Study of Beethoven’s manuscripts and his political attitudes enables a reassessment of the social relevance of some of his most ambitious projects, notably the *Eroica* and Ninth Symphonies. Beethoven’s response to Napoleon can be understood in relation to his consistent rejection of absolutism. His description of the *Eroica* as having been “composed to celebrate the memory of a great man” reflects his hopes for Bonaparte when First Consul of the French Republic as well as his later rejection of Napoleon as absolute monarch. In Beethoven’s view, Napoleon’s seizure of power had disqualified the French leader from heroism. The roots of the *Eroica* in the symbolism of Prometheus supply aesthetic meanings whose validity reaches beyond practical politics by embodying the principle of aesthetic creativity. Hence a starting-point for the symphony—as indicated by sources such as the recently published “Eroica” Sketchbook—lay in Beethoven’s provocative deconstruction of the preexisting theme glorifying Prometheus in the ballet music to *The Creatures of Prometheus*, op. 43. While disappointed with actual political conditions—whether under Kaiser Franz of Austria or Napoleon—Beethoven professed convictions about *Kunstvereinigung* (“artistic unification”), a notion of progressive artistic expression that applies to his Ninth Symphony, with its setting of Schiller’s idealistic text. The deaf composer’s political views are conveyed in his later conversation notebooks. Study of the music manuscripts, on the other hand, reveals how Beethoven weighed an alternative to the choral finale: an instrumental finale using the theme later featured in the finale of his Quartet in A minor, op. 132. This quartet—one of Beethoven’s most despairing works—displays striking parallels to the Ninth Symphony, and represents a dark companion-piece to the symphony that harbors an apparent critique of its Schillerian idealism. Adrian Leverkühn’s “revocation” of the Ninth in Thomas Mann’s novel *Doktor Faustus* springs to mind, but Beethoven’s aesthetic strategy does not revoke but instead embodies a form of “expressive doubling,” thereby protecting his “effigy of the ideal” from the risk of a ideological lapse.
The very first measures of a composition reveal a plethora of information: key, instrumentation, dynamics, texture, and timbre, among others. At the same time the composer lays out his or her opening rhetorical gesture. Especially in the Classic period, these opening measures are more than just a beginning: they establish how the entire movement is going to unfold. Composers approached this liminal moment with full consciousness of the significance of its freighted shift from silence to sound and its unparalleled opportunity for expressive and rhetorical power. Beethoven, particularly, understood the vast range of the expressive possibilities of openings – from declarative to questioning, forthright to subtly deceptive, inchoate to monumental – and he calculated with profound and careful planning exactly how his opening would color the rhetoric of the entire piece.

Recent years have witnessed an upsurge in scholarly work on Beethoven, as academics have realized that – despite popular opinion – there is still an enormous amount of research that remains undone. For example, very few studies have been made of the considerable number of surviving Beethoven autograph manuscripts, many of which contain layer after layer of revision. Autograph manuscripts in museums and libraries in the United States and across Europe display Beethoven’s “final” thoughts (and second, third, and subsequent thoughts), and I have studied closely the opening measures of many movements in these autographs in order to see how these play into his planning and architectural molding of the movements (and works) as a whole. This paper will undertake to provide a theoretical framework with which we can contemplate Beethoven’s openings. Drawing upon work in cognitive science, music psychology, and cognitive musicology, as well as formal and stylistic analysis of several key works, I shall then present some suggestions as to how we might form a taxonomy of the composer’s approaches to beginning works and movements.

In his classic 1966 monograph, Joseph Kerman writing about Beethoven’s Quartet, op. 130 asserted that the composer “had never assembled a more recklessly individualistic group of workmen for a putative common task” (*The Beethoven Quartets*, 320). Leonard Ratner, in his monograph on the quartets, likened the same work as to a latter-day *sonata da camera* (Ratner, *The Beethoven String Quartets*, 215), essentially agreeing with Kerman’s notion that op. 130 was a study in “dissociation.” The fact that Beethoven himself provided two very different finales to this composition, as well as including a movement—the *alla danza Tedesca*—originally intended for op. 132, gave both writers ample license to conclude that op. 130 was a work that was far from unified across its six movements. The extant sketches for op. 130 have also given rise
to two conflicting theories concerning the work’s genesis. Barry Cooper (1990) opined that Beethoven’s original plan was to compose a “light” finale, which eventually grew in scope to become the Große Fuge. With the creation of the alternate “little” finale, therefore, the entire quartet was brought back closer to its original concept. Klaus Kropfinger (1987), by way of contrast, cites an entry in the De Roda sketchbook that indicates that Beethoven always intended to conclude the work with a fugue.

A little-discussed dissertation by Stefania De Kennesey and more recent thesis by Megan Ross provide important insights into the genesis and relationship between the Fugue and the “little” finale. I will argue, based on evidence provided by Beethoven’s sketches as well as internal evidence, that not only did Beethoven write the work with a fugal finale in mind, but that there are several subtle gestures that bind the six-movement work into a unified set—gestures that on a deeper analytical level, not only demonstrate that both finales may be seen as equally valid, but that they are more closely related than is commonly assumed.

11:20-12:00 p.m.
Lewis Lockwood, emeritus, Harvard University: “Beethoven’s Autograph Revisions: A Reconsideration”

The past half-century has seen significant progress in modern understanding of the Beethoven sketchbooks, even though a vast amount of important work remains to be done. Still, for the sketchbooks as a field of study, from the pioneering Nottebohm all the way to Tyson-Johnson-Winter and down to the 21st century, we have a working overview. For the Beethoven autographs the situation is much more limited. A very large number of manuscripts survive in every genre: e.g., for the symphonies, we have all from No. 4 to 9; for the quartets, all except Op. 18; for the piano sonatas, virtually all from Op. 26 to Op. 111 (the famous missing link is the Hammerklavier autograph). Many of these sources show revisions and corrections on a very large scale, but much close study of their content and significance for Beethoven’s late-stage compositional process remains to be done. In this paper I will discuss some of the main categories of revisions we find in the autographs and revisit the abiding question of how Beethoven may have proceeded from the sketch stage to his autographs, in different ways and in different genres. My main examples will be drawn from his orchestral and chamber music.

Lunch break: 12:00-2:00 p.m.

**Session 2: Beethoven in Historical Context**

David Levy, Chair

2:00-2:40 p.m.
Feza Tansug, Professor of Anthropology and Music, Ipek University, Ankara, Turkey: “The Humanely Unison: Beethoven’s Turkish Source of Inspiration in His Chorus of Dervishes”

This paper is based upon a Turkish source, which possibly inspired Beethoven for his “Chorus of Dervishes” in *The Ruins of Athens*, Op. 115. The music was written in 1811
to accompany the play of the same name by August von Kotzebue, for the dedication of a new theater at Pest.

Since the nineteenth century, musicians and musicologists have been interested in the identity of an “authentic Turkish document” as being a source for this movement. While much of the orientalist European music deals with the military march of the Janissaries or the gender politics of the harem, in his “Chorus of Dervishes” from The Ruins of Athens, Beethoven used another Ottoman-Turkish musical tradition, a mystical religious ceremony. The ceremony derives from the Mevlevis, who are famous for their whirling dervish ritual. Although Beethoven never listened to a Mevlevi ceremony in his lifetime, it is possible that he used a notation by a seventeenth-century French traveler, Jean Antoine du Loir, who in his notebook had transcribed a hymn from a whirling dance ceremony at the Ottoman Palace in Istanbul and later published in Paris. Due to the existence of this source, the only one of its quality and kind available to Beethoven, the “Chorus of Dervishes” is perhaps the earliest example of Mevlevi music influence on international art music. We can also consider Beethoven as the first Viennese classical composer to use the Mevlevi musical ceremony as a basis for composition.

In this paper, I will examine the literature on the “Chorus of Dervishes,” including the debate over Beethoven’s source, and I will analyze both pieces. I will also compare the Turkish text with Kotzebue’s text in German. I will present various evidences that suggest that Beethoven may actually have used this seventeenth-century source. Finally, I will discuss the potential impact of my findings on traditional views of Western orientalism, indicating that the Viennese classical masters were far better informed about Turkish music than has generally been assumed.

2:45-3:25 p.m.
Professor Kristina Muxfeldt, Jacobs School of Music, Indiana University: “On Hearing ‘The Famous Bass from the First-act Finale of Rossini’s Tancredi’ in Schubert and Beethoven”

Many of life’s occurrences leave but faint traces, ephemeral as a dinner conversation or spontaneous joke—yet those experiences may make a deeper impression than anything in the day’s perfectly documentable affairs. In this study I invite us to listen for echoes in music and music-journalism of a technical conversation among music lovers. At stake is a musical progression that an anonymous critic reviewing Schubert songs for the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung called “the famous bass from the first-act finale of Rossini’s Tancredi” and “a Schusterfleck” (Riepel’s term). He writes with a stack of Liederhefte evidently laid out on the piano, forgetting sometimes even to say which song or bars contain the quirky pitches he singles out. I know of only one other fleet mention of exactly this spot in Tancredi, from Stendhal’s pen, reporting that the dramatist Silvio Pellico thought it an unfortunate blemish. On first impression today Rossini’s striking passage may not sound much like the one in Schubert’s “Wehmuth” (both seem merely uniquely unforgettable).
Having examined numerous other ascending chromatic basses in Schubert’s music, and Beethoven’s, and earlier eighteenth-century works and theoretical writings, I ask whether certain of Beethoven’s 1814 revisions to Fidelio, too, were conceived with Rossini’s passage in mind. To date, I have found very few musical moments using the 1815 Tancredi progression (several in Schubert, all markedly special): Sixteen new bars Beethoven added to Pizarro’s aria in 1814 may be the earliest. His awareness of the buzz around Tancredi could have stimulated refinements in “Er sterbe!” as well, for making Pizarro’s voice cut through the texture led to an inspired modification of the formulaic earlier part-writing.

The new bars Beethoven composed caught the ear of Amadeus Wendt, who carefully worked his way through the 1810/1814 piano-vocal scores for Leonore and Fidelio, not only comparing them to each other but to his recollection of how the opera actually went in the four Leonore (!) performances he’d recently attended in Leipzig, and to the Leonora by Ferdinando Paër “that everybody knows.” Most shocking to him was the way Beethoven disrupted what is essentially Rossini’s rising pattern with jarring dissonance. That is also what makes Schubert’s usages so memorable.

Break: 3:25-3:35

3:35-4:15 p.m.
William Meredith, The Ira F. Brilliant Center for Beethoven Studies, San José State University: “(Mis)Dating the Beginning of Beethoven’s Late Period: The Historiography of the 1980 Edition of The New Grove Beethoven and the Question of a Consensus”

In the 1980 New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians entry for Beethoven, written by Joseph Kerman and Alan Tyson in the 1970s, Kerman began his discussion of Beethoven’s works with this statement: “The division of Beethoven’s life and works into three periods was adumbrated as early as 1828 by Schlosser, taken up by Fétis in 1837, and then elaborated and popularized by Lenz in his influential Beethoven et ses trois styles of 1852. They saw a first formative period ending around 1802, a second period lasting until 1812 and a transcendent third period from 1813 to 1827.” (p. 89) The second sentence contained important mistakes that were corrected in subsequent editions.

In fact, in Schlosser’s tri-partite division of 1827 (not 1828), the third period began with the Fifth Symphony; he considered the works of that period to be governed by Beethoven’s “Inner Compulsion.” Fétis began the third period with the Eighth Symphony, first published in 1817 but first performed in 1814 (which aligns with his argument that the second period “encloses a span of about ten years”). It is hazardous to attempt to summarize neatly Lenz’s three “manners”—which he considered to be layers that are not strictly chronological—but the earliest work he considered to be a “true product of the third manner” is the Fortepiano Sonata in A Major, Opus 101, published in 1817.

The current online edition of Grove replaces the statement that these three writers agreed on the dates for the three periods with the following: “Though each of these writers grouped Beethoven’s works differently, the three-period schema took
hold and settled into something like a consensus [sic]: a first formative period ending around 1802, a second period lasting until 1812 and a third period from 1813 to 1827.” Thus, while correcting Kerman’s error, the article continues to argue that there is something “like a consensus” that the third period began in 1813. But the new statement that there is such a consensus in the previous or current literature is incorrect. The new statement remains problematic for several other reasons, some of which originate in the conflicts between dividing the composer’s life into periods that make sense biographically versus those that make sense stylistically. It makes sense, then, to revisit the beginning date of the late period from a historiographical perspective, in part because the most important English-language dictionary entry on Beethoven should reflect the consensus of the literature on that date, if one exists.

4:20-5:00 p.m.
Chantal Frankenbach, California State University, Sacramento: “Beethoven Danced: Isadora Duncan’s Modernism in Wilhelmine Germany”

When The American modern dancer Isadora Duncan appeared at the Künstlerhaus in Munich in 1902, its circle of artists and intellectuals greeted her dancing with cautious curiosity that quickly grew to enthusiastic admiration. As news of Duncan’s novel Tanz-philosophie spread, she built a large and loyal following throughout Germany. Audiences clamored to see her and, according to many reviews, applauded wildly. Yet as one critic notes, her supporters’ applause “was as great as the doubts of her skeptics.” Indeed, for professional musicians, Duncan brought an array of challenges to prevailing ideas about how dance should function as an art with deep ties to music. When Duncan announced a program of dances to the music of Beethoven early in 1904, a tremendous outcry ensued among critics and composers over the American dancer’s trespass into their cultural territory.

Building on previous studies that situate the ideals of musical autonomy within the development of German intellectual culture, this paper investigates the perceived danger that Duncan posed to audience sensibilities shaped by the officially sanctioned Bildungsidee in Prussian educational policy, a strain of moral uplift felt to be uniquely available to Germans through the music of Beethoven. In addition to criticism of Duncan in the Munich and Berlin press, I explore reactions from two composers, Max Reger and Oscar Straus, which offer contrasting insights into the dancer’s subversive use of Beethoven’s music. In several appeals to both music professionals and the general public, Reger denounces Duncan on the basis of a historical tradition going back to Bach, lamenting a broad national failure to protest her desecration of Beethoven. The operetta composer Oscar Straus, on the other hand, lampoons the situation with a musical parody titled “Isadora Duncan.” Here Straus, drawing on the satirical mode of the Überbrettl, ridicules not only Duncan’s dancing to great music, but the serious masters themselves and their stature in German Kultur. Taken as a whole, the uproar over Duncan offers new insights into the status of Beethoven’s music in Wilhelmine Germany and the competing claims of modernist and historicist thought that engaged Duncan’s musical contemporaries in its defense.

Thursday, November 12
Session 3: Beethoven Sources
William Meredith, Chair

9:00-9:40 a.m.
John Wilson and Elisabeth Reisinger, University of Vienna: “The Operatic Library of Maximilian Franz: Some Results and New Directions for Beethoven Research”

The original conception for the Vienna-based research project “The Operatic Library of Maximilian Franz” (Austrian Science Fund, 1/2012–12/2015; project leader: Birgit Lodes) revolved around identification and interpretation of the known surviving musical sources for operatic productions in Bonn during Beethoven’s formative years in the court orchestra. Along the way, much additional information was gleaned from original archival research and a fresh appraisal of already-known primary sources about the institutions, region-wide transformations in musical taste, and networks of influence that affected the musical and social outlook of the young Beethoven and his contemporaries.

The published results of this project will encompass an online performance database, a printed catalogue raisonée of Bonn operatic sources preserved in the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria in Modena along with an extensive introduction and appendices summarizing current knowledge on the Bonn theater as an institution and its sources, and a dissertation that contextualizes Elector Maximilian Franz within Vienna’s musical life before 1784. The current paper will highlight aspects that most directly impact Beethoven studies, and further, to concretize some of the many interesting questions raised by this work that require further study.

First, the online database will be demonstrated, which includes up-to-date information on the performances of opera at the Bonn court, as well as what musicians’ names appear in the performance materials. It has long been noted that Beethoven, as a member of the orchestra, absorbed this repertoire as a performer and must have learned a great deal from the experience. A second focus will be on the codicological studies of the sources themselves, sharpening to some degree our understanding of paper types used in Bonn as well as the copyists who worked for the court, for Simrock’s budding publishing venture, and for Beethoven directly. A final chapter involves the manifold connections and personal networks that the Elector had established already in Vienna.

The bedrock of his collection, whose importance in Bonn’s musical life should not be underestimated, was laid in his youth at and around the imperial court. As the figure who perhaps most influenced Beethoven’s early career, it is worth exploring Maximilian Franz’s cultural background, his understanding of music, the nature of his relationships with musicians, and his musical collection as a result of these.

The Bonn period still ranks as one of the most poorly understood phases of Beethoven’s career. The modest steps forward made by this research project, while not providing the last word on the subject, hopefully can offer the community of Beethoven scholars some concrete suggestions as to what future research might accomplish.

9:45-10:25 a.m.
The ten benefit concerts Beethoven presented in Vienna throughout his lifetime span a period of great change in the city’s concert culture. While one-off charity and benefit concerts were commonplace throughout Beethoven’s lifetime, regular symphonic concerts only became a permanent feature of the Viennese calendar after the founding of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in 1812. The publication in 1814 of the society’s official charter, which outlined its aims to promote serious music-making in all forms, coincided with the peak of Beethoven’s career in terms of presenting benefit concerts: five of his concerts took place in this year alone. Yet the programming of Beethoven’s 1814 concerts, with their emphasis on the patriotic occasional works Wellingtons Sieg and later also Der glorreiche Augenblick (somewhat at the expense of the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies, also premiered in this period) is apparently at odds with the serious artistic ambition of the emerging Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Whereas Beethoven’s previous benefit concerts had placed unusual emphasis on grand symphonic works compared with standard Viennese concert fare, his 1814 concerts catered more to mainstream popular taste than the kind of concert Vienna’s new musical society wished to promote.

Beethoven’s appeal to mainstream audiences at the expense of the serious musical ethos he had cultivated in his previous concerts is even more surprising in the context of his sketches from the time of the composition of the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies. These sketches, which appear in the Petter Sketchbook and accompanying sketchleaves from 1812, include ideas for piano concertos as well as detailed plans for projected symphonies in D minor, E minor and E-flat major. These were evidently being considered as companion works for the completed symphonies, which suggests that Beethoven originally had a very different type of concert in mind from the festive concerts of 1814 at which the completed symphonies were eventually performed. The existence of a cluster of sketches for unfinished works from this period has long been known to the literature, particularly from Sieghard Brandenburg’s study of the chronology of the Petter Sketchbook, but many of them have not yet been transcribed or examined in detail. This paper will examine these sketches in order to gain an insight into the type of concert programme Beethoven originally planned for the first performance of the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies, and to provide further context for his conscious appeal to popular taste in his concert programming of 1814.
manuscripts—the vertical stroke and the dot—described by authors such as Fischer (1990) and Newman (1988). To date, however, there has been little written about how and in which musical contexts these different articulations are employed; this question forms the crux of my paper.

In this paper, I examine excerpts from three of Beethoven’s string quartets: Op. 18-1, Op. 59-2, and Op. 130, focusing on the use of staccato markings in the autograph manuscripts, handwritten copies (especially that of Op. 18-1), publishers’ proofs, and first editions. I decided to focus on the string quartet repertoire because to date the research on Beethoven’s staccato articulations has been largely focused on piano and orchestral repertoire, and these particular works were chosen because they collectively represent a variety of cases in which I find evidence that Beethoven made a deliberate choice for one or the other type of articulation (either strokes or dots). I argue that Beethoven’s use of different staccato markings can be broken down into five main categories: (1) to differentiate between linear and vertical qualities of the music; (2) to intensify points of high contrast, often related to abrupt changes of dynamics and/or character; (3) to distinguish between motivic and non-motivic materials; (4) to differentiate between similar textures, either between different voices or within a single voice; and (5) to make graduated transitions between the different types of articulations. A particularly striking example of the last type can be seen below, excerpted from Mvt. III of Op. 130 (Fig. 1).

Modern Urtext editions of Beethoven’s music (such as those produced by Henle Verlag) largely assimilate the stroke and dot into a single generic staccato marking (the wedge), but, as I hope to demonstrate through my chosen examples, these representations are inadequate. I believe that study of the musical contexts for Beethoven’s expressive indications may form a basis for new scholarly editions of Beethoven’s works that more accurately represent the depth and variety of expression seen in his manuscripts. I plan to continue this work within and outside of the string quartet repertoire, refining and expanding the principles described in this paper.

Figure 1: Transition between dots and strokes, Op. 130, Mvt. III, mm. 34-35 (MS)

Figure 1: The articulation in the first bar and a half features a transition from dots to strokes in the scale passages of the three upper voices, followed by a change from strokes to dots in the two lower voices in the latter half of the second bar.
The catalogue of Beethoven’s works identifies but two compositions for the church: the Mass in C Major, op. 86 (1807), and the Missa solemnis in D Major, op. 123 (1819–23). In fact, though, Beethoven pursued many more ideas for Latin church music than these two settings of the Mass Ordinary. Liturgical music preoccupied Beethoven in all phases of his career far more intensively and extensively than is commonly known. Not only are there plans for further settings of the Mass, there are also ideas for various other liturgical genres such as psalm settings and hymns. The foundation for Beethoven’s interest in church music was laid in his youth. To an essential degree, his early career bore the stamp of Catholic church music, since he drew his first salary as an organist (also rehearsal keyboardist and violist) at a Catholic court. This early molding played a significant role in his later life as well, as numerous sketches attest.

The paper will track down Beethoven’s ideas, jottings, and plans for Catholic liturgical music, and will show that he never lost sight of the sacred genres. The texts that he chose suggest that the multiplicity of expressive forms and affective contents in religious music exerted a powerful attraction for him. The paper will also address the question of why none of these projects ever came to fruition but were all given up at an early stage.