Forms," in

Essays and Lectures on Music (London: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1949), pp. 288–97; Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, pp. 325–49.

17. Schlegel, *Ausgabe*, vol. XIV, p. 256.

CHAPTER 7

1. Heinrich Schenker, *Beethoven: Neunte Sinfonie: eine Darstellung des musikalischen Inhalts* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1969), pp. 245–375; Otto Baensch, *Aufbau und Sinn des Chorfinals in Beethovens neunter Symphonie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1930); Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935–39), vol. 1, pp. 67–83, vol. 2, pp. 1–45; Ernest Sanders, “Form and Content in the Finale of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony,” *Musical Quarterly* 50 (1964): 56–76; Leo Treitler, “‘To Worship That Celestial Sound’: Motives for Analysis,” in *Music and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 46–66; Maynard Solomon, “Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony: A Search for Order,” in *Beethoven Essays*, pp. 3–32; Nicholas Cook, *Beethoven: Symphony No. 9* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Robert Winter, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Symphony #9* (Computer Software) (Santa Monica, Calif.: Voyager Company, 1991); Levy, *Ninth Symphony*; Michael Tusa, “Noch einmal: Form and Content in the Finale of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony,” in *Beethoven Forum* 7, ed. Mark Evan Bonds, Christopher Reynolds, and Elaine Sisman (1999), pp. 113–37; James Webster, “The Form of the Finale of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony,” in *Beethoven Forum* 1, ed. Christopher Reynolds, Lewis Lockwood, and James Webster (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), pp. 25–62.

2. Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 313.

3. The “back story” of the Solar Circle comes from a speech of the Queen of the Night to Pamina in act II, often omitted in performance of the opera; Jacques Chailley, *The Magic Flute, Masonic Opera*, trans. Herbert Weinstock (New York: Da Capo Press, 1982), p. 96.

4. Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 157.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

6. This aspect of Mozart’s opera has been most severely critiqued by Catherine Clément, in *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, trans. Betsy Wing (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1988), pp. 70–77.

7. Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 200.

8. Johnson, “Fidelio,” p. 186.

9. Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 315.

10. Albrecht Riethmüller, “Wellingtons Sieg oder Die Schlacht bei Vittoria,” in *Beethoven: Interpretationen seiner Werke*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus, Albrecht Riethmüller, and Alexander L. Ringer, 2 vols. (Laaber: Laaber, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 42–43; Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 222; Kinderman, *Beethoven*, p. 198.

11. Kinderman, *Beethoven*, pp. 168, 172, 180.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 9–10, 10.

13. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. J. G. A. Pocock (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987), p. 7.
14. Burke, *Reflections*, pp. 122, 67.
15. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. James T. Boulton (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958), "To be attached . . .": p. 41; "that quality . . .": p. 91; "I call beauty . . .": pp. 42–43; "There is a wide . . .": p. 113.
16. Burke, *Reflections*, p. 44; Schiller, *On the Sublime*, p. 211.
17. Novalis, *Schriften*, vol. II, pp. 494–95; Kant, *Political Writings*, pp. 112–13; Novalis, *Schriften*, vol. II, pp. 494–95, 495.
18. Novalis, *Schriften*, "Selfless love . . .": vol. II, p. 494; "Only love . . .": p. 485; "the estates . . .": p. 470; "Without etiquette . . .": p. 489; "in the presence . . .": p. 488; "the king and queen . . .": p. 494.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 503.
20. Müller quoted in Koehler, *Ästhetik der Politik*, p. 75; Koehler's analysis, *ibid.* This polarized view, incidentally, characterized both ends of the political spectrum. The liberal writer Johann Jacoby claimed in 1830 that "overall we see two opposing parties confronting one another: on the one side, the rulers and the aristocracy with their inclinations toward caprice and their commitment to old, irrational institutions; and on the other side, the people with their newly awakened feeling of power and their vital striving toward free development": quoted in James Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 16.
21. Müller, *Elemente der Staatskunst*, pp. 67, 53, 68, 56.
22. Translated in Solomon, *Beethoven Essays*, p. 252; the remark probably dates from 1813.
23. Misch, "The Battle of Victoria," p. 157.
24. Joseph Kerman, "Opus 131 and the Uncanny," *19th-Century Music* 25, nos. 1–2 (2001), p. 159.
25. Drabkin, *Missa solemnis*, p. 94.
26. Webster, "The Form of the Finale," p. 36; Tusa, "Noch einmal," p. 120.
27. Rosen, *The Classical Style*, p. 439; Levy, *The Ninth Symphony*, pp. 91–92; Tusa has proposed a somewhat different version of the microcosmic model in " 'Noch einmal,' " pp. 120–37.
28. See Sanders, "Form and Content," p. 76 (Appendix table); and Robert Winter, "A Close Reading."
29. See Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms* (New York: Norton, 1980), p. 121.
30. Lawrence Kramer, "The Harem Threshold: Turkish Music and Greek Love in Beethoven's 'Ode to Joy,'" *19th-Century Music* 22 (summer 1998), p. 78.
31. William Kinderman, "Tonality and Form in the Variation Movements of Beethoven's Late Quartets," in *Beiträge zu Beethovens Kammermusik*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg and Helmut Loos (Munich: G. Henle), pp. 146–49; *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte*, ed. Karl-Heinz Köhler, Grita Herre, and Dagmar Beck (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1968), vol. 1, p. 235.
32. In the Second Critique Kant dismissed the hope of divine reward as yet

another empirical object of the will, in opposition to the purely formal moral law: “Whether [philosophers] placed this object of pleasure, which was to deliver the supreme concept of the good, in happiness or in perfection in moral feeling, or in the will of God—their fundamental principle was always heteronomy, and they came inevitably to empirical conditions for a moral law” (*Critique of Practical Reason*, p. 66).

33. For a discussion of Beethoven’s later Catholic influences, see Martin Cooper, *Beethoven: The Last Decade. 1817–27* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 105–19.

34. Cook, *Symphony No. 9*, p. 37.

35. Pestelli, *Age of Mozart and Beethoven*, p. 247.

36. Cook, *Symphony No. 9*, p. 37; Solomon, “The Ninth Symphony: A Search for Order,” in Solomon, *Beethoven Essays*, pp. 6–7.

37. Webster, “The Form of the Finale,” p. 50.

38. Gottfried Weber, *Cäcilia* (1825), in *Ludwig van Beethoven: die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit. Gesammelte Konzertberichte und Rezensionen bis 1830*, ed. Stefan Kunze (Laaber: Laaber, 1987), p. 287.

CHAPTER 8

1. Thayer-Forbes, p. 1046, reported by Ferdinand Hiller in *Neue Folge* (Leipzig, 1871).

2. Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, p. 222; Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 296.

3. Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), p. 153; *S/Z*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974), p. 4.

4. Solomon, “The Ninth Symphony,” p. 13; *Beethoven*, pp. 315–16.

5. On Adorno’s relation to poststructuralism, see Martin Jay, *Adorno* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 21–22; Adorno, “Alienated Masterpiece,” p. 123.

6. Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, p. 202.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 201; Adorno, *Beethoven*, p. 136; Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana*, p. 269; *Letters of Beethoven*, vol. I, p. 285.

8. Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, p. 49.

9. Kinderman, *Beethoven’s Diabelli Variations*, p. 75.

10. “Composed in the very tears of misery” quoted in Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, p. 199; Adorno, *Beethoven*, p. 191.

11. The Schlegel fragment is translated in Ernst Behler and Roman Struc, *German Romantic Criticism*, ed. A. Leslie Willson (New York: Continuum, 1982), pp. 130–31; Rey Longyear, “Beethoven and Romantic Irony,” in *The Creative World of Beethoven*, ed. Paul Henry Lang (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), p. 145; Stephen Hinton, “Not Which Tones? The Crux of Beethoven’s Ninth,” *19th-Century Music* 22 (summer 1998), p. 75.

12. Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana*, pp. 189–91; English translation from Thayer-Forbes, pp. 892–93.

13. Subotnik, *Developing Variations*, pp. 107–8.
14. Richard Kramer, "Cadenza Contra Text: Mozart in Beethoven's Hands," *19th-Century Music* 25 (fall 1991), p. 127.
15. Between drafts of this chapter Elaine Sisman published a study of these three works, "Memory and Invention at the Threshold of Beethoven's Late Style," in *Beethoven and His World*, ed. Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 51–87. The following discussion replicates many of Sisman's points but differs substantially with others.
16. Sisman, "Memory and Invention," pp. 58–66, 82–83.
17. Nicholas Marston, "Voicing Beethoven's Distant Beloved," in *Beethoven and His World*, ed. Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 143.
18. Joseph Kerman, "An die ferne Geliebte," in *Beethoven Studies* 1, ed. Alan Tyson (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), p. 129; Karol Berger, "Beethoven and the Aesthetic State," in *Beethoven Forum* 7, ed. Mark Evan Bonds, Christopher Reynolds, and Elaine Sisman (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 31.
19. Rosen, *The Classical Style*, pp. 428–30.
20. On the form of the recitatives, see Kramer, "Between Cavatina and Overture," p. 178; Kirkendale, "New Roads to Old Ideas," p. 186.
21. G. W. F. Hegel, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 20, ed. Wolfgang Soniespen and Hans-Christian Lucas (Hamburg: F. Meiner, 1992), pp. 130–31; *Phenomenology of Spirit*, p. 492; Kelly, *Idealism, Politics, and History*, p. 315.
22. Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, p. 144.
23. Novalis, *Schriften*, vol. II, p. 489; Müller, *Vom Geiste der Gemeinschaft*, p. 46; Schlegel, *Aufgabe*, vol. X, p. 255; Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, pp. 183, 181.
24. Fichte, *Ausgewählte Werke*, vol. VI, pp. 436, 447, 449.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 484.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 499, 488.
27. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, p. 26, and paragraphs 142–360.
28. Tusa, "Noch einmal," p. 129.
29. Heinrich von Kleist, *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*, trans. Peggy Meyer Sherry, in *Plays*, ed. Walter Hinderer, *The German Library* 25 (New York, 1982), p. 274; see also Kleist, *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, vol. II, p. 560; Erika Swales, "Configurations of Irony: Kleist's Prinz Friedrich von Homburg," *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft u. Geistesgeschichte* 56 (September 1982), pp. 411–12.
30. Kleist, *Prinz vom Homburg*, p. 302; *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. II, p. 597.
31. *Prinz vom Homburg*, pp. 339, 336; *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. II, pp. 642, 638–39.
32. *Prinz vom Homburg*, pp. 330–31; *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. II, pp. 632–33.
33. *Prinz vom Homburg*, pp. 334–35, 341; *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. II, pp. 637, 644; Seán Allan, *The Plays of Heinrich von Kleist: Ideals and Illusions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 254.

34. Thayer-Forbes, p. 368.
35. Kermodé, *The Sense of an Ending*, pp. 9–10.

CHAPTER 9

1. On musical modernism, see Richard Taruskin, “The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past,” in *Authenticity and Early Music*, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 137–207. Burnham has described this modernist phase of reception history as the era of “Beethoven as lawgiver and bearer of Classical values”; see “The Four Ages of Beethoven: Critical Reception and the Canonic Composer,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven*, ed. Glenn Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 282–87.
2. Schmitt, *Politische Romantik*, pp. 23, 26.
3. Arnold Schmitz, *Das romantische Beethovenbild: Darstellung und Kritik* (Berlin: Duncker, 1927), pp. 178, 179.
4. Riezler, *Beethoven*, pp. 9, 68–69.
5. *Ibid.*, “as if Eternal Harmony . . .”: p. 71; “Music has descended . . .”: p. 73; “achieved perfection . . .”: p. 77; “because there was . . .”: p. 78.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 108–9.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 234, 237.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 243, 98–99.
9. Schenker, *Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony*, trans. John Rothgeb (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 65.
10. *Ibid.*, “It was he . . .”: p. 19; “true connoisseurs . . .”: p. 3; “Break the back . . .”: p. 24 (retranslated); “It was the theatrical . . .”: pp. 65–66; “the Italians’ . . .”: p. 68.
11. Schenker, “Ein Beitrag zur Ornamentik als Einführung Ph. E. Bachs Klavierwerke” (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1904), English trans. by Hedi Siegel in *Music Forum* 4 (1976): 1–140; Schenker, *Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony*, p. 31. Schenker may have fled the musical surface out of revulsion at Wagnerian vulgarism, yet his method ironically resembles the efforts of Wagner’s most important contemporaneous analyst, Alfred Lorenz. Lorenz’s voluminous *Das Geheimnis der Form bei Richard Wagner* (1924–33) is another quest for deep symphonic structure beneath the thematic surface.
12. Schenker, *Das Meisterwerk in der Musik* (Munich, 1926), translated by Orin Grossman as “Organic Structure in Sonata Form,” *Journal of Musical Theory* 12 (1968), p. 181; *Beethoven: die letzten Sonaten. Sonata in A, Op. 101: Kritische Ausgabe mit Einführung und Erläuterung*, ed. Oswald Jonas (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1971), p. 9; *Ninth Symphony*, p. 4.
13. Schenker, *Ninth Symphony*, p. 19.
14. Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, pp. 192–93; Igor Stravinsky, *Themes and Conclusions* (London: Faber, 1972), pp. 254–64.
15. Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, pp. 228, 228–29.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 320, 324, 326; Kerman and Tyson, *The New Grove Beethoven*, p. 136.
17. Rosen, *The Classical Style*, p. 21.
18. *Ibid.*, “In 1822 . . .”: p. 379; “We cannot even claim . . .”: pp. 384–85; “There are moments . . .”: p. 387; “The Romantic composer . . .”: p. 388; “It cannot be said . . .”: p. 401.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 404.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 404–5.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 405, 407.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 434.
23. Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 294; “The Ninth Symphony,” p. 22.
24. Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 295; “The Ninth Symphony,” pp. 10, 25.
25. Solomon, “The Ninth Symphony,” p. 26.
26. This historical dimension of Adorno’s Beethoven criticism is elucidated by Subotnik, *Developing Variations*, pp. 15–41.
27. Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, p. 214.
28. Adorno, “Late Style in Beethoven,” trans. Susan Gillespie, *Raritan* 13 (summer 1993), p. 105.
29. Adorno, *Philosophy of New Music*, trans. Anne G. Mitchell and Wesley V. Blomster (New York: Seabury Press, 1973), p. xii.
30. Adorno, “Late Style in Beethoven,” p. 104.
31. Dahlhaus, *Beethoven*, pp. 216–17; for a nuanced revision of Dahlhaus’s reading, see William Kinderman, “Beethoven’s Piano Sonata in A \flat Major, Op. 110,” in *Beethoven Forum* 1, ed. Christopher Reynolds, Lewis Lockwood, and James Webster (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), pp. 117–21.
32. Adorno, *Sociology of Music*, p. 211.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 211–12; Adorno, *Beethoven*, p. 30.

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- . *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*. Translated by E. B. Ashton. New York: Seabury Press, 1989.
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- poser." In *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven*, edited by Glenn Stanley, pp. 272–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
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