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2022 Program Selection Committee: Erica Buurman (Beethoven Center, SJSU), Julia Ronge (Beethoven-Haus), Benedetta Saglietti (Conservatorio di musica “Giuseppe Verdi”, Como, Italy), Lucy Turner (Columbia University), John Wilson (University of Vienna)

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Session 1: Aesthetics (Lucy Turner, Columbia University, chair), November 9, 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon


Janet Bourne, University of California, Santa Barbara

Scholars hear a pastoral topic in Beethoven’s op. 101/I (e.g. Hatten 1994). Yet, many topics share the same features (or signifiers), so what influences which topic is perceived? Echard (2017) suggests that listeners perceive different topics partly because of different competencies and experiences. Building on Echard (2017) and Citron’s (2000) “woman’s way of listening,” I argue that 19th-century German women—particularly mothers—could hear Beethoven’s op. 101/I more as a lullaby topic than a pastoral due to their varying musical experiences. First, I describe the lullaby topic. I use Reichardt’s (1798) *Wiegenlieder für gute deutsche Mütter*, collection of lullabies with sanctified images and prescriptive instructions for childrearing (Head 2013) as well as 18th-century discourse on motherhood (e.g. Richter 2006) to develop this topic’s signifiers and associations. Second, using cognitive theories of categorization (prototype theory; Rosch 1975), I demonstrate how listeners could hear a pastoral topic (Monelle 2006) and/or singing style (Day-O’Connell 2014) for a lullaby, which can drastically influence associations, affect and imagery imagined with an 18th-century narrative mode of listening (Will 2002, Bonds 1991). Then, I create two historically-grounded, albeit speculative listening subjects to explore these multiple interpretations: 1) 19th -century male listener, hearing this piece as a pastoral topic (based on reception histories) and 2) 19th -century female listener, hearing this piece as a lullaby topic. I create different close readings of Beethoven’s op. 101. Rather than assuming an “ideal” or “experienced” listener, this paper considers differences in competencies and listening positionality (e.g. Robinson 2020) to speculate on pluralistic perceptions of topics.
E.T.A Hoffmann’s writings on Beethoven have long been central to the study of nineteenth-century musical aesthetics, especially those essays included in his *Kreisleriana* (1812). One of the most alluring aspects of Hoffman’s writing is the way he depicts the transcendence of the material world, in which the ‘spirit kingdom of the infinite’ is revealed through Beethoven’s music. Musicologists have seized on Hoffmann’s approachable yet unsystematic metaphysics as representative of the nascent concept of absolute music and Romantic music philosophy. Yet few have acknowledged how Hoffmann’s language of transcendence echoes contemporaneous and historical discourses on idealized femininity, even within Hoffmann’s own writing. The female beloveds of Western poetry from Dante to Goethe famously have led male poets to the divine or otherworldly. This paper thus argues that conceptions of the feminine—such as Goethe’s *Ewig-Weiblich*—provided a model for Hoffmann’s metaphysics of musical transcendence.

This paper centers around three points of overlap in the discourses on the feminine and musical transcendence: rapture, desire, and irony. In addition to drawing on Hoffmann’s broader writings, especially those concerning the fictional composer Johannes Kreisler, my reading of Hoffmann’s metaphysics will be guided by an analysis of Schubert’s setting of Schiller’s “Laura am Klavier.” This song provides not only a clear musical example of these overlapping discourses, but also connects the conceptualization of the feminine as both transcendent and musical to the history of poetic beloved after Petrarch’s Laura. I show that the transcendence that occurs in Hoffmann’s account of Beethoven’s instrumental music is virtually impossible in his other writing; access to the spirit-world of the infinite can, ironically, never be achieved. I conclude by suggesting that, contrary to much of the musicological writing on Hoffmann, “Beethoven’s Instrumental Music” from *Kreisleriana* should in fact be read ironically as portraying an extreme and impossible musical experience. This ironic reading has wider implications for current pedagogy and scholarship as it complicates the place of Beethoven’s instrumental music in Hoffmann’s writing.

A newly digitalized catalog of music by Beethoven’s only composition student, Archduke Rudolph, has opened access to musical treasures for musicologists worldwide. Archduke Rudolph spent his entire lifetime assembling a collection of music from early 19th century Austria that eventually grew to over 16,000 items. At his passing in 1831, *Musikalien Register Nr 9* and all musical scores associated with it were bequeathed to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Archiv in Vienna, Austria as the centerpiece of their collection.

After a year-long effort correlating the Archduke’s handwritten catalog with note cards in the Archiv wooden cabinet, a recent digital transcription of the catalog by this author revealed over seventy-five women composers from among the 2,400 entries. One of the most interesting entries is Anna Amalia Duchess of Saxen-Weimar-Eisenach, who was noted for her performance abilities, compositional skills, and support of the arts. Apart from her many musical achievements and philanthropic contributions, the duchess left an uncertain trail of compositions—only a few of which are certifiably authentic. Using the digitalized *Musikalien Register Nr 9*, this UAFS research has
located six original manuscripts of scores by the Duchess and identified a seventh Stabat Mater also possibly attributable to her.

“The Reception of Italian Compositional Methods in Beethoven’s Vienna”
Elisa Novarra, Paderborn University, Beethoven-Haus, Bonn

Recently, music theory studies have been successfully applying galant schemata, partimento patterns and certain thoroughbass models to the music of Beethoven [Byros 2009, 2012, 2014, Ijzerman, 2017, Diergarten/Holtmeier 2011, Sanguinetti 2020]. Nonetheless, as Sanguinetti states, those schemata “appear in the music of Beethoven as they do in the music of any other composer educated in the eighteenth-century system of training” [Sanguinetti 2020, p. 145]. If this was, as it seems, a sort of lingua franca, what did Beethoven know about Partimenti and Italian compositional methods?

This paper will trace possible connections to the Italian compositional methods with which Beethoven might have come in contact—directly or indirectly—and place them in the broader context of their reception in Vienna around 1800.

The most evident connection, of course, is the one to the important Italian maestro who crossed Beethoven’s life in Vienna for several years beginning in 1801: Antonio Salieri. But how “Italian” are Salieri’s teaching methods, who left Venice at the age of 16 to study composition in Vienna with Florian Gassmann?

I will argue, based on the evidence of contemporary articles and reports around Beethoven, that Italian compositional methods in Vienna were already considered “classical,” and thus conservative, if not outdated. Later, in a time that wanted to define counterpoint as a science (see Adolph Bernard Marx’s article “Die alte Musiklehre im Streit mit unserer Zeit” from 1841), the practical Italian way of teaching, which was largely orally transmitted and based on the old tradition of the thoroughbass, was seen as an antique model belonging to the past. However, the traces they left are so deep that they can still be discovered at different levels (in music theory treatises, didactic techniques, improvising patterns).

Finally, I will consider Beethoven’s drafts for a letter to Prince Galitzin from 1825 about a minor question of voice leading in the String Quartet op. 127 (BGA 1962, 1993, 1997, 2003). Despite his well-known lack of vocabulary of music theory, his visible effort to describe his own craft is a rare example of the composer’s own idea of thoroughbass, which also exemplifies his connection to Italian compositional methods.

Session 2: Biography (Erica Buurman, director, The Ira F. Brilliant Center for Beethoven Studies, San José State University, chair), Wednesday, November 9, 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

“Who Was Franz Weiss? Rewriting the Life of Vienna’s Most Celebrated Violist”
Mark Ferraguto, Pennsylvania State University

Franz Weiss (1778–1830) is best known today for his role as the violist in the Schuppanzigh Quartet, the ensemble that first brought Beethoven’s string quartets into the limelight. But he was also a celebrated composer in his own right, one whose “ingenious compositions, related to Beethoven’s spirit, have long received the loudest and most deserved approval both at home and abroad,” according to a Vienna critic in 1828. An enthusiastic purveyor of Vienna’s serious music culture, Weiss was a significant presence in the city for over thirty years, concertizing in both public and private venues and producing a steady stream of well-received instrumental works. And yet, our
picture of his life remains murky. The most substantial biography of Weiss to date, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, is both inaccurate and incomplete.

The digitization of early nineteenth-century sources such as journals and first editions, alongside the study of archival documents such as Andrey Razumovsky’s *Verlassenschaft*, has made it possible to construct a fuller picture of Weiss’s life and oeuvre. Expanding on studies by Theodore Albrecht (2004), John Gingerich (2010), and others, this paper offers a revised sketch of Weiss’s biography, clarifying both his career path and aspects of his involvement with the Schuppanzigh Quartet. As I will outline, inaccuracies have stemmed from scholars’ conflation of Weiss with two similarly-named contemporaries, the Bohemian brass player Franz Weiss (1777–1860) and the composer Franz Xaver Weiss (1778–1836), chamber singer at the princely court of Fürstenberg in Bavaria. Resolving these inaccuracies prompts an overhaul of Weiss’s works catalog.

The documentation also reveals that both the dates of service and pension details of the Schuppanzigh Quartet have been incorrectly reported. Count Razumovsky engaged Ignaz Schuppanzigh as early as October 1805, a date that problematizes the conjecture that the Schuppanzigh ensemble was based at Prince Lobkowitz’s palace between 1805 and 1807. And while Schuppanzigh, Weiss, and Joseph Linke received pensions beginning in May 1816, not only was Linke’s pension discontinued, but the amount (300 florins *Conventionsmünze* per year) was less than that reported by Karl Holz and reiterated by modern scholars.

“Beethoven: First Freelance Composer or Servant of Three Masters? The Narrative of the Pension Contract Put to the Test
Elke Hager (Vienna, Austria)

According to the usual interpretation, Jérôme Bonaparte’s offer to Beethoven to employ him as *Kapellmeister* at the Westphälische Hof in Kassel led the three Viennese aristocrats, Archduke Rudolph and the princes Lobkowitz and Kinsky, to guarantee Beethoven a lifelong salary in 1809, on the only condition that he would stay in Austria. This contract, often classified as a patron act and called a pension contract, is not only said to have prevented Beethoven’s departure from Vienna but also enabled the composer to decide against an employment relationship and to work as a freelance artist.

My research aimed to find out whether this narrative can be substantiated by the preserved legal sources. Consequently, in a first step, considerations are made as to what motives might have been behind the conclusion of this contract. In the second step, Beethoven's pension contract is examined based on the legal situation valid at the time and available legislative comments to find out what kind of contract it is. Finally, existing letters, receipts, and documentation of Beethoven’s lawsuits against the defaulting contractual partners Lobkowitz and Kinsky are used as sources for how the contract was implemented into reality.

The knowledge gained from this shows that this agreement predominantly has characteristics of a service contract and Beethoven thus did not become a freelance artist but an employee of his three contractual partners. The composer's professional biography has thus been characterized almost continuously by employment relationships from his time in the Bonn Hofkapelle until his death. Based on a legal assessment the narrative that Beethoven was a freelance artist thanks to the pension contract can no longer be maintained.

The novelty of my work lies in an interdisciplinary approach, in which strategic considerations and music-historical primary sources, as well as legal knowledge, are used to examine a long-established narrative for its truthfulness.

Theodore Albrecht (emeritus, Kent State University)

Even during Beethoven’s lifetime, Anton Schindler (1795-1864) was not among the most popular of his acquaintances. The Conversation Books indicate that he was perceived as arrogant, effeminate, gossipy, and prone to hyperbole. But Beethoven needed a secretary and factotum who knew music and was literate. Therefore, starting in January, 1823, the former law-clerk-turned-theater-concertmaster filled the bill.

In his Biographie (3rd edition, 1860), Schindler summarized his acquaintance with Beethoven, extending back to 1814, though some scholars suspected that he had exaggerated his case. In the 1970s, the pianist and music critic Peter Stadlen launched a frontal attack on Schindler based on his inaccurate reporting of Beethoven’s metronome marks, his supposed destruction of a third of the surviving conversation books, and his posthumous falsified entries in the surviving conversation books. Another controversy concerned whether Schindler had known Beethoven at all before becoming his unpaid secretary. According to Daniel Brenner (Schindler und sein Einfluss; Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2013), Schindler did not develop any “close personal contact” with Beethoven until Fall, 1822.

Actually, by that time, Schindler had already met Beethoven on more than a dozen reasonably verifiable occasions, beginning in 1814, plus an indeterminate number of casual encounters otherwise. As a violinist, Schindler had participated in 25-30 performances of ca. 12 of the composer’s works: Symphonies No. 7 (10 times, including once under Beethoven’s direction) and No. 8, Wellington’s Victory, Der glorreiche Augenblick, Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage, Namensfeier Overture, the Overtures to Coriolan and Egmont, as well as the premieres of the Consecration of the House Overture and incidental music, and the Gratulations-Menueett. He also played in two private salons as well as the Law School’s amateur orchestra, with repertoire including the early Symphonies and Concerti, plus such popular overtures as Prometheus. As an audience member, Schindler had also heard several of the above works, as well as Fidelio, the “Archduke” Trio (Beethoven as pianist); the Septet, Op. 20; and the Piano Concerto No. 5 (soloist Carl Czerny)—an enviable foundation upon which to begin an even closer association and friendship with Beethoven.

“Alcohol and the Death of Beethoven: Comparison of General Biographies to the Medical Literature”

Benjamin Lebwohl, Columbia University (co-researchers Dongwon Lee, Columbia University, and William Meredith (emeritus, San José State University)

Despite the apparent lack of consensus regarding the cause of Beethoven’s death, it is well-documented that in the final weeks of his life, he developed refractory ascites secondary to liver disease, necessitating serial large-volume paracentesis. The description of his autopsy findings, including hepatic cirrhosis and chronic pancreatitis, are compatible with chronic alcoholism.

Despite this plausible etiology, this condition may have been underemphasized by biographers, given the stigma of alcoholism and its possible incongruence with the heroic portrayal of Beethoven in the popular imagination. This paper aims to compare the portrayal and etiology of Beethoven’s final illness in the medical literature to that of biographies intended for the lay public, and the extent to which alcoholism is invoked as a cause.
We reviewed major, general biographical works for the period 1827 to 2020, using a bibliography from a recent compendium (*Beethoven’s Lives*, Lockwood, 2020) and supplemented by the authors and the collection of the Ira F. Brilliant Center for Beethoven Studies. We identified medical journal articles, comments, and letters for the period 1936-2021, using a search (“Beethoven”) of the Medline database via the PubMed engine and supplementing with additional articles referenced by these results. We restricted the analysis to those biographies or papers that mention Beethoven’s final illness, and compared proportions of biographies to medical studies with regard to mention of alcohol or alcoholism, and alcohol as a possible cause of, contributory factor to, or most likely cause of Beethoven’s death.

We found that a significantly higher proportion of biographies mentioned Beethoven’s alcohol consumption without connection to his health as compared to medical articles, and that medical studies more often explicitly invoked alcoholism. General biographies were more likely to invoke alcohol as a contributory factor in his death, while medical articles were more likely to cite alcohol as the most likely cause of death, though these comparisons were not statistically significant. We conclude that the extent to which alcohol adversely affected Beethoven’s health and its contribution to his final illness differ in portrayals to the general public and the medical community, wherein the latter more explicitly invokes alcoholism.

**Session 3: Sources (Julia Ronge, Beethoven-Haus, chair) Thursday, November 10, 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon**

“*Beethoven’s Early Sketches for the Ninth Symphony*”

Susanne Cox, Beethoven’s Werkstatt, Bonn

Beethoven’s sketches for the Ninth Symphony are numerous. He made most of them between the winter of 1822/23 and February 1824 using three large-format desk sketchbooks and, at the same time, several pocket sketchbooks as well as some loose leaves. Most of the sketch material has not yet been studied in detail. There is Sieghard Brandenburg’s overview of the material in his essay “Die Skizzen zur Neunten Symphonie,” and of course, thanks to Johnson, Tyson, and Winter, we have information about the rough contents of the sketchbooks. But a complete transcription and detailed study of the contents is only available for one of the sketchbooks: for the so-called “Engelmann sketchbook”, which I examined in my dissertation (Paderborn 2022). For this reason, it is still impossible to investigate the entire genesis of the Ninth.

In my paper, I will therefore focus on Beethoven’s early sketches for the Ninth Symphony that were written in the winter of 1822/23. These sketches can be found in the sketchbook Artaria 201 and in the Engelmann Sketchbook. Whereas the sketches for the Ninth in Artaria 201 have already been discussed by several authors, the sketches in the Engelmann Sketchbook have not yet been examined. So, an important part of the early sketches for the Ninth has not yet been considered. By means of several examples, I will show how Beethoven developed his initial ideas for the symphony. In this early sketching phase, he was concerned, for example, with the overall form of the work, the order of the movements, and the tonal constellation. Moreover, the sketches clearly show a development form the conventional to the extraordinary. My paper will thus provide new insights into the genesis of the Ninth. I will concentrate on the following questions: How did Beethoven start composing the Ninth Symphony? How did he approach this large work? Which compositional questions preoccupied him in the initial phase of sketching?
“Planning the Structure: The Telescopied Drafts for Quartet, Opus 127, and the ‘Backstage’ of Beethoven’s Late Style”
Francesco Fontanelli, University of Pavia-Cremona

Among the different work materials, the so-called “telescopied drafts” are the most eloquent in conveying Beethoven’s intentions. In these synoptic diagrams made up of musical ideas and words, he outlined the structure of the work by fixing the decisive points (themes, keys, tempo markings, number and configuration of movements). At least four large-scale plans are extant for the String Quartet, Op. 127, in E-flat major, in each of which the composer explores alternative ways of managing musical form and content.

My paper discusses and analyzes these sources, some of which are new. These include, for example, the “mysterious Adagio” in E major (mentioned by Sieghard Brandenburg in 1983 but until now never found), which in the original project had to flow seamlessly into the quartet’s Finale, and the draft of a march-like second movement in common time (not yet anacrusis), which was to become the Scherzo. I intend to examine such early, genetic stages from a perspective that contextualizes the composer’s choices in historical-critical terms. The self-reflexive tendencies of the telescopied drafts provide a “backward view” of artistic creativity, showing how it arises and develops in dialogue with its models. In order to envision the new quartet commissioned by Prince Galitzin, Beethoven looked back to the chamber works of his youth, as evinced by a six-movement plan for Opus 127 in the manner of a divertimento, recalling the examples of the String Trio, Op. 3, and the Septet, Op. 20, in the same key E-flat. Equally revealing is the presence in the original plans of an Allegro grazioso called La gaieté (a title I retraced in the eighteenth-century collections of country dances), that recalls similar expedients in the Quartets, Op. 18 (see La malinconia), and the use of popular tunes as homage to the dedicatee (Op. 59). Ultimately, the study of these drafts suggests a less “austere” reading of Beethoven’s late style. It sees the composer as anything but alienated or out of touch, but rather eager to “fix what’s broken,” to re-establish contact—as much personal as universal—with the roots of the Wiener Klassik.

“Windows into Beethoven’s Lessons in Bonn: Kirnberger’s Grundsätze (1773) and Vogler’s Gründe der Kurfürstlichen Tonschule (1776)”
Thomas Posen, McGill University

Beethoven’s lessons in Vienna with Haydn and Albrechtsberger are well studied (e.g., Diergarten and Holtmeier 2011; Ronge 2011; 2013), but his early music education in Bonn is less well known. In this paper, I investigate what Beethoven would have learned from studying two music treatises in Bonn, which Gustav Nottebohm (1873) connected to Beethoven’s early Bonn manuscripts: Kirnberger’s Die wahren Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie (1773, henceforth Grundsätze) and Vogler’s Gründe der Kurfürstlichen Tonschule in Beyspielen (1776, henceforth Beyspielen).

Vogler’s Beyspielen, originally developed for his students in Mannheim after his sojourn in Italy, would have been an ideal source for Beethoven’s early lessons due to its highly compact and pragmatic orientation. At only 30 pages long with no explanatory text, Vogler’s book functions like a highly organized Zibaldoni (see Sanguinetti 2012)—a collection of tightly packed musical examples that Vogler would have collected in his training with Padre Martini and Francesco Antonio Valloti. In many respects, Vogler’s book synthesizes the northern Italian, Rameau-influenced partimento
tradition: Beethoven would have practiced scales in every key, diminution patterns, the rule of the octave with fundamental bass notated, sequences, solfeggio patterns, cadential embellishments, and more.

Kirnberger’s *Grundsätze*, a text ghostwritten by Johann Schulz, would have been another excellent source for Beethoven to study in Bonn. As David Beach (1979) observes, the *Grundsätze* condenses the harmonic theory of Kirnberger’s larger *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes* (Part 1, 1776), but it differs in two important ways. First, Rameau’s influence is more evident in the *Grundsätze*, both in the chapters on harmonic progression and harmonic analysis, and second, the treatise develops a more comprehensive theory of what is today called harmonic prolongation.

When Beethoven left for Vienna, he had already composed praised works, including a piano concerto and three quartets for piano and strings (Solomon 1972). As scholars rediscover Bonn’s rich musical life (Reisinger et al. 2018; Wilson 2020), the time is ripe to reinvestigate Nottebohm’s findings in Beethoven’s Bonn manuscripts. Vogler’s Beyspielen and Kirnberger’s *Grundsätze*, while less known today, offer informative windows into Beethoven’s formative music studies in Bonn.

**Keynote Address (David B. Levy, *emeritus*, Wake Forest University, chair)**

“Listening to Beethoven in the Wake of Kant”

Mark Evan Bonds, Cary C. Boshamer Distinguished Professor, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

In his 1790 *Critique of Judgment*, Immanuel Kant famously declared instrumental music to be “more pleasure than culture,” and in this respect he was thoroughly typical of his time. Twenty years later, in his review of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, E. T. A. Hoffmann articulated the new thinking of his time in pronouncing instrumental music to be the “most romantic of all the arts” and thus the one most readily capable of providing a glimpse into the “marvelous spirit-realm of the infinite.” Scholars have routinely used these two pronouncements as coordinates by which to trace the changing status of instrumental music in the decades around 1800. But these positions also reflect a radical change in listening practices during this period, from one that conceived of music as an experience to one that conceived of it as an object to be understood. The model of oratory, based on persuasion, gave way in remarkably short order to the model of poetry, based on reflection and judgment. Kant’s ambivalence about instrumental music’s place in the pantheon of the fine arts, moreover, exposes the ease with which his broader ideas about beauty and judgment could be (and were) applied to instrumental music by the generation of philosophers and critics wrestling with these issues in the years between 1790 and 1810. By examining that discourse in light of changing listening practices, as manifested in the contemporaneous reception of Beethoven’s music, we can better understand why and how this transformation in the aesthetics of instrumental music could take hold so firmly over such a short span of time.

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