Stephen Hinton, Editor-in-Chief

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José Bowen & Richard Will, Reviews Editors

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NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

Beethoven Forum, a journal devoted to the work, life, and milieu of Ludwig van Beethoven, is published semiannually by the University of Illinois Press.

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

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Editor's Note

Beginning with the next issue (volume 13/1), *Beethoven Forum* will have a new team of editors: Nicholas Marston will become Editor-in-Chief, and Stephen Rumph will share duties with José Bowen as Reviews Editor. Welcome, Nick and Stephen!

Since moving to the University of Illinois Press in 2001, *Beethoven Forum* has appeared in a new format as a semiannual journal. One of the aims has been to expand the scope of reviews to include recordings and multimedia formats as well as books that do not deal exclusively with Beethoven. I should like to thank Richard Will and José Bowen who as members of the current editorial team have done so much to make these changes a reality. Any such innovations we hoped to introduce could not have occurred, of course, without the complicity of Beethoven scholars both in the USA and abroad. They have submitted a wealth of diverse material for publication that has connected Beethoven's music with, for example, "film," "Mahler," and "freedom." If there is "a common theme" within such diversity, it is the tendency of Beethovenian critics, as Scott Burnham observes in the "Beethoven" entry of the revised *New Grove,* to argue "against the persistent notion of Beethoven's music as a timeless aesthetic force, agreeing instead that it performs specific cultural work." "Just what that work is," Burnham concludes, "remains a source of fruitful and lively contention." May *Beethoven Forum* remain just that!

The current issue is no doubt symptomatic of this tendency. The opening essay, by Stephen Rumph, joins a debate that has long engaged Beethoven scholarship: how to define the so-called heroic style? Following the exploration of the "late period" in his book *Beethoven after Napoleon* (reviewed elsewhere in this issue by Michael Tusa), Rumph's approach here involves revisiting the discourse about expression versus representation (in Beethoven's terms, "Ausdruck" and "Mahlerey"). The chief points of reference are Lessing and Herder but also, in particular, Etienne Bonnot de Condillac. "We may justly claim," Rumph asserts, "that [the] heroic style, at the deepest level, articulates the intellectual program of the French Revolution." In drawing on the contemporaneous philosophy of "sensualism," he challenges the ubiquitous (but also somewhat anachronistic) invocation of Hegelian metaphysics to define the philosophical underpinnings of Beethoven's music. By a fortuitous circumstance that enriches the debate still more, Rumph's essay can be read as a response to Tusa's review of his book.

Unwitting connections further suggest themselves in Frank Samarotto's essay with his reference to Beethoven's definition of text setting (at least as relayed by Bettina Brentano von Arnim) as the "sensuous life of poetry." Samarotto is concerned with "complexes of rhythmic and metric events, allied with tonal elements,

that could be characterized as dramatic." It is a *musical* drama, he argues, one that runs parallel to (as opposed to entirely congruent with) the content of the poetry. Hence the concept of "multiple voices."

The matter of musical style as "cultural work" also appears in two of the other reviews. In his discussion of Maynard Solomon's *Late Beethoven,* David Levy questions the "conviction that the palpable shift of musical style in Beethoven's post-1814 works is accompanied by a parallel or analogous fundamental philosophical change in Beethoven's *Weltanschauung.*" And Richard Leppert, reviewing Michael P. Steinberg's *Listening to Reason,* addresses the author's "analysis of Beethoven's aesthetic as an aesthetic of abstraction," thereby inviting comparison to Rumph's "sensualist" critique. More than the sum of its various parts, this issue, although not expressly designed as such, presents itself as a lively and fruitfully contentious *Forum*.

Thanks are due to Don Anthony of the Center for Computer Assisted Research in the Humanities at Stanford University (CCARH) for setting the music examples in the opening essay.

Stephen Hinton

Abbreviations

	Literature
Anderson	Emily Anderson, ed., *The Letters of Beethoven,* 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1961; rpt. New York: Norton, 1985).
Brandenburg	Sieghard Brandenburg, ed., *Ludwig van Beethoven: Briefwechsel: Gesamtausgabe,* Beethovenhaus edn., 8 vols. (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1996–)
BS I, BS II, BS III	*Beethoven Studies,* ed. Alan Tyson, vol. 1 (New York: Norton, 1973); vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982)
CB	Karl-Heinz Köhler, Grita Herre, and Dagmar Beck, eds., *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte* [= Conversation Books], vols. 1–9 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1968–88), vols. 10–11 (1993, 2001)
JTW	Douglas Johnson, Alan Tyson, and Robert Winter, *The Beethoven Sketchbooks: History, Reconstruction, Inventory,* ed. Douglas Johnson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985)
Kerman, *Quartets*	Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York: Norton, 1967)
Kinsky-Halm	Georg Kinsky, *Das Werk Beethovens: Thematisch-bibliographisches Verzeichnis seiner sämtlichen vollendeten Kompositionen,* completed and ed. Hans Halm (Munich and Duisburg: G. Henle, 1955)
MGG	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik,* ed. Friedrich Blume, 17 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–86; rev. 2nd edn. Ludwig Finscher, 1994–2000)
N I	Gustav Nottebohm, *Beethoveniana* (Leipzig and Winterthur: J. Rieter-Biedermann, 1872)

N II	Gustav Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana: Nachgelassene Aufsätze* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1887)
N 1865	Gustav Nottebohm, *Ein Skizzenbuch von Beethoven* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1865); Eng. trans. in *Two Beethoven Sketchbooks* (London: Gollancz, 1979), pp. 3–43
N 1880	Gustav Nottebohm, *Ein Skizzenbuch von Beethoven aus dem Jahre 1803* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1880), Eng. trans. in *Two Beethoven Sketchbooks* (London: Gollancz, 1979), pp. 47–125
New Grove	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980; 2nd edn. New York: Grove, 2001)
Schindler (1840)	Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1840); Eng. trans. as *The Life of Beethoven,* ed. I. Moscheles, 2 vols. (London: H. Colburn, 1841)
Schindler (1860)	Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven,* 2 vols. (3rd edn., Münster: Aschendorff, 1860)
Schindler-MacArdle	Anton Schindler, *Beethoven as I Knew Him,* ed. Donald W. MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (London: Faber; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966)
Solomon, *Beethoven*	Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer, 1977; 2nd edn. New York: Schirmer, 1998)
Solomon, *Essays*	Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988)
TDR I–V	Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Ludwig van Beethovens Leben,* vol. I (rev.) continued by Hermann Deiters (Berlin: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1901); vols. IV–V completed by Hugo Riemann (Leipzig, 1907, 1908), vols. II–III rev. Riemann (Leipzig, 1910, 1911), Deiters's 1901 edn. of vol. I rev. Riemann (Leipzig, 1917); vols. II–V re-issued (Leipzig, 1922–23)
Thayer I, II, III	Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Ludwig van Beethovens Leben,* 3 vols. (Berlin: F. Schneider, 1866, 1872, 1879)
Thayer-Forbes	*Thayer's Life of Beethoven,* rev. and ed. Elliot Forbes, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964)
Thayer, *Verzeichniss*	Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Chronologisches Verzeichniss der Werke Ludwig van Beethovens* (Berlin: F. Schneider, 1865)
Wegeler-Ries	Franz Gerhard Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Coblenz: K. Baedeker, 1838), suppl. Wegeler (Coblenz, 1845)

Journals

Acta	*Acta Musicologica*
AmZ	*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*
BJ	*Beethoven-Jahrbuch* (1908–1909) and *Beethoven-Jahrbuch, Zweite Reihe* (1953–)
JAMS	*Journal of the American Musicological Society*
JM	*The Journal of Musicology*
ML	*Music & Letters*
MQ	*Musical Quarterly*
NBJ	*Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch*
19CM	*19th-Century Music*

Libraries

BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
GDM	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna
SBK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

Presses and Publishers
(for citations in footnotes)

BH	Beethovenhaus
Cambridge UP	Cambridge University Press
Harvard UP	Harvard University Press
Oxford UP	Oxford University Press
Princeton UP	Princeton University Press
U Nebraska P	University of Nebraska Press
U California P	University of California Press
U Chicago P	University of Chicago Press
Yale UP	Yale University Press

Beethoven and the Ut Pictura Poësis *Tradition*

Stephen Rumph

Apparently, musicology is not the only discipline digging itself out from under German scholarship. Two decades ago a prominent scholar of the eighteenth century entered the following complaint:

> We have been victims of a scholarly tradition that was created . . . by the nineteenth century. Our odd periodization stems from it; the eighteenth-century expert goes home at midnight at the end of the century before another expert takes over the next morning with a new mindset stocked with scholarly constructions about German romanticism and the fantasies of nineteenth-century academia. Our chief problem with the eighteenth century is still the nineteenth century.[1]

The writer is Hans Aarsleff, *éminence grise* of the history of linguistics. Aarsleff has championed the "sensualist" school, represented above all by Etienne Bonnot de Condillac. Long dismissed as mechanistic empiricism, the sensualist tradition has begun to regain enthusiasts, thanks to Aarsleff and a growing community of historians. As the dominant European philosophy during the last decades of the eighteenth century, it should interest Beethoven scholars as well.

Historians of music and linguistics can make common cause over Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony, particularly his well-known inscription, "Mehr Ausdruck der Empfindungen als Mahlerey." These words have provoked much pious speculation

1. Hans Aarsleff, "Wordsworth, Language, and Romanticism," in *From Locke to Saussure: Essays on the Study of Language and Intellectual History* (Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 1982), p. 381.

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about absolute music and the transcendence of program music from critics writing in the wake of Hegel and the German Romantics. Richard Will has helped dispel such anachronisms, tracing Beethoven's remark to an Enlightenment controversy over musical painting, freshly stoked by Haydn's *Creation* and *Seasons*. The distinction between painting and expression, Will pointed out, appeals to "an older, mimetic conception of meaning," which entrusted music with representing emotional and moral states.[2] One writer who escaped Will's attention is Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose *Essai sur l'origine des langues* strikingly anticipates Beethoven's caveat: "The field of music is time; that of painting is space. . . . The musician's art consists of substituting for the imperceptible image of the object that of the movements that its presence excites in the heart of the contemplator. . . . It does not represent these things directly, but will awaken the same feelings in the soul that are experienced in seeing them."[3] As this passage attests, the debate over painting and expression belonged within a long aesthetic debate. Behind Beethoven's remark looms nearly a century of controversy, involving many literary notables of the eighteenth century.

Both Rousseau and Beethoven, I shall argue, joined the debate over *ut pictura poësis,* the doctrine that poetry should imitate painting. Horace's maxim became a *cause célèbre* for linguists and critics during the Enlightenment, sparking a debate that reached beyond poetics to challenge axioms of philosophy, religion, and even politics. If, as James Webster has demonstrated, Beethoven's heroic style traces roots deep into the eighteenth century, the aesthetic impulse behind that style boasts an even longer lineage.[4] The sensualist tradition offers a new context for Beethoven's heroic aesthetic, more persuasive perhaps than the prevailing Hegelian readings. More specifically, I shall argue that Beethoven's revolutionary conception of *time* and *processual form* emerges from a central strand of Enlightenment aesthetics.

Hegelian Variations

We begin at the end of the Pastoral. The finale coda closes contemplatively, as a *sotto voce* chorale suddenly materializes (mm.237–48). This brief period, like the

2. Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), p.150; see also pp.129–55.

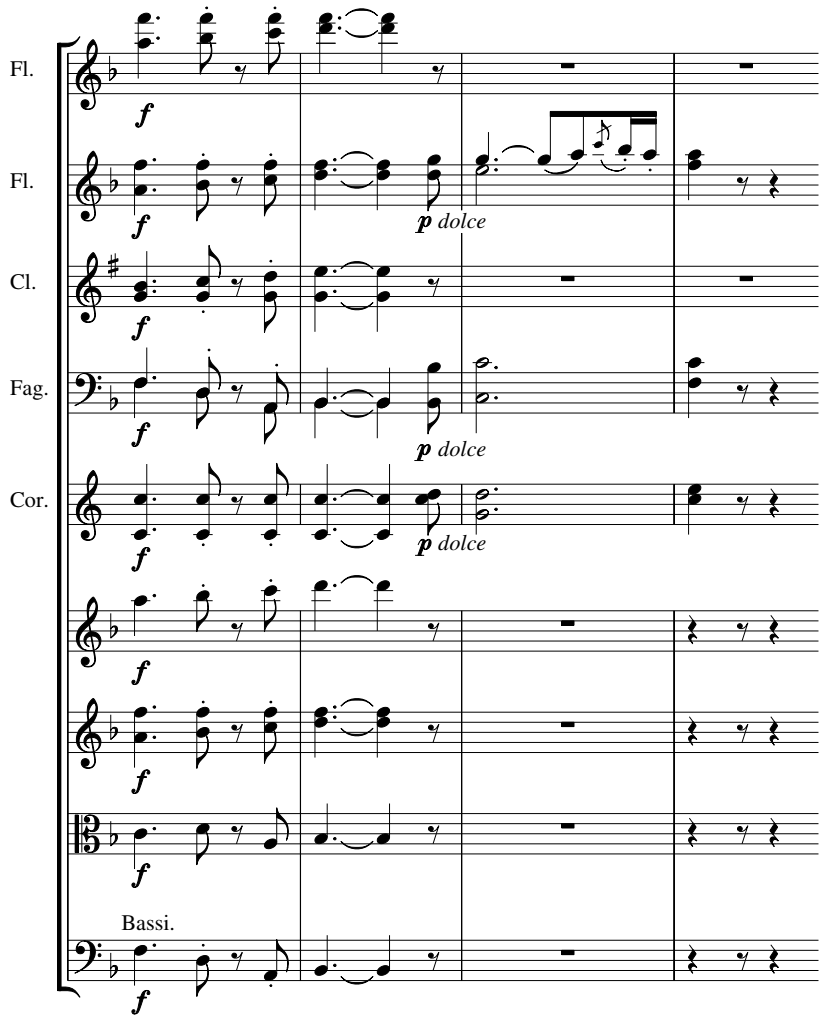
3. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *"Essay on the Origin of Languages" and Writings Related to Music: The Collected Writings of Rousseau,* vol.7, ed. and trans. John T. Scott (Hanover: UP of New England), pp.325, 327.

4. See James Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in his Instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991).

Example 1: Beethoven, Pastoral Symphony, movt. V, mm. 237–47.

principal theme of the finale, derives from the initial *ranz des vaches*. And, like the principal theme, the new melody transforms the rustic tune into a hymn, in accordance with Beethoven's characterization of the movement as a "Shepherd's hymn" (*Hirtengesang*) expressing "glad and thankful feelings after the storm" (*frohe und dankbare Gefühle nach dem Sturm*) (ex. 1).[5]

5. Will discusses the religious connotations of the finale, and Beethoven's various inscriptions, in *The Characteristic Symphony,* pp. 177–84.



The new chorale places a striking emphasis on the sixth degree, D. The chorale's ascending melody traces a line from f^1 to d^2. Beethoven marks the arrival at d^2 with a *subito piano,* then reiterates the gesture, *forte,* with the full orchestra. As Tilden Russell has observed, this hexachordal scale, together with the emphasis on the sixth scale degree, colors every movement of the symphony. It informs the opening motive of the first movement; the accompaniment figure that opens the *Scene am Bach,* as well as the nightingale's song; the trio of the scherzo; the "storm" motive and its transformation into the "rainbow-chorale" before the finale; and both the new chorale in the finale coda and the cadential motive that follows (mm. 260–63). Russell heard this modal flavor both as "an appropriate musical symbol for country

folk and their closeness to nature," and as a source of heroic teleology equivalent to the more overt motivic development of the Fifth Symphony.[6]

The final chorale also distills a harmonic flavor that has pervaded the symphony. Each phrase peaks on a subdominant chord, II$^{6}_{5}$ and IV, respectively. As Philip Gossett has noted, Beethoven foregrounds this harmony in the first movement—at the end of the secondary theme group, the beginning of the development and coda, and, most strikingly, in the retransition.[7] Other salient examples include the emphatic run from B♭ to F that ends the first movement; the trio of the scherzo; and the "development" of the finale (mm. 80–98). The tranquil, pious tone of the IV chord colors the symphony.

The Pastoral finale thus exemplifies a familiar aspect of Beethoven's heroic dramaturgy. The "new" chorale actually crystallizes features scattered throughout the preceding movements. Planted at the end of the work, the passage seems to emerge organically, as the inevitable goal of the entire work. Lewis Lockwood has traced the same strategy in the Quartet in F, op. 59, no. 1: "Beethoven's compositional blueprint called for the use of finale material as the primary invariant of the entire work—the starting point against which the other movements were developed and shaped."[8] Lockwood has also shown how Beethoven's initial work on the *Eroica* finale influenced the shape of the first movement.[9] Maynard Solomon traced a similar design in the Ninth Symphony, whose early movements seem to forecast the D-major "Freude" theme.[10] In the Fifth Symphony, companion work to the Pastoral, Beethoven most overtly forecast the finale, scattering flashes of C major throughout the first three movements.

This strategy epitomizes the teleological impulse that Carl Dahlhaus identified as Beethoven's "new path" of 1802. In his celebrated analysis of the "Tempest" Sonata, Dahlhaus showed how Beethoven dissolved themes into a configuration of fluid elements, whose paradoxical relation to the form creates a restless dialectic. This new treatment of theme resulted in a "radically processual character of the

6. Tilden Russell, "Unification in the Sixth Symphony: The Pastoral Mode," *Beethoven Forum* 10 (2003), 15 [1–17].

7. Philip Gossett, "Beethoven's Sixth Symphony: Sketches for the First Movement," JAMS 27 (1974), 253.

8. Lewis Lockwood, "Process versus Limits: A View of the Quartet in F Major, Op. 59, No. 1," in *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1992), p. 199.

9. Lockwood, "The Earliest Sketches for the *Eroica* Symphony," in *Studies in the Creative Process,* pp. 134–50.

10. Maynard Solomon, "The Ninth Symphony: A Search for Order," in *Essays,* pp. 13–18.

musical form, the dissolution of the traditional concept of form, the functional ambiguity of the formal sections."[11] Dahlhaus ascribed Beethoven's innovations to a dialectical moment in musical history. The composer was seeking

> to mediate between an esoteric tradition—that of an art form intended for a private circle of connoisseurs—and a new function: that of music to be played at public concerts. . . . The mediation was not effected by compromise, but by a dialectics in which the means signaling the turn towards a larger public were simultaneously subjected to a structural idea possessing a sophistication that went beyond even the traditional degree of differentiation.[12]

This account obviously owes much to Theodor W. Adorno's critique of the culture industry. Dahlhaus thus detected an ideological resistance in the novel form of the Piano Variations, op. 35: "By restructuring a successional form as a developmental form, Beethoven made an aesthetic claim on behalf of variation form which should be understood as opposition to a commercially rooted debasement."[13]

This explanation apparently impressed Walter Salmen, who waxed dithyrambic over the folk-song finale of op. 59, no. 1, with its dialectic of "the simple and the complicated, the preformed and the singular, of nature and art, the strange and familiar, mimesis and rationality."[14] Dahlhaus's dialectical interpretation received a boost from Janet Schmalfeldt, who provided a careful exegesis of the "Beethoven-Hegelian" trope in reception history.[15] In the same year, Scott Burnham set forth his celebrated study of the heroic style, claiming that Beethoven "merge[d] the Goethean enactment of becoming with the Hegelian narration of consciousness."[16] Meanwhile, the booming Adorno industry has continued to yoke Beethoven and Hegel.[17]

11. Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to His Music,* trans. Mary Whittall (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1991), p. 176.

12. Ibid., p. 179.

13. Ibid.

14. Walter Salmen, "3 Streichquartette F-Dur, c-Moll und C-Dur 'Rasumowsky'-Quartette Op. 59," in *Beethoven: Interpretationen seiner Werke,* ed. Albrecht Riethmüller, Carl Dahlhaus, Alexander L. Ringer (Laaber: Laaber, 1994), p. 433.

15. Janet Schmalfeldt, "Form as the Process of Becoming: The Beethoven-Hegelian Tradition and the 'Tempest' Sonata," *Beethoven Forum* 4 (1995), 37–71.

16. Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995), p. 144.

17. See, for instance, Daniel K. L. Chua, *The "Galitzin" Quartets of Beethoven: Opp. 127, 132, 130* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995); Edmund Jephcott's translation of Adorno, *Beethoven: The Philosophy of Music: Fragments and Texts,* ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998); and Michael Spitzer, *Music as Philosophy: Beethoven's Late Style* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, forthcoming).

These critics apparently have felt no qualms about connecting Hegelian idealism with a composer steeped in the Josephinian Enlightenment. Nor do they seem deterred by the fact that Hegel published nothing before 1801, and only emerged from provincial obscurity with his 1807 *Phänomenologie des Geistes*. Chronological license reaches an apogee with David B. Greene, who heard Hegel in the Viennese sonata form of the 1780s, and a dialectic between Schopenhauer and Heidegger in op. 59, no. 1.[18] Now, if the traces of unwritten German philosophy are present in Beethoven's heroic style, it stands to reason that other, actually existing traditions might also be found. While critics have understandably wanted to range Beethoven alongside the titans of Weimar and Jena, scant evidence justifies his place in the North German pantheon.

Against these vague connections towers the huge, irrefutable impact of Revolutionary France. Beethoven was a teenaged Rhinelander in 1789, rubbing shoulders with Illuminati and Jacobins in a major hub of *Aufklärung*. His imperial cantatas of 1790 are pure Voltaire, damning fanaticism and praising wise princes. From 1798 onward he enjoyed unbroken contact with French ideas and music, thanks to Bernadotte, Kreutzer, and the sensational operas of Cherubini, Méhul, and Gaveaux. Beethoven's pen recorded these new influences not only in *Leonore* and his various *marches funêbres,* but in the monumental ethos of all his heroic works. A mere glance at the *Eroica,* whose slow movement and finale derive, respectively, from a French Revolutionary march and an Italian ballet, should prompt us to a more cosmopolitan vision. Let us turn to the *ut pictura poësis* tradition and consider an alternative source for Beethoven's "new path."

The Neoclassical Background

For seventeenth-century neoclassicism, the allure of painting lay in its timeless form. Charles Perrault praised painting in *Parallèle des anciens et modernes* (1688–97) as "a mute poem, where the unity of place, time and action must be observed even more religiously than in an actual poem, because the place is immutable, the time indivisible, and the action instantaneous."[19] John Dryden, in his influential "Parallel betwixt Poetry and Painting" (1695), remarked similarly: "I must say this

18. David B. Greene, *Temporal Processes in Beethoven's Music* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1982), pp. 17–27, 94–97.

19. Charles Perrault, *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences* (Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1688–97), p. 223; facs. in *Theorie und Geschichte der Literatur und der Schönen Künste: Texte und Abhandlung,* vol. 2 (Munich: Eidos, 1964), p. 156.

to the advantage of *Painting,* even above *Tragedy,* that what this last represents in the space of many Hours, the former shows us in one Moment."[20] Both authors began from a Christian-Platonic conception of beauty as the rational perfection of fallen nature, what Charles Batteux would call *la belle nature*. Painting, through its spatial mode of representation, approximated the ideal of timeless form more closely than poetry, whose signs unfolded temporally.

Bernard Lamy gave the painterly metaphor a specifically Cartesian bent in his *De l'art de parler* (1675), the most important rhetorical treatise of the age: "Because words are the signs that represent the things that occur in our spirits, one might say that they are like a painting of our thoughts, that language is the brush that traces that painting, and that the words in which the discourse is composed are its colors."[21] According to Lamy, language incarnated the timeless ideas of reason; sound and meaning were thus the "body" and "soul" of words.[22] As with Perrault and Dryden, the specific form of the sign mattered less than its symbolic value. The corporeal signs of both painting and poetry pointed toward the same supersensory realm. Jean Hagstrum summarized this Baroque unity of the arts: "The form of expression—color, line, word—was therefore necessarily less important than its meaning or the experience to which it could lead."[23]

The "sister arts" entered a new era with the Abbé Du Bos's *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture* (1719). Horace's motto heads the treatise, but Du Bos's hedonistic theory of art deviates fundamentally from neoclassical rationalism. Du Bos also ranked painting above poetry, but for entirely different reasons: "The first is that painting works upon us by means of the sense of sight. The second is that painting does not employ artificial signs, as does poetry, but rather natural signs."[24] Du Bos thus shifted focus from reason to sensation, from metaphysical idea to physical sign. Behind this new emphasis on vision, sensation, and signs looms John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689), which had revolutionized both language theory and poetics.

20. John Dryden, preface to *De arte graphica, The Works of John Dryden,* vol. 20, ed. A. E. Wallace Mauer (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U California P, 1989), p. 54.

21. Bernard Lamy, *La rhétorique ou l'art de parler,* ed. Benoît Timmermans (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998), p. 35.

22. On Lamy's Cartesian orientation, see Ulrich Ricken, *Linguistics, Anthropology and Philosophy in the French Enlightenment: Language Theory and Ideology,* trans. Robert E. Norton (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 38–43.

23. Jean H. Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of English Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray* (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1958), p. 101.

24. Abbé Du Bos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture* (Paris: Chez Pissot, 1730; rpt. Genève-Paris: Slatkine, 1982), [I/413] 110.

Locke denied innate ideas, whether Christian, Platonic, or Cartesian. All knowledge originated in the senses, for "to ask *at what time a man has first any* ideas is to ask when he begins to perceive."[25] Language, therefore, does not paint our ideas. On the contrary, sensation daubs its fleeting impressions upon the blank canvas of our mind: "*The pictures drawn in our minds are laid in fading colours,* and if not sometimes refreshed, vanish and disappear."[26] Rather than symbolize a metaphysical realm, language should paint the empirical data of the senses.

Vision commands a new importance in Locke's empiricism. As the most powerful sense, sight could best free minds from metaphysical prejudice, guaranteeing direct access to reality. Locke pitted sensual vision against the rational word, opposing the "light of nature" to the "voice of revelation."[27] In Locke's ideal dictionary, words would be defined by pictures, rather than by other words. Such a lexicon, he claimed, would "teach the true signification of many terms, especially in languages of remote countries or ages, and settle truer ideas in men's minds."[28]

Du Bos adopted both Locke's photocentrism and his mistrust of words. "Sight," claimed the French writer, "has a greater empire in our soul than the other senses. . . . One may say, metaphorically speaking, that the eye is closer to the soul than the ear."[29] Du Bos revived the ancient notion of *enargeia,* the power of words to paint pictures in the imagination: "Words must first awaken the ideas of which they are but arbitrary signs. It is then necessary that the ideas take shape in our imagination and that they form the tableaux that touch us and the paintings that interest us."[30] This visual bias dominates the *ut pictura poësis* debate in the early eighteenth century, as in Joseph Addison's essays on the "Pleasures of the Imagination" (*The Spectator,* 1712): "Our sight is the most perfect and most delightful of all our Senses. It fills the Mind with the largest Variety of Ideas, converses with its Objects at the greatest Distance, and continues the longest in Action without being tired or satiated with its proper Enjoyments."[31]

Yet despite the new emphasis on sensation and pleasure, Du Bos's *Réflexions critiques* never escape the static frame of neoclassicism. Du Bos retained the ideal of a timeless, universal aesthetic. He did not ask how language or art might evolve

25. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* ed. John W. Yolton (London: David Campbell, 1961), p.48.

26. Ibid., p.85.

27. Ibid., p.193.

28. Ibid., p.288.

29. Du Bos, *Réflexions critiques,* p.111.

30. Ibid., I/40/p.416.

31. Joseph Addison, Richard Steele et al., *The Spectator,* vol.3, ed. Gregory Smith (London: J. M. Dent, 1958), p.276.

historically, or how the inferior realms of sense and emotion might impinge upon reason. Most crucially, Du Bos still conceived of semiotics in purely representational terms, ignoring the dynamic role signs might play in cognition. Du Bos's ambivalent sensualism goes back to Locke himself, who maintained the dualistic separation between mental ideas and physical signs. Vision still pointed away from temporal experience, toward the immaterial realm of ideas.

Condillac's Revolution

Etienne Bonnot de Condillac encouraged precisely the opposite approach in a writing exercise he prepared for the Prince of Parma. Condillac would lead his young pupil to a closed window, open the shutters briefly, then have him write an analysis of the scene he had glimpsed. In this way the Prince would learn to submit a visual tableau to the successive form of verbal discourse.[32] This exercise epitomizes the new understanding of space, time, and signs that emerged in the middle of the eighteenth century, and that effectively demolished the *ut pictura poësis* doctrine. The new theory originated, above all, in Condillac's revolutionary theory of cognition.

In 1746 Condillac published his *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines,* the most influential linguistic treatise of the century.[33] He sought explicitly to abolish the residual dualism of Locke's *Essay,* namely, the separation of sensation and reflection. The Frenchman proposed the radical doctrine of *sensation transformée,* according to which not only perception but abstract thought itself originated in sensation. Condillac's guiding principle was the *liaison des idées,* or connection of ideas. Cognition, he claimed, began with *attention,* the isolation of some stimulus from the perceptual field. The crucial next step, *memory,* allowed the mind to hold together past and present sensations. Memory, triggered by physical need, permitted *comparison* between past and present states, leading to *judgment, reflection, imagination, reasoning* and, finally, *desire* and *will*.[34] The *liaison des idées* runs continuously from sense to reason, replacing Cartesian dualism with a purely physical mechanism.

32. See Aarsleff, *From Locke to Saussure,* p.30. Condillac began his *Logique, ou L'art de penser* with the same exercise.

33. For a survey of Condillac's influence, see Aarsleff, *From Locke to Saussure,* pp.146–209 and 335–55; Lia Formigari, *Signs, Science and Politics: Philosophies of Language in Europe 1700–1830,* trans. William Dodd (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1993), pp.113–47; Claudio Marazzini, *Storia e coscienza della lingua in Italia dall'umanesimo al romanticismo* (Torino: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1989), esp. pp.225–31; and Walter Moser, "Jean-Georges Sulzer, continuateur de la pensée sensualiste dans l'Académie de Berlin," *Modern Language Notes* 84 (1969), 931–41.

34. Condillac summarizes these steps in the introduction to the *Cours d'études, Œuvres philosophiques,* I, 412–15.

Signs form the links in this chain. Condillac distinguished three types of signs: *signes accidentels,* "the objects that some particular circumstances have connected with some of our ideas"; *signes naturels,* "the cries that nature has established for the sentiments of joy, fear, pain, etc."; and *signes institués,* "those that we have ourselves chosen and that have only an arbitrary relation to our ideas."[35] Signs allow humans to access memory and to draw comparisons between present and absent sensations. They not only give humans control over their physical environment, but also facilitate the growth of abstract reflection. Eventually, a fully rational, algebraic language of arbitrary signs would allow humans to "compose and decompose" received opinions, replacing metaphysical superstition with scientific knowledge. As Condillac exhorted the reader of his *Traité des systêmes* (1749), "Do you want to learn the sciences easily? Begin by learning your language."[36]

Condillac's evolutionary model of language led him to conclude that primitive speech resembled poetry. The poetic origins of language became a commonplace of primitivist aesthetics during the 1760s, obscuring the radical claims of Condillac's theory. He turned traditional rhetoric on its head, reversing the Five Canons. Eloquence now originates in passionate cries and gestures (*pronunciatio*); enters cognition through memory (*memoria*); gives rise to poetic language (*elocutio*); gradually takes on connection and order (*dispositio*); and, finally, leads to rational thought (*inventio*). This is nothing less than a materialist revolution in language. Condillac has abolished metaphysics, placing language at the service of human progress.

Condillac's dynamic sign theory suggests obvious correlations with changes in musical style. The discursive elaboration of affective figures (*Fortspinnung*) was giving way to a dialectical process of musical development, based upon contrast and opposition. The new binary forms discouraged the static expression of fixed affects, favoring a more fluid, emergent conception of meaning. Dramatic action, banished from the stage by the neoclassical Arcadian reformers, was steadily infiltrating the set numbers of *opera seria*.[37]

For the music historian, Condillac's most suggestive concept is the *langage d'action*. Condillac posited a primitive sign language that developed alongside verbal language. Gestures supplemented inarticulate cries, helping early humans to institute symbolic language: "They articulated new sounds, and by repeating them many times to the accompaniment of some gesture that indicated the objects to

35. Ibid., p. 37.

36. Ibid., p. 153.

37. For the influence of French neoclassicism on the Arcadian reformers, see Reinhard Strohm, *Dramma per Musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997), pp. 121–98; and Melania Bucciarelli, *Italian Opera and European Theatre, 1680–1720: Plots, Performers, Dramaturgies* (Brepols: Turnhout, 2000), pp. 1–31.

which they wished to draw attention, they became accustomed to giving names to things" (*Essai,* p. 116). As language cooled and grew more abstract, the *langage d'action* gradually disappeared. The hot-blooded southern nations preserved more action in their speech; Condillac thus ascribed the simplicity of Italian recitative, compared with the French, to the more vigorous gesticulation of Mediterranean performers.

Condillac's emphasis on gesture has clear parallels in contemporary musical style. Rousseau's *Le devin du village* drew heavily upon pantomime (inspired largely by his reading of Condillac), and Gluck's reform operas are unimaginable without the *ballet d'action* established by Jean-Georges Noverre and Gasparo Angiolini. Rousseau's experiments with *mélodrame* survive thanks chiefly to Beethoven's *Fidelio,* yet they crystallized a new conception of musical expression. Thrasyboulos Georgiades pinpointed this change in Pergolesi's *La serva padrona:* "The music is not so much concerned with mirroring an affect or even a change of affect. What the composer sets to music is the situation, the action, the events on the stage, the incidents taking place before our eyes, in our presence, here and now."[38] The famous accounts of audiences lifted out of their seats by the Mannheim crescendo, or the references to the "torrential" style of the symphony, attest to this new physicality.[39] It is Beethoven, of course, who most powerfully inscribed the body in music, evoking that "almost coercive immediacy" that Burnham traced in the heroic style.[40]

The *langage d'action* suggests a more specific analogy with galant periodicity. By midcentury, progressive music had shed the irregular phrasing of the Baroque in favor of a hypotactic binary structure. This balanced syntax derived directly from the symmetries of French courtly dance—that is, from bodily movement. Like Condillac's *liaison des idées,* periodicity permitted a fluid circulation of signs, allowing composers to unite the most disparate ideas within the same period or phrase. And, as in Condillac's cognitive theory, these binary oppositions operate at every structural level, growing increasingly abstract as they ascend from the phrase to the level of the overall form.

Indeed, galant periodicity amounts to a revolution in musical syntax, analogous to Condillac's cognitive revolution. In a nutshell, musical syntax has shifted from

38. Thrasyboulos Georgiades, *Music and Language: The Rise of Western Music as Exemplified in Settings of the Mass,* trans. Marie Louise Göllner (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982), p.84.

39. See Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven,* pp.72–76; and Mark Evan Bonds, "The Symphony as Pindaric Ode," in *Haydn and His World,* ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997), pp.139–41.

40. Burnham, *Beethoven Hero,* p.31.

the voice to the body. Early eighteenth-century music, guided by the metaphor of rhetoric, had taken shape in the interaction of voices—whether in the contest of ripieno and concertino, the intimate friction of trio sonata, or the balance of subjects in fugue. The galant style absorbs these textural contrasts into the phrase structure itself, balancing oppositions rhythmically. Voice-source no longer matters, for dialogue is built into the "question-answer" structure of the period itself.

Time plays a new role in this kinesthetic syntax. As in Condillac's theory of cognition, every step depends upon the comparison of present and remembered sensations. Galant periodicity demands that listeners balance an absent antecedent with a present consequent. Abstract memory increasingly replaces kinesthetic impulse, as the binary oppositions recede from foreground to background—analogous to the way sensation develops into reflection in Condillac's binary mechanism. This homology between music and philosophy does not rest on some mystical *Zeitgeist*. Rather, it stems from the common metaphoric understanding that music, signs, and language all arise as transformations of physical gesture. Not surprisingly, the most characteristic topics in late-eighteenth-century music are dances or marches.[41] Both sign and syntax have migrated to the moving, gesturing body.

The *Eroica* finale realizes the revolutionary implications of this corporeal style. The variations begin with the mere skeleton of periodicity, a simple contrast of tonic and dominant in the *basso*. Beethoven rejects the traditional rhetorical process, with its synthetic path from *inventio* to *elaboratio*. Instead, as Dahlhaus showed, he works with a "thematic configuration," composing and decomposing *basso, tema,* and harmonic-metrical structure.[42] Only gradually, after several variations, does the theme emerge. This analytical process depends entirely upon the kinesthetic regularity of the dance form, the only parameter that remains constant as Beethoven fragments his material. Fittingly, the *Eroica* finale originated in a ballet whose plot explicitly dramatizes the evolution of human consciousness through music and dance.

Condillac's poetics do not end, however, with analytical decomposition. As he well knew, language lost much of its sensual immediacy as it evolved from gesture to discourse—the Prince of Parma could never capture in words the countryside he glimpsed through the shutters. Condillac situated this dialectic historically in *De l'art d'écrire* (1775), claiming that the best literature emerged in the second of three ages, after a language had evolved sufficient precision but before it had congealed into abstract logic.[43] The *Traité des systêmes* ends with a vision of the

41. See Wendy Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: "Le nozze di Figaro" and "Don Giovanni"* (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1983).

42. Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven,* pp. 171–73.

43. Condillac, *Œuvres philosophiques,* I, 604–05.

perfect equilibrium: "The imagination should furnish the philosopher with grace without taking anything away from precision, and analysis should give precision to the poet without taking away any grace."[44] Through the use of poetic inversions, tropes, and figures, language could recover its natural immediacy, reuniting painting and poetry: "Every writer should be a painter, so far as the subject that he treats permits."[45]

Art music was uniquely poised to match Condillac's balanced ideal. In his discussion of ancient Roman drama, Condillac described the birth of pantomime as an autonomous art. As he pointed out (citing Du Bos), the Romans had divided the tasks of declamation and gesticulation between two actors:

> The practice of dividing the declamation naturally led to the discovery of the art of pantomimes. All it took was for the actor who did the gestures to put so much expression into them that the role of the actor who did the narration could be dispensed with. . . . By a long process, this is how they came to imagine, as an entirely new invention, a language which had been the first that mankind spoke, or which at least differed from it only by being suitable for the expression of a much larger number of thoughts.[46]

Condillac was prophesying the course of late-eighteenth-century music. The galant style evolved in the theaters of Naples, lending a more natural, touching expression to the dramatic text. As it migrated to the concert hall, galant music left behind the singers but retained their expressive means. The symphony, string quartet, and piano sonata do not reject language *en bloc*. They merely shed the words, while refining the shared riches of music and language—gesture, inflection, prosody, and syntax. Like the Roman pantomime, the galant style combines the virtues of natural and arbitrary signs, balancing sensual immediacy with rational precision. Had Condillac lived beyond 1780 he could have rejoiced in a music that realized his balanced ideal, more closely perhaps than language itself.

Temporalizing the Sign

Numerous mid-century authors echoed Condillac's critique of the pictorialist tradition. Edmund Burke denied words any visual *enargeia:* "Whatever power they may have on the passions, they do not derive it from any representation raised in

44. Ibid., p.205.
45. Ibid., p.560.
46. Ibid., p.135.

the mind of the things for which they stand."[47] Burke foreshadows Beethoven's caveat to the Pastoral as he prescribes the proper domain of verbal art: "In reality poetry and rhetoric do not succeed in exact description so well as painting does; their business is to affect rather by sympathy than imitation; to display rather the effect of things on the mind of the speaker, or of others, than to present a clear idea of the things themselves."[48] Denis Diderot, who arranged the publication of Condillac's *Essai,* also distinguished the static condition of painting from the temporal form of language:

> Our soul is a moving picture [*tableau mouvant*] which we seek ceaselessly to paint: we do employ time to render it faithfully; yet it exists intact and all at once: the mind does not advance step by step like discourse. . . . The formation of languages demands decomposition; but to *see* an object, *judge* it beautiful, *experience* a pleasant sensation, *desire* its possession—such is the state of the soul in a single instant.[49]

Condillac's influence shines through Diderot's satire of contemporary opera in *Le neveu de Rameau* (1762), which demonstrates the *langage d'action:*

> [Rameau's nephew] sang thirty tunes on top of each other and all mixed up. . . . taking on the walk, deportment and gestures of the different singing parts: in turn raging, pacified, imperious scornful. Here we have a young girl weeping, and he mimes all her simpering ways, there a priest, king tyrant, threatening, commanding, flying into a rage, or a slave obeying. He relents, wails, complains, laughs, never losing sight of tone, proportion, meaning of words and character of music.[50]

John Neubauer, determined to trace the "emancipation" of music from language, misconstrued this passage. The nephew's performance, he claimed, "stretches the rhetorical concept of music to its limits, where words abdicate their governing role and become arbitrary instruments of the passions."[51] Yet in Enlightenment thought,

47. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful,* ed. James Boulton (Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P, 1968), p.164.

48. Ibid., p.172.

49. Denis Diderot, "Lettres sur les sourds et müets à l'usages de ceux qui entendent et qui parlent," *Œuvres completes,* vol.4, ed. Jacques Chouillet (Paris: Hermann, 1978), p.162.

50. Denis Diderot, *Rameau's Nephew* and *D'Alembert's Dream,* trans. L. W. Tancock (Middlesex: Penguin, 1971), p.102.

51. John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1986), p.115.

words were already arbitrary signs. The nephew restores their natural motivation by reconnecting them to a gesticulating body. In fact, such erratic shifts of affect and character continually fragment late-eighteenth-century music, yet without reducing it to chaos. Rhetorical coherence has indeed broken down, as Neubauer rightly claims; but a new gestural logic has taken its place.

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing decisively shaped the *ut pictura poësis* controversy in *Laokoon, oder Über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie* (1766). The outlines of Lessing's argument are familiar. Painting and sculpture inhabit space, he explained, while poetry operates through time. The visual arts should therefore represent the single "pregnant" moment, while poetry should represent narrative sequences. Only recently has the semiotic component of *Laokoon* received full attention. As we shall see, Lessing reached conclusions that differ little from those of his acquaintance and correspondent Condillac.

Lessing based his argument upon the distinction between arbitrary and natural signs, introduced into modern aesthetics by Du Bos and elaborated by Lessing's friend, Moses Mendelssohn.[52] Like Condillac, Lessing traced an evolution from visual icons to verbal symbols. He thus ranked poetry above painting and sculpture. As David Wellbery has shown in his important study of *Laokoon,* Lessing shunned the fixity and opacity of visual signs: "Because of their material anchorage, their ineluctable thingness, the plastic arts possess an element that is other than thought, alien and therefore threatening to the free play of the imagination."[53] Like Condillac, Lessing valued the linearity of discourse, which could decompose the confused simultaneity of raw sensation. As Wellbery explained, "Through this progressive process of semiosis the spirit liberates itself from the entanglements of worldliness."[54]

Pictorialism, therefore, violates both the letter and spirit of poetry. Descriptive and allegorical poetry, like James Thomson's *The Seasons,* imprisons the restless movement of the arbitrary sign. Lessing proposed an antidote in his famous discussion of Achilles' shield:

> Homer does not paint the shield as finished and complete, but as a shield that is being made. . . . We do not see the shield, but the divine master as he is making it. He steps up to the anvil with hammer and tongs, and after he has forged the plates out of the rough, the pictures which he destines for

52. See Victor Anthony Rudowski, "The Theory of Signs in the Eighteenth Century," in *Language and the History of Thought,* ed. Nancy Struever (Rochester: U Rochester P, 1995), pp. 83–90.

53. Wellbery, *Lessing's* Laocoon: *Semiotics and Aesthetics in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge UP, 1984), p. 119.

54. Ibid., p. 161.

> the shield's ornamentation rise before our eyes out of the bronze, one after the other, beneath the finer blows of his hammer. We do not lose sight of him until all is finished.[55]

Poetry escapes stasis by representing action; it stays true to its temporal nature by representing the act of creation, not the creation itself. Likewise, when Homer describes Juno's chariot, "he shows Hebe putting it together piece by piece before our eyes."[56]

Lessing might well have been describing the *Eroica* finale. Beethoven borrowed a melody from his *Prometheus* ballet, the climactic *danza eroica* atop Mount Olympus. Yet rather than present a static tableau, Beethoven enacts the creation of the contredanse. He establishes a *basso,* builds up the contrapuntal texture voice by voice, and finally reveals his *tema.* A comparison with Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* (warranted by Beethoven himself) is revealing.[57] Where Haydn paints a static Creation, Beethoven represents the dynamic act of creation itself.

As Wellbery has shown, Lessing's poetic symbols do not merely liberate the mind from sensual immediacy, but eventually circle back to the condition of natural signs. They do this through the act of narration, which creates a simulacrum of perception itself: "The 'seeing' afforded by poetry is of an ideal sort: rather than replicating visual perception in every way, it merely replicates the structure of perception—the equivalence between the one present instant and the oneness of the object."[58] In other words, the narrative structure confers a synoptic unity upon the temporal signs of poetry, akin to the spatial form of painting. Lessing can thus pronounce true (that is, narrative) poetry a natural, pictorial sign: "A poetic picture is not necessarily something that can be converted into a material painting; but every detail, every combination of details by which the poet makes his subject so palpable to us that we become more conscious of the subject than of his words, is picturesque, is a picture."[59]

55. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry,* trans. Edward Allen McCormick (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1962), p.95; see Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Werke und Briefe,* vol. 5/2, ed. Wilfried Barner (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990), p.134.

56. *Laocoön,* p.80; *Werke und Briefe,* p.118.

57. When Haydn congratulated Beethoven on *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus,* the younger man blurted, "O, dear Papa, you are very kind; but it is far from being a *Creation!*" (Thayer-Forbes, p.273).

58. Wellbery, *Lessing's* Laocoon, p.213.

59. *Laocoön,* pp.74–75; *Werke und Briefe,* p.113.

Lessing's notion of poetic unity, in which every detail serves the perception of a single unfolding action, seems a particularly appropriate model for Beethoven's heroic style. We may contrast this paradigm with E. T. A. Hoffmann's analysis of the Fifth Symphony. Hoffmann lays out the thematic relationships in timeless simultaneity, reverting to the static model of the Baroque *Affektenlehre:* "It is particularly the inner relationship of the individual themes to one another which produces the unity that holds fast *one* feeling in the listener's sensibility."[60] Lessing's dynamic model, on the other hand, encompasses not only such pitch relationships, but also those more visceral qualities that Hoffmann omits—Beethoven's rhythmic propulsion, dramatic crescendos, pent-up tensions, and cathartic releases. In such a reading, unity resides not in some mystical *Sehnsucht,* but in the sensory experience itself.

Of course, the analogy with Lessing does not entirely fit. Unlike poetry, music makes little use of arbitrary signs and thus does not need to return to nature. According to Enlightenment writers, music uses "natural signs," which imitate speech inflections, movements of the soul, or natural sounds. Even conventional topics, like fanfares, gavottes, or learned style, are presented within the music itself; no gap exists between sign and object equivalent to the arbitrary connection of word and concept.[61] Music thus mediates between poetry and painting, as a "temporal-natural" sign system.

In fact, Lessing's concept of the natural poetic sign drew closer to music after *Laokoon*. In the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (1767), he appealed to the *langage d'action,* suggesting that theatrical gestures, "as natural signs of things, help lend truth and life to the conventional signs of the voice."[62] As he claimed in a 1769 letter to Friedrich Nicolai, in theatrical performance "words cease to be arbitrary signs and become *natural* signs of arbitrary things."[63] Lessing's quest for the natural sign led him from words back to the gesturing body. But music had already beaten him there.

The Unknown Herder

The Enlightenment debate over painting and poetry culminated in the aesthetic theory of Johann Gottfried Herder. Critics still tout Herder as the apostle of irrational intuition, and the nemesis of French sensualism. If we can scotch this

60. E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Schriften zur Musik: Nachlese,* ed. Friedrich Schnapp (Munich: Winkler-Verlag, 1963), p.50.

61. See Naomi Cumming, *The Sonic Self: Musical Subjectivity and Signification* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2000), pp.73–80.

62. *Werke und Briefe,* vol.6, ed. Klaus Bohnen (1985), p.202.

63. *Werke und Briefe,* vol.11/1, ed. Helmuth Kiesel (1987), p.610.

myth we will have taken a giant step toward understanding Beethoven. For no philosopher better represents the late Enlightenment, *Sturm-und-Drang* aesthetic in which Beethoven came of age. As a foremost critic of German idealism, Herder commands a particular interest for this study.

Herder entered the *ut pictura poësis* controversy in his early *Versuch einer Geschichte der lyrischen Dichtkunst* (1764). Primitive poetry, he claimed, "must right *from the beginning* have tended *more toward lively action than dead painting* . . . for what dead labor is it for a creative genius to work with a brush [*pinseln*], to paint objects that do not admit of verbal description but belong instead to the field of painting."[64] Herder's linguistic argument shows the clear (and well-documented) influence of Condillac.[65] Yet to understand his peculiar critique of *Malerei,* we must consider his general theory of the arts, developed in the first and fourth of his *Kritische Wälder* (1769).

In the *Erstes Wäldchen,* Herder rejected Lessing's dichotomies of painting and poetry, space and time. He proposed instead a trichotomy based upon artistic media. Sculpture and painting operate through *space,* music through *time,* and poetry through *force* (*Kraft*). Herder returned to the earlier notion of pictorial *enargeia,* dismissed by Lessing and Burke: "The primary essence of poetry is a *type of painting, a sensual representation*."[66] Borrowing an Aristotelian distinction from James Harris, Herder united poetic and musical representation as temporal *energeia,* as opposed to the static *ergon* of painting or sculpture.[67] A complex, interlacing taxonomy emerges, which forges a new alliance between music and poetry.

In the *Viertes Wäldchen,* Herder refined his categories further. If Lessing had aspired to a unity of the arts, Herder sought maximum differentiation based upon perceptual psychology. He distinguished three primary senses—touch, hearing, and sight (*Gefühl, Gehör, Gesicht*)—which correspond to the arts of sculpture, music, and painting. Touch assumes new rights within this trichotomy, as the necessary condition for three-dimensional perception. Sight, explained Herder, "can show

64. Johann Gottfried Herder, *Werke,* vol. 1, ed. Wolfgang Pross (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1984), p. 33.

65. See Aarsleff, "Condillac's Speechless Statue," in *From Locke to Saussure,* pp. 210–24; and Jörn Stückenrath, "Der junge Herder als Sprach- und Literaturtheoretiker—ein Erbe des französischen Aufklärers Condillac?" *Sturm und Drang: Ein literaturwissenschaftliches Studienbuch,* ed. Walter Hinck (Kronberg: Athenäum, 1978), pp. 81–96.

66. Herder, *Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelaugaben: Schriften zur Literatur,* vol. 2/1, ed. Regine Otto (Weimar: Aufbau-Verlag, 1990), p. 132.

67. Ibid., pp. 151–52; see James Harris, *Three Treatises: The First Concerning Art, The Second Concerning Music, Painting and Poetry, The Third Concerning Happiness* (London: H. Woodfall, 1744), pp. 33–36.

us nothing but surfaces, colors and images . . . only through touch, and lengthy, repeated handlings can we gain any concept of bodily space, spherical angles, and solid forms."[68] Touch thus supplants reason within Herder's post-Cartesian, sensualist epistemology.

Herder's theory of sculpture borrows liberally from Condillac's *Traité des sensations*. Condillac's famous waking statue only becomes aware of itself through the sense of touch, which allows it to distinguish outer from inner sensations. Herder likewise traced consciousness to touch: "Feeling is the primary, certain and true sense that develops; it already develops within the embryo, and from it the remaining senses gradually unfold."[69] Sculpture represents the individual subject, standing alone and offering infinite perspectives to the viewer. Painting, on the other hand, subordinates the individual figure to an all-encompassing context: "Each painted figure is nothing in itself; it belongs entirely to the overall surface of the eye. Each sculpted figure owes little to the whole; it exists in itself, and is *all* to the feeling hand—what a difference!"[70] Sculpture thus upholds the integrity of the individual subject, representing, as Herder later wrote in *Plastik* (1770–78), "the *embodied* soul."[71]

The three primary senses form a progressive hierarchy, leading from *Gefühl* to *Gehör* to *Gesicht,* sculpture to music to painting. Sensation originates in the dark womb of feeling and attains rational perfection in sight, "the coldest, most philosophical of the senses."[72] Music stands in the center of this hierarchy as the temporal art mediating sculpture and painting. Herder duplicated the same trichotomy in his discussion of music itself. Musical expression springs from the single *tone;* it extends itself temporally through *melody;* and finally returns to the static proportions of *harmony*.[73]

Most importantly for our argument, Herder forged an unprecedented bond between music and language. In his famous *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* (1772), Herder again located hearing in the center of the sensory hierarchy: "The sense of touch senses only within itself and within its organ, while vision casts us by great distances outside of ourselves. Hearing stands in between in its degree

68. Herder, *Ausgewählte Werke,* p.6. See Raymond Immerwahr, "Diderot, Herder and the Dichotomy of Touch and Sight," *Seminar* 14 (1978), 84–96.

69. Herder, *Ausgewählte Werke,* p.525.

70. Ibid., p.515.

71. Johann Gottfried Herder, *Sculpture: Some Observations on Shape and Form from Pygmalion's Creative Dream,* trans. Jason Gaiger (Chicago: UChicago P, 2002), p.45.

72. Herder, *Ausgewählte Werke,* p.523.

73. Ibid., pp.535–59.

of communicability."[74] As the middle sense, hearing furnishes the initial signs (*Merkmale*) of language, isolating objects from the perceptual field through the noises they make. The golden mean of hearing proves crucial to Herder's central concept of *Besonnenheit,* or reflection, that uniquely human capacity for mediating between sense and reason: "Man manifests reflection when the force of his soul acts in such freedom that, in the vast ocean of sensations which permeates it through all the channels of the senses, it can, if I may say so, single out one wave, arrest it, concentrate its attention on it, and be conscious of being attentive."[75] Returning to the *Viertes Wäldchen,* we find music and language united in the same phonocentric hierarchy. The first music, claimed Herder, "arose from *language,* and since (as has been amply shown) she was originally nothing but *natural poetry,* so poetry and music were also inseparable sisters."[76] Herder has redefined the sister arts—no longer as painting and poetry, but as music and poetry. More than any Enlightenment thinker, he thrust music to the center of the *ut pictura poësis* debate.

Herder belongs squarely within the sensualist tradition. Indeed, he trumped Condillac by ennobling the "lower" senses of hearing and touch. His discovery of touch led him to a radical revision of Descartes' *cogito:* "Ich fühle mich! Ich bin!"[77] Herder upheld this sensualist aesthetic in *Kalligone* (1800), his bitter attack on Kant's Third Critique. He again traced music and poetry to a common root in instinctual signs: "Even in solitude the passionate human speaks, sings, cries, gestures, without concern for being heard. It is the natural expression of feeling." He advanced even bolder claims for these natural signs, which now revealed "a rule encompassing the entire world," and "an audible All, a world order." Herder thus attacked the empty formalism of Kant, his concept of a *zwecklose Zweckmäßigkeit*. Herder's commitment to materialism led him to reject outright the Kantian dualism between noumena and phenomena: "Who says that reason [*Vernunft*]—that is, an intellectual, omnipotent law—does not underlie the works of nature?"[78] For Herder, as for his eighteenth-century predecessors, music remained firmly rooted in sensual reality.

74. Dae Kweon Kim discusses the central role of hearing in Herder's linguistics in *Sprachtheorie im 18. Jahrhundert: Herder, Condillac und Süssmilch* (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitsverlag, 2002), pp. 168–77.

75. Rousseau, *"Essay on the Origin of Language,"* p. 115.

76. Herder, *Ausgewählte Werke,* p. 562.

77. From "Zum Sinn des Gefühls," quoted in the intro. to Herder, *Sculpture,* p. 9.

78. Herder, *Werke,* vol. 8, ed. Dietrich Irmscher (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1998), pp. 699, 706, 760.

Twilight of the Enlightenment

The French Revolution provides the clearest link between Beethoven and the sensualist tradition. Condillac's influence peaked during the moderate Directory, as the Idéologues emerged as a rational, bourgeois alternative to Jacobinism. Having suffered persecution during the Terror (and, in the case of Lavoisier, Condorcet, and Bailly, execution), they disarmed conservative fears.[79] The Idéologues sought to generalize Condillac's "composition and decomposition" of ideas, propounding the algebraic mode of analysis that Lavoisier had introduced into chemistry in 1789. They reconstituted the *Académie française* as the *Institut national,* founded the *Écoles normales,* published a *Journal de la langue française* (edited by "*grammairien-patriote*" Joseph-François Domergue), and celebrated the sabbath by debating neologisms. Condillacian linguistics thus became the official philosophy of the Revolution precisely during the years Beethoven was formulating his new style.[80] Unlike Hegel, whose reputation remained provincial until 1807, the Idéologues enjoyed both international prestige and political clout.

Beethoven allied himself overtly with the sensualist tradition in his *Prometheus* ballet, whose story enshrines two of the most famous symbols of the French Enlightenment. First, the clay figures that gradually come to life recall Condillac's waking statue—an image famously staged in the *Pygmalions* of Rousseau and his German imitators.[81] Second, the myth of the primitive couple derives from the *histoires universelles* of Mandeville, Condillac, Maupertuis, and Rousseau. Given the Promethean origins of the *Eroica* finale, it would make perfect sense for Beethoven to have begun the symphony with a quote from Mozart's *Bastien und Bastienne,* a version of the French myth absorbed from Rousseau.

A more convincing Mozartian link, however, connects Beethoven to the French tradition. The androgynous innocents of Mozart's first *Singspiel* return in *Die Zauberflöte* as Tamino/Pamina and Papageno/Papagena. The duet "Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen" spells out the Utopian dimensions of the male-female symbolism: "Mann und Weib, und Weib und Mann/Reichen an die Gottheit an" (Man and wife, and wife and man/Strive toward divinity). Beethoven wrote a set of variations on "Bei Männern" in 1801, the same year as *Prometheus*. This quintes-

79. See W. R. Albury, "The Order of Ideas: Condillac's Method of Analysis as a Political Instrument in the French Revolution," in *The Politics and Rhetoric of Scientific Method,* ed. John A. Schuster and Richard R. Yeo (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1986), pp. 203–25.

80. See *Les Idéologues: Sémiotique, theories et politiques linguistiques pendant la Révolution française,* ed. Winfried and Jürgen Trabant (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986).

81. See Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), p. 575.

sentially French theme returns in *Leonore,* which explicitly connects the quest for political freedom with the union of man and woman.

The Idéologues' effulgence quickly faded. In 1801, as Napoléon concluded his Concordat with Pius VII, a treatise appeared in Paris with the formidable title, "Anti-Condillac, ou harangue aux idéologues modernes, sur l'âme de l'homme, ses facultés constitutives, l'origine et la certitude de ses connaissances, son immortalité et ses destinées."[82] In 1804 the new Emperor condemned sensualism as subversive and liquidated both the *Institut National* and the *Écoles Normales*. Asserting the divine origin of language became a basic strategy for political conservatives from Paris to Vienna to London. The reactionary Louis Bonald thus upheld the universal structure of grammar in his *Législation primitif* (1802), comparing the triadic form of the sentence, subject-verb-object, to the hierarchy of *pouvoir-ministre-sujet*.[83] Joseph de Maistre condemned Condillac as "l'idole fatale de la France"[84] and railed at sensualism, "that absurd system which would wish, so to speak, to materialize the origins of our ideas."[85]

In Germany the Romantics attacked the sensualist account of language, with appeals to metaphysical authority and history that shaded easily into the conservatism of *politische Romantik*.[86] Novalis thus celebrated the independence of words from the senses: "They create a world unto themselves—they play with themselves, express nothing more than their wondrous nature, and for just that reason are they so expressive—for just that reason do they mirror the strange play of relations among things."[87] E. T. A. Hoffmann, Romantic critic and anti-Napoleonic propagandist, based his review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony on an explicit rejection of sensualism; music, he insisted, discloses "an unknown kingdom, a world which has nothing in common with the outer sensory world."[88] Nothing better demonstrates

82. Ricken, *Linguistics, Anthropology and Philosophy,* p.220.

83. See W. Jay Reedy, "Language, Counter-Revolution and the 'Two Cultures': Bonald's Traditionalist Scientism," *Language and the History of Thought,* pp.185–203.

84. Quoted in Jürgen Trabant, "Condillacs Erkenntnis- und Sprachtheorie als philosophische Grundlage der Französischen Revolution," *Die Französische Revolution,* ed. Winfried Engler (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1992), p.49.

85. Joseph de Maistre, "The St. Petersburg Dialogues," *The Works of Joseph de Maistre,* trans. Jack Lively (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), p.207.

86. See Andreas Gardt's summary in *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft in Deutschland: Vom Mitteralter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), pp.245–51.

87. Novalis, "Monolog" (1798), *Werke, Tagebücher und Briefe Friedrich von Hardenbergs,* vol.2, ed. Hans-Joachim Mähl (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1978), p.438.

88. E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Schriften zur Musik: Nachlese,* p.34. On Hoffmann's politics, see my *Beethoven after Napoleon: Political Romanticism in the Late Works* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U California P, 2004), pp.9–34.

this aesthetic *boulversement* than Hoffmann's warped conception of *Besonnenheit*. As Dahlhaus has shown, Hoffmann borrowed this concept from Jean-Paul Richter, who had given Herder's term a Fichtean twist: "Now there is a higher reflection [*Besonnenheit*] that splits in two the inner world, dividing it between an Ego and its realm, a creator and his world."[89] Hoffmann echoed the same idealist creed when he claimed that Beethoven "separates his Ego from the inner world of tones and rules it as unlimited lord."[90] This idealist revision of *Besonnenheit* obviously has nothing in common with Herder's earthy, empirical conception. Readers may decide for themselves which version better describes Beethoven's visceral, heroic style.

The year 1801 also saw the premiere of Haydn's *The Seasons,* a work that looms large behind Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony. Haydn made no secret of his conservative sympathies, nor need we tiptoe around the issue. James Thomson had become a patriotic icon during the 1790s, thanks to his anthem, "Rule Britannia." Nelson's sailors sang the patriotic song before sailing into battle, and English anti-revolutionaries fashioned new words to the tune:

> The Gallic lilies droop and die
> Profan'd by many a patriot knave;
> Her clubs command, her nobles fly,
> Her church a martyr—king a slave
> (Chorus): While Britons still united sing
> Old England's glory—Church and King.

In 1791, the year Haydn arrived in London, a mob chanting these words burned down the laboratory of Joseph Priestly, a prominent friend of the Revolution.[91] Haydn himself was no mean purveyor of political songs. In the words of his sponsor, Joseph Franz Saurau, *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser* aimed "to display before the entire world the devoted attachment of the people to their *Landesvater*. . . . This seemed especially necessary at a time when the Revolution in France was raging at its strongest."[92]

89. "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 Äesthetik,* quoted in Dahlhaus, "E.T.A. Hoffmanns Beethoven-Kritik und die Äesthetik des Erhabenen," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 38 (1981), 85.

90. Beethoven "trennt sein Ich vom inneren Reich der Töne und herrscht es als unumschränkter Herr": *Schriften zur Musik,* p.36.

91. Tim Fulford, "Britannia's Heart of Oak: Thomson, Garrick and the Language of Eighteenth-Century Patriotism," *James Thomson: Essays for the Tercentenary,* ed. Richard Terry (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2000), p.205.

92. James Webster and Georg Feder, *The New Grove Haydn* (New York: Macmillan, 2002), pp.38–39.

The Seasons portrays a contented peasantry, harmoniously attuned to its world. The aristocracy appears only obliquely in two sections added by van Swieten. In "Autumn" the peasants dutifully beat the bushes for the noble huntsmen (a ritual Thomson banned from his georgic). Simon carefully justifies the feudal *corvée:* "Many uninvited guests appear upon the stripped fields, who fed on the stalks and wander searching for more. The peasant does not begrudge the petty theft, but fears an excessive burden. Whatever prevents this he counts a blessing, and he gladly joins in the hunt that brings such pleasure to his lord."[93] Later, of a winter evening, the *Landleute* indulge in a delicately Rabelaisian moment. Hanne sings of a saucy maid who tricks a noble rake out of his steed. "Ha, ha," chorus the merry peasants, "das war recht fein." The aristocracy hovers benignly on the margins of this idyll, as natural as crop rotation or folk song.

Beethoven's "new path" takes on political urgency against this creeping quietism. The radical teleology of his works in 1802 affirms an Enlightenment philosophy that was fast fading from public discussion, even in Paris itself. Illuminating in this context is the well-known letter of 1802, in which Beethoven scoffs at the notion of a *sonate révolutionnaire:*

> 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 paint-brush—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.[94]

Note the metaphor: Beethoven will take up his "paint-brush" (*Pinsel*). To represent a theocracy, painting will do; a revolution demands something else. In fact, Beethoven had been working intensively with another visual metaphor, one of the most famous images of the French Enlightenment. He had just written his *Prometheus* ballet about two statues that come to life, attaining humanity through an aesthetic—that is, sensual—education. Beethoven may not have written a *sonate*

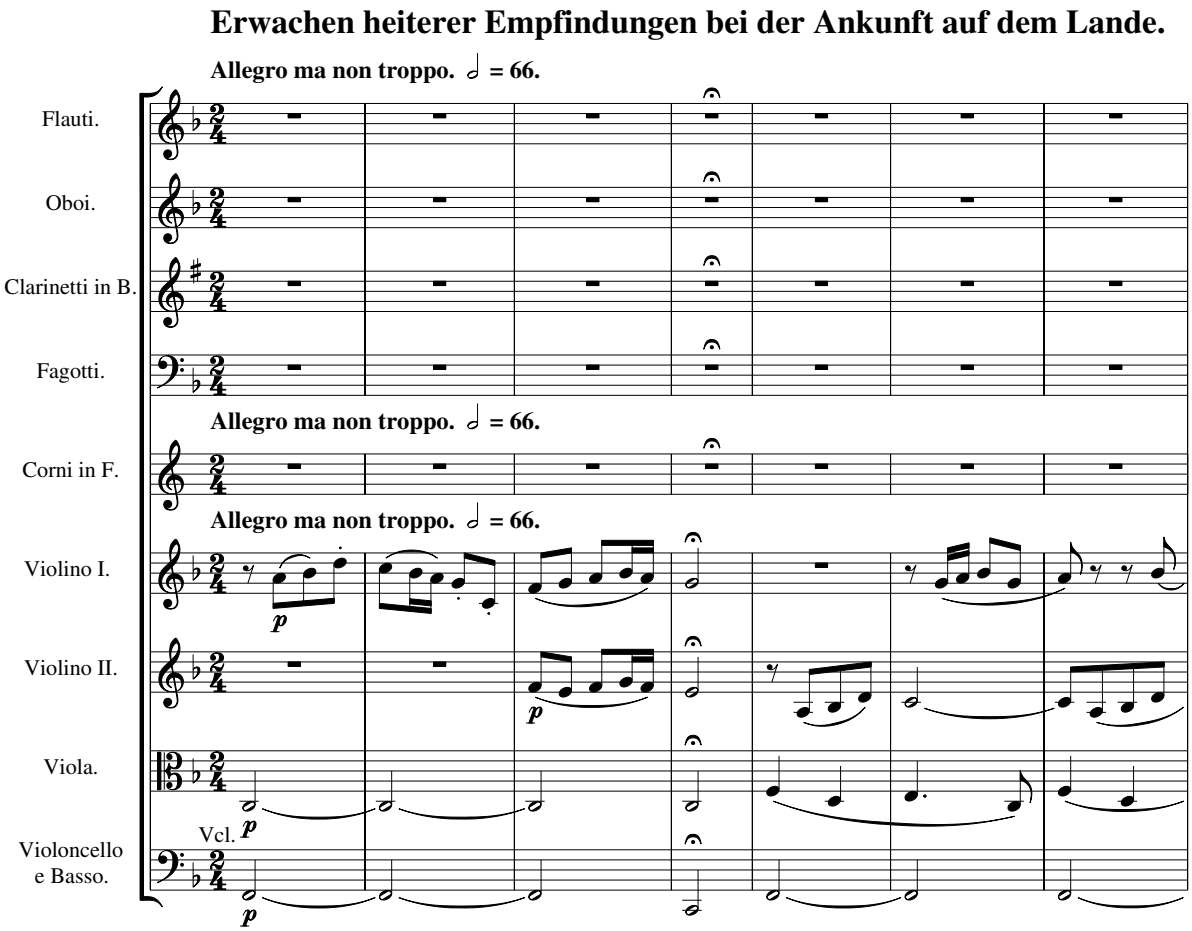
93. "Nun zeiget das entblößte Feld der ungebetnen Gäste Zahl, die an den Halmen Nahrung fand, und irrend jetzt sie weiter sucht. Des kleinen Raubes klaget nicht der Landmann, der ihn kaum bemerkt, dem Übermaße wünscht er doch nicht ausgestellet zu sein. Was ihn dagegen sichern mag, sieht er als Wohltat an, und willig frönt er dann zur Jagd, die seinen guten Herrn ergötzt."

94. Anderson, I, 73; Brandenburg, p. 105.

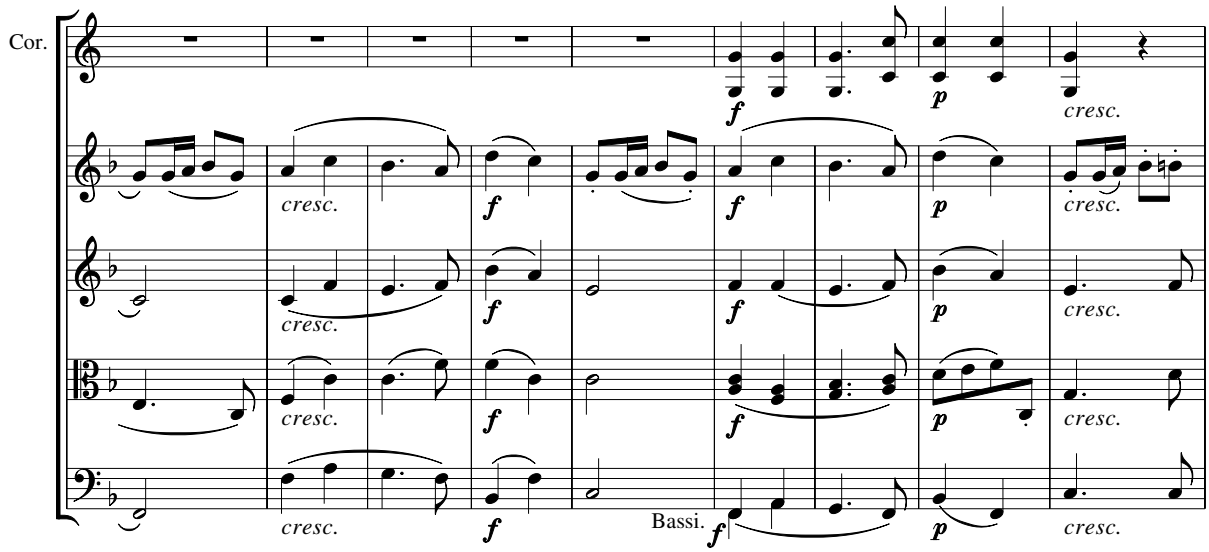
revolutionaire in 1802, but he wrote a revolutionary set of variations which translate the Prometheus metaphor into musical form. And in 1803 he projected this dynamic process across an entire symphony. Let us return at last to the Pastoral and explore Beethoven's antidote to *Mahlerey*.

Vive la Pastorale!

As we saw, the Pastoral ends with a chorale that draws attention to the subdominant. This pervasive harmony, we noted, colors the entire symphony. The subdominant also plays a more dynamic role in the Pastoral, beginning in the first measure (ex. 2).



Example 2: Beethoven, Pastoral, movt. I, mm. 1–20.



The three-note motive (a^1–$b\flat^1$–d^2) clearly implies a I–IV progression. Beethoven will spell out this latent progression in a passage from the coda (itself in the subdominant), harmonizing each note with a separate chord. In the opening measures, however, the musette drone contradicts this melodic implication, stolidly asserting I. Melody and harmony clash most obviously in m. 2, where the violins outline a V^7 chord against the tonic drone. The dissonance subtly forecasts the stratification of I and V at the beginning of the *Hirtengesang* (mm. 5–8).

This conflict between melody and harmony recalls Rousseau's critique of musical pictorialism cited earlier. Like Lessing and Herder, Rousseau pointed to the temporal nature of musical signs: "The effect of colors is due to their permanence and that of sounds to their succession." According to Rousseau, painting and harmony belonged to nature, depending entirely upon raw sensual pleasure for their effect; drawing and melody lay on the side of culture, providing the mimetic dimension that humanized art. As he explained: "Melody does in music precisely what design does in painting; it is melody that indicates the contours and figures, of which the accords and sounds are but the colors." Through its dynamic form, melody could trace the movements of the human soul. Harmony, on the other hand, inhibited this vital motion. Rousseau could have been describing the opening measures of the Pastoral when he cautioned against the dangers of untamed harmony: "By thus shackling the melody, it deprives it of energy and expression."[95]

95. Rousseau, *"Essay on the Origin of Languages,"* pp. 325, 320, 322.

Melody shakes off its fetters in mm. 5–8. As the second violins reiterate the opening motive, the viola supplies an inner line (f–d–e), supporting the melody with a I–IV^6–V^6 progression. This inner line now realizes the subdominant implicit in the opening motive. In mm. 9–15 the subdominant moves squarely into the foreground, now in root position. The first violin returns to the four crucial notes of the opening motive (a^1–$b\flat^1$–c^2–d^2), and in mm. 11 and 15 the d^2 at last receives its proper IV harmonization. Beethoven marks the event dynamically, with a swell to *forte* for the first IV chord, and a *subito piano* for the second. At the same time, he shifts topics from bagpipe tune to four-part chorale. In purely musical terms, melody has become the motive force, dictating the harmonic flow. In cultural terms, the chorale connotes a turn from outer sensation to inward reflection. Connecting music and culture is the systemic metaphor of music as lived experience.[96]

The first theme thus encapsulates that shift from "idyllic" to "historical" time that Will has traced across the symphony.[97] Ironically, it is the subdominant, normally a restful harmony, that breaks the stalemate of I and V, and propels the music into teleological time. The subdominant also intervenes at the end of the second theme, after the harmony has seesawed between I and V for twenty-six measures. A cadential motive leads twice to an emphatic IV chord, marked each time by a dramatic pause (ex. 3, mm. 93–103). Russell has noted the melodic significance of the tetrachordal motive, which finally supplies the leading tone missing from the "pastoral mode."[98] Here, again, Beethoven establishes the conjunction between IV chord, sixth degree, and purposeful motion.

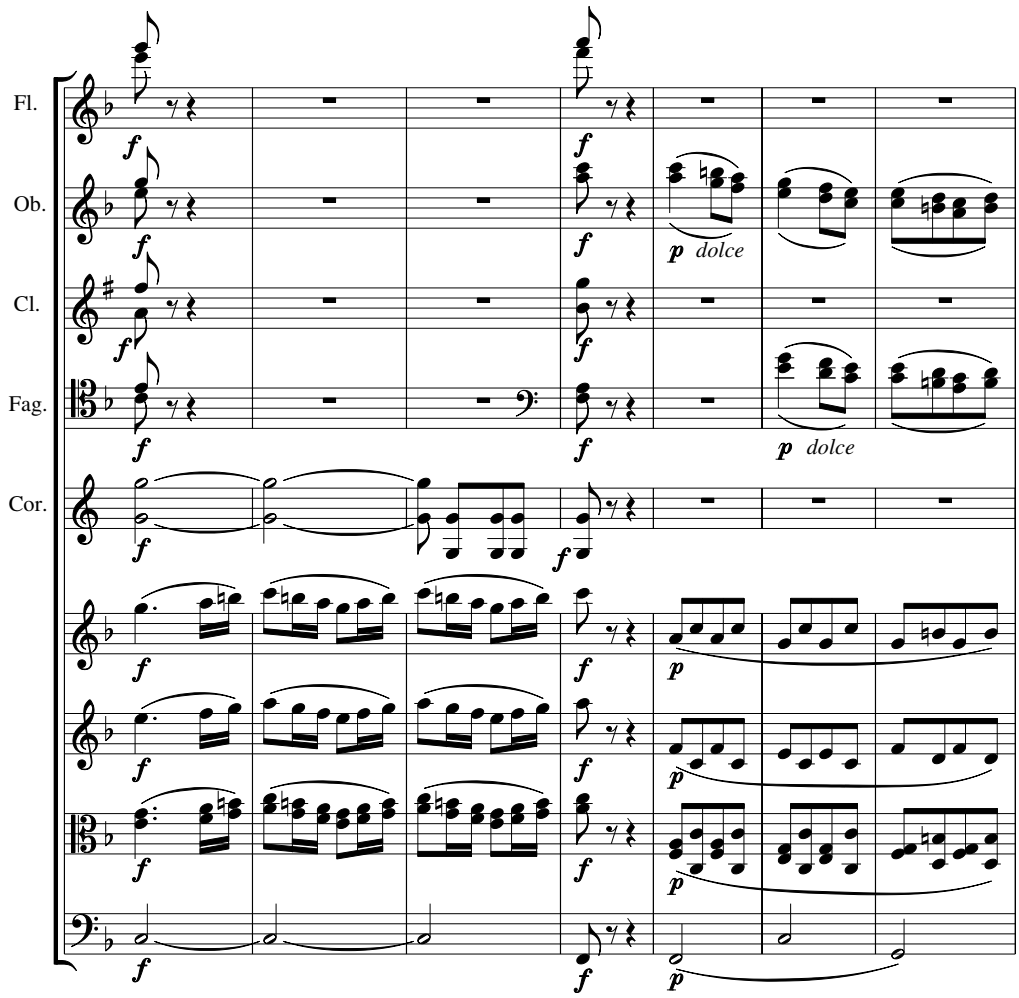
These elements work together, even more strikingly, during the retransition. The chorale from mm. 9–16 has not been heard from since the opening page. It returns in m. 243, following the two hypnotic passages of coloristic, nonfunctional harmony (mm. 151–79, 197–225). Beethoven spins out the chorale sequentially as he modulates back to V. He now composes out the subdominant implication of the chorale motive, descending through the circles of fifths (A–D–g/G–C) (see ex. 4). It is the vital, active melody of the chorale that rouses the symphony from its opiate spell. Fittingly, Beethoven ends the retransition with a sustained plagal cadence, dropping into the reprise from the subdominant. As David Wyn Jones observed, Beethoven has defused the normal tonal drama of a recapitulation, "so as to allow the first subject to enter not in triumph but in an atmosphere of calm."[99]

96. On systemic metaphors, a concept derived from the cognitive semantics of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, see Michael Spitzer, *Metaphor and Musical Thought* (Chicago: UChicago P, 2004).

97. Will, *The Characteristic Symphony,* pp. 164–77.

98. Russell, "Unification in the Sixth Symphony," pp. 6–7.

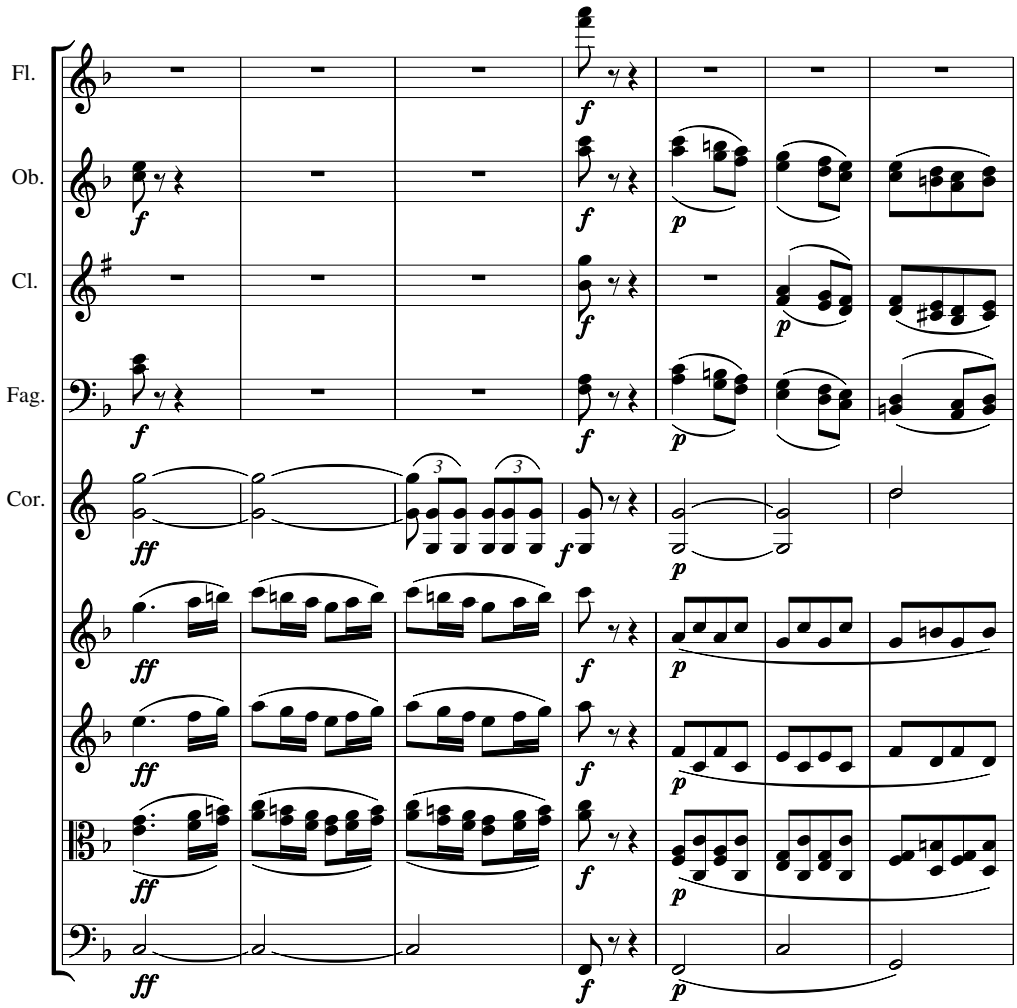
99. David Wyn Jones, *Beethoven: "Pastoral" Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), p. 60.



Example 3: Beethoven, Pastoral, movt. I, mm. 88–106.

Indeed, the entire Pastoral inverts Beethoven's heroic dramaturgy, replacing heroic striving with bucolic inertia. In this topsy-turvy world, IV actually usurps the role of V, becoming the agent of dynamic motion.

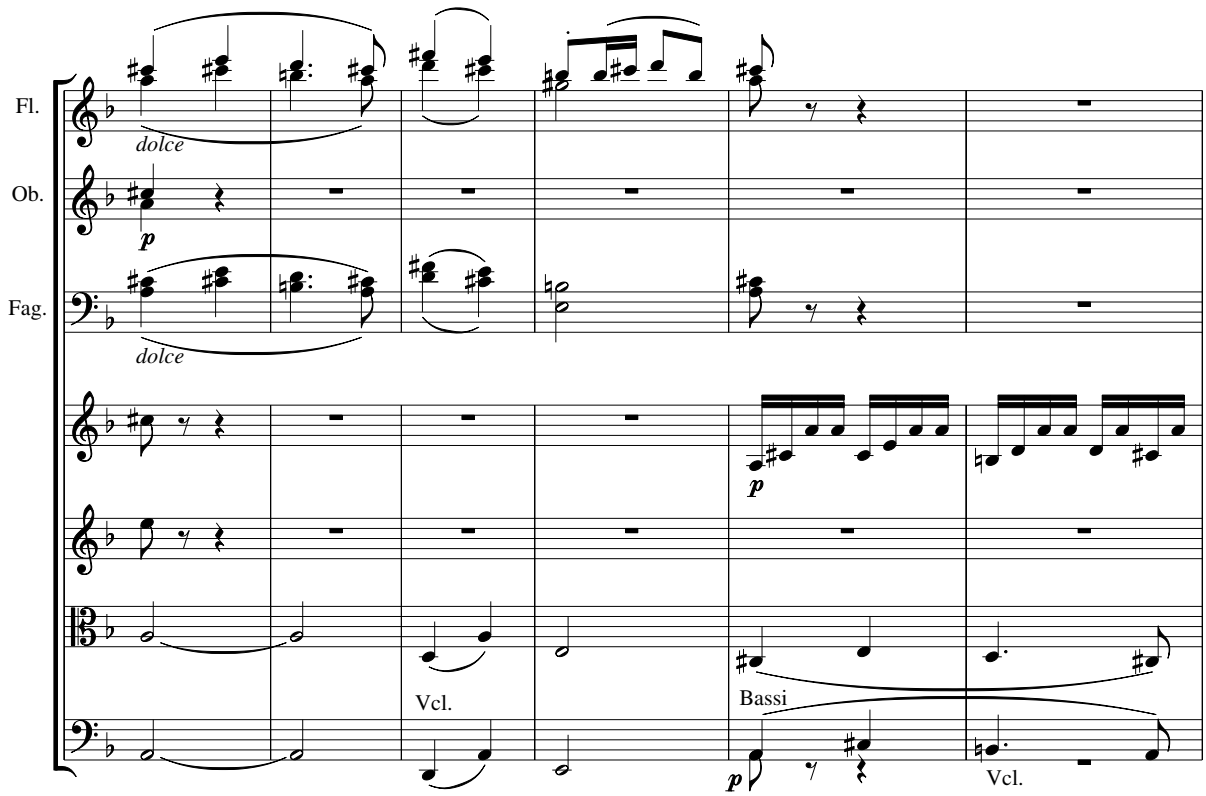
This quiet revolution sounds forth, above all, at the beginning of the finale. In transforming the aimless *ranz des vaches* into a symphonic theme, Beethoven took one striking liberty. Instead of bringing the first phrase to a normal half cadence, he harmonized the b♭^{1} with the subdominant. Specifically, the cadence falls on a IV^6 chord, part of a I–IV^6–V^6 progression, with the cello tracing the line (f–d–e). This is the specific harmonic progression from mm. 5–7 of the first movement,



the passage that led from the bagpipe tune to the chorale. Beethoven has recalled not only the identical sequence of topics, but also the harmonies that link them (ex. 5).

One final passage belongs with these three hymns. The fourth-movement storm also ends with a four-part chorale (mm. 146–53). As George Grove first noted, this chorale transforms the opening motive of the storm. The melody again pushes against the sixth scale degree, underlined each time by a IV chord. As the only root-position chord in the passage, the subdominant carries added weight (ex. 6).

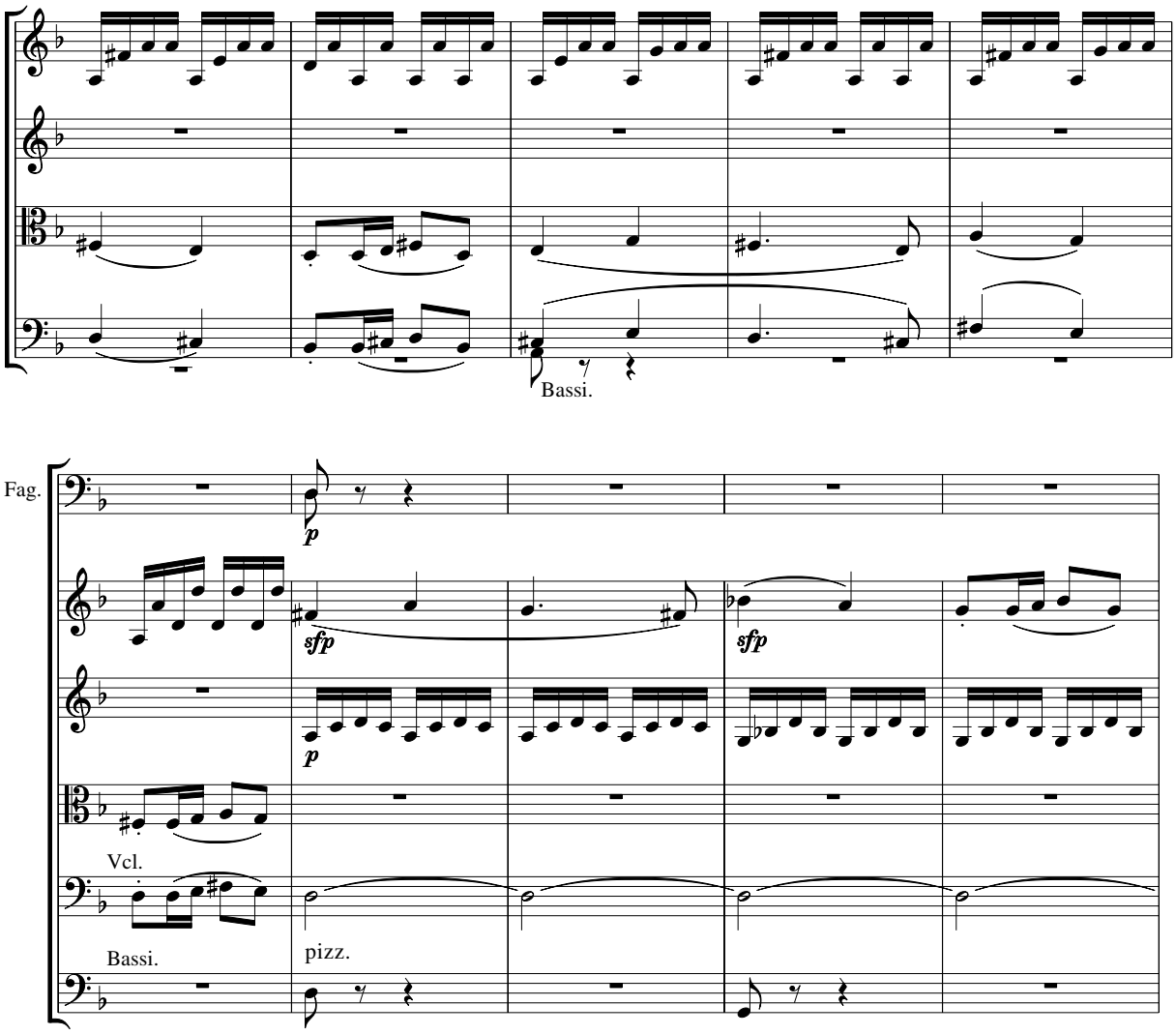
A clear pattern emerges from all these passages. In each case, a naturalistic sound—whether bagpipe tune, storm, *ranz des vaches,* or simply coloristic harmony—mutates into a chorale. The outer world passes into the inner; sensation



Example 4: Beethoven, Pastoral, movt. I, mm. 238–65.

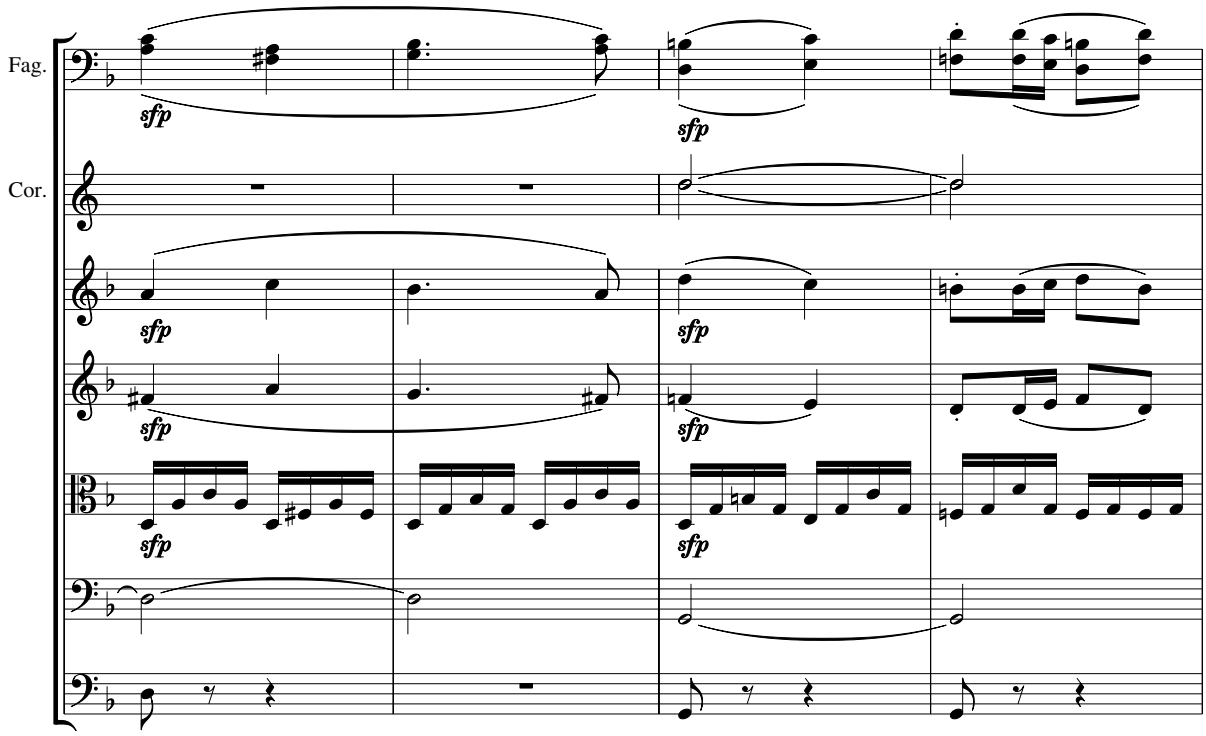
gives way to reflection. In each case, the topical shift matches a change from static to dynamic time. Here, then, is the rationale for the chorale that closes the Pastoral, with its emphatic accents on IV and the sixth degree. Beethoven is not simply distilling a harmonic or modal color; he is reenacting the birth of human cognition. And he took obvious pains to spell out his intentions, using identical harmonic and melodic markers, and planting his signposts at the most crucial formal junctures.

What do these markers and signposts point to, other than the *sensation transformée* of sensualist theory? The smooth, unbroken transitions from outer to inner world transgress the Cartesian boundary between body and soul, animal and human. They uphold a faith in natural reason, unaided by metaphysics or divine authority. The Pastoral vindicates the anthropological tradition of Enlightenment semiotics, which pointed humanity from sensual instinct to rational freedom. Nor should we suspect that Beethoven's chorales signal some regression into blind faith, like the



sublime choruses that continually punctuate Haydn's late oratorios, ordering the visible world beneath God's invisible wisdom. The hymns of the Pastoral emerge organically from nature, sprouting from the rich soil of the senses.

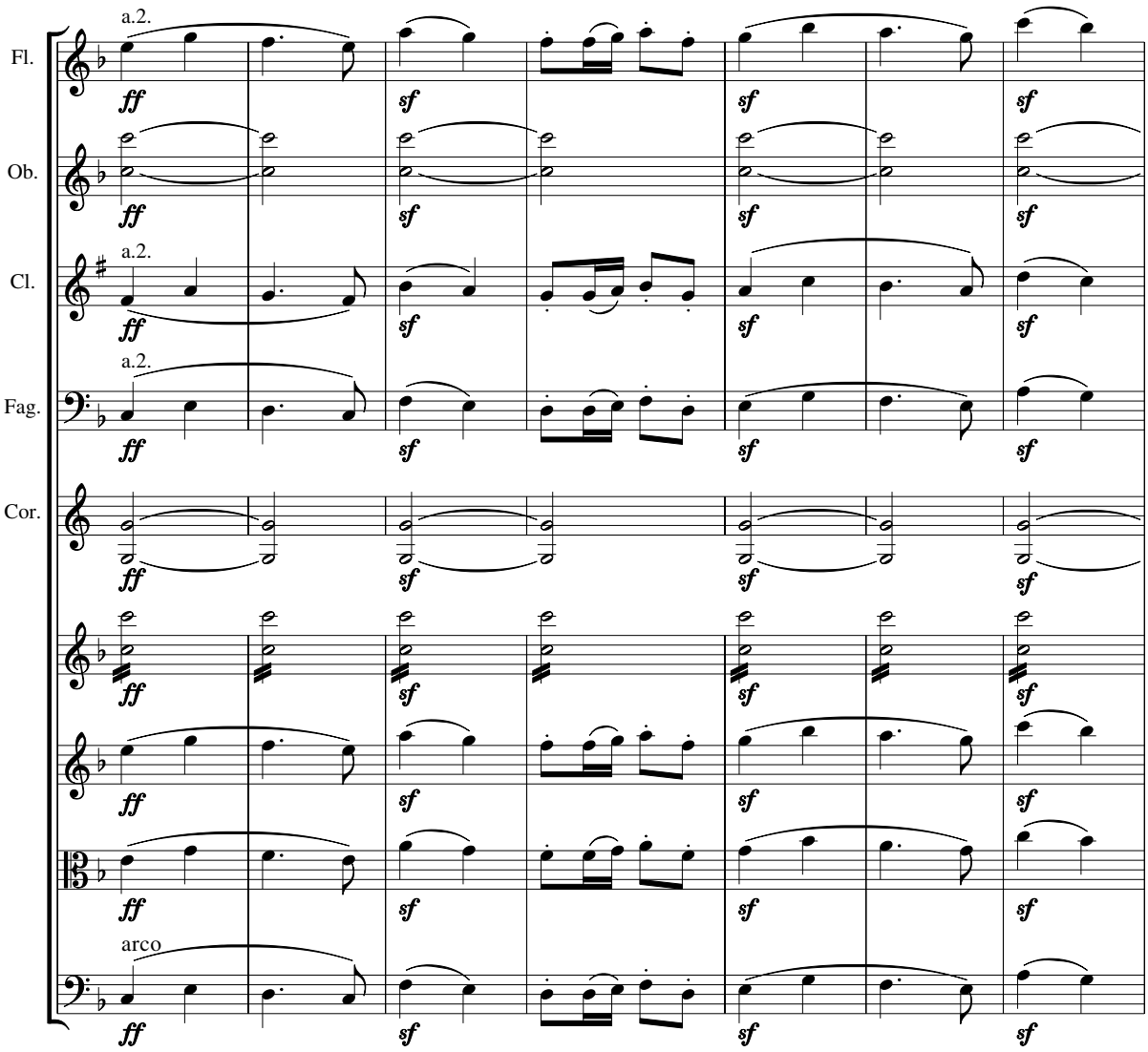
In this light, Beethoven's disdain for *Mahlerey* takes on its fullest meaning. The first sixteen measures of the Pastoral dramatize, with an economy that Condillac or Lessing might have envied, the triumph of dynamic analysis. Rousseau and Herder could have rejoiced in the way melody throws off harmonic restraint, abandoning *couleur locale* to trace the vital movements of the human soul. In the magical transition to the finale, Beethoven writes his own *Laokoon,* dissolving the



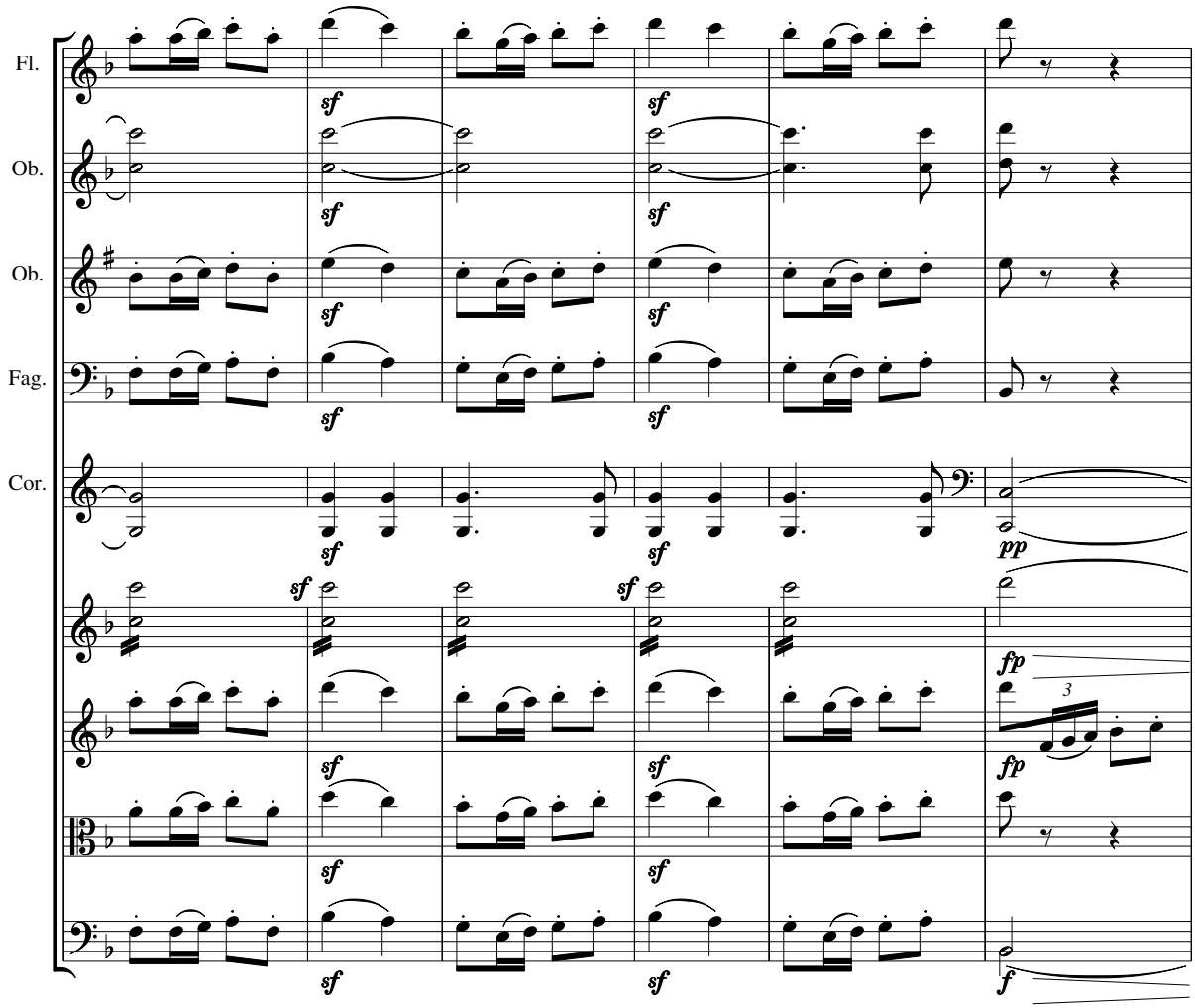
frozen tableau into the vital flux of symphonic time. The Pastoral adds its voice to an Enlightenment tradition that was already vanishing, all too swiftly, beneath the glaciers of reaction.

This analysis remains incomplete in one crucial respect. The Pastoral does not simply transcend the senses; it returns to them repeatedly. The finale may enact the birth of historical consciousness, but it also projects a cyclical, nonlinear sense of time. Each time the theme returns (mm. 64*ff.* and 117*ff.*), Beethoven prepares it with the original *ranz des vaches* melody, played by clarinet and horn in the original I–V bitonality. Twice he reenacts the birth of subjective time out of the natural tableau. At the reprise (mm. 117*ff.*) the theme regresses even further, dissolving in a delicious wash of sixteenth notes. The coda also indulges in great sonorous swaths, where the music blurs into coloristic tableaux (mm. 190–95, 218–36). Over and over, Beethoven dips into the fountain of the senses, returning again and again to the clear natural source.

This point demands emphasis, and not simply to narrate some dialectical plot in the symphony. We are touching on an essential property of music, as it was understood in the Enlightenment. As the Pastoral finale dramatically reminds us, music can never escape its origins in the senses. Poor in symbolism, rich in iconic

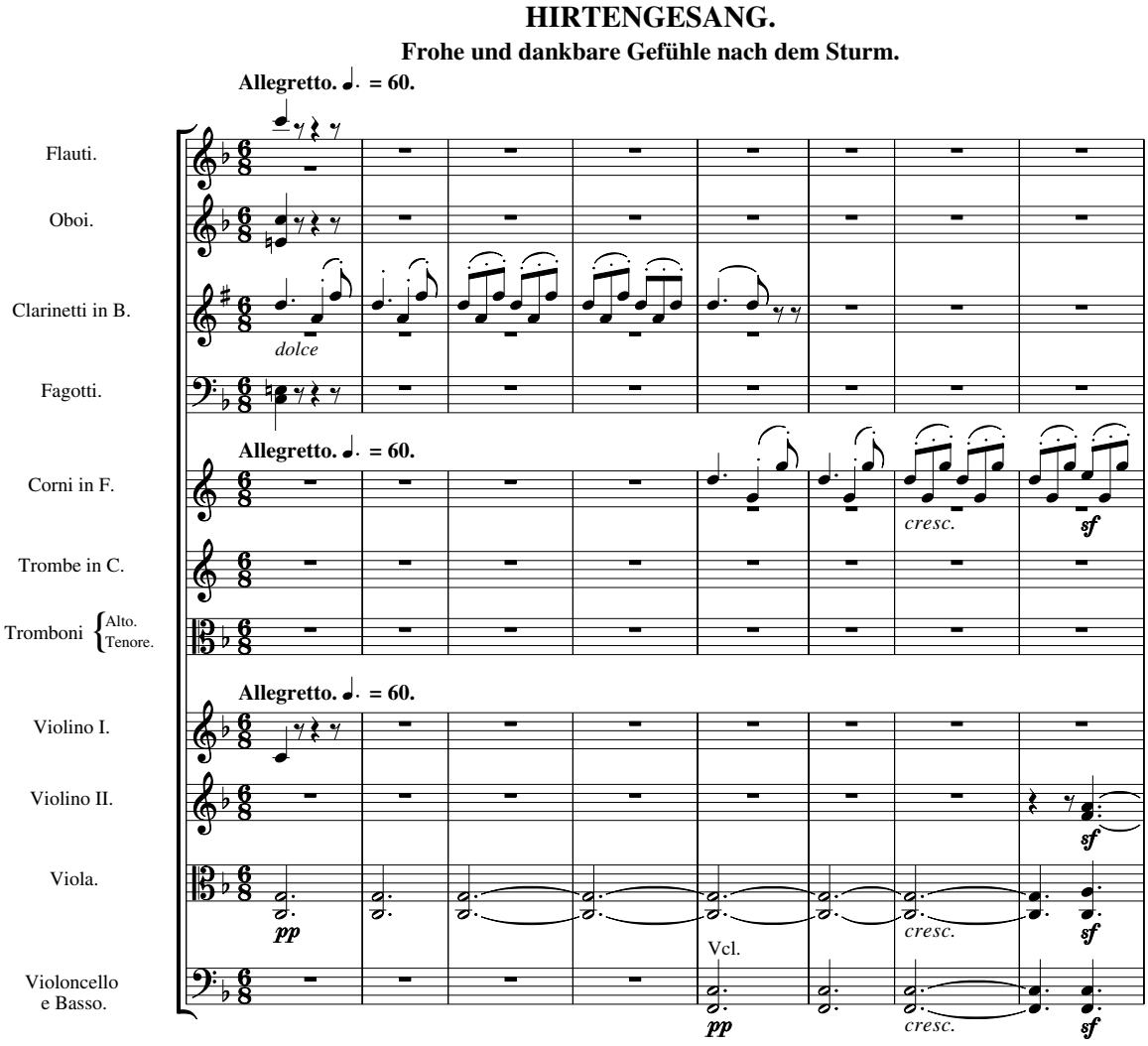


and indexical power, the musical sign remains forever opaque. Condillac and the sensualist philosophers recognized this and assigned music a suitable place in the hierarchy of human cognition. Unlike the Romantics, they did not interpret music's conceptual indeterminacy as evidence for a higher symbolic or mathematical content. Instead, they united music and language at the "inferior" levels of gesture and affect. The Romantics could only rhapsodize about music's ineffable meaning, pouring their impossible metaphysics into its symbolic vacuum. For the sensualists,



music played an indispensable mediatory role between body and mind, and their earthy philosophy embraced all of its physical and emotional aspects.

Does this grant sensualism a normative status in musical criticism? Absolutely! It can be no coincidence that an autonomous instrumental repertoire emerged exactly in tandem with the first philosophy in Western history that fully valorized music—neither as the handmaid of rhetoric, nor as a Pythagorean abstraction, but as a holistic kinesthetic, emotional, and cognitive activity. Composers did not create "absolute" music by fleeing language. Instead, they refined those parameters shared by both music and language—gesture, inflection, prosody, and syntactic structure. As Downing Thomas put it, "what occurs towards the end of the eighteenth century

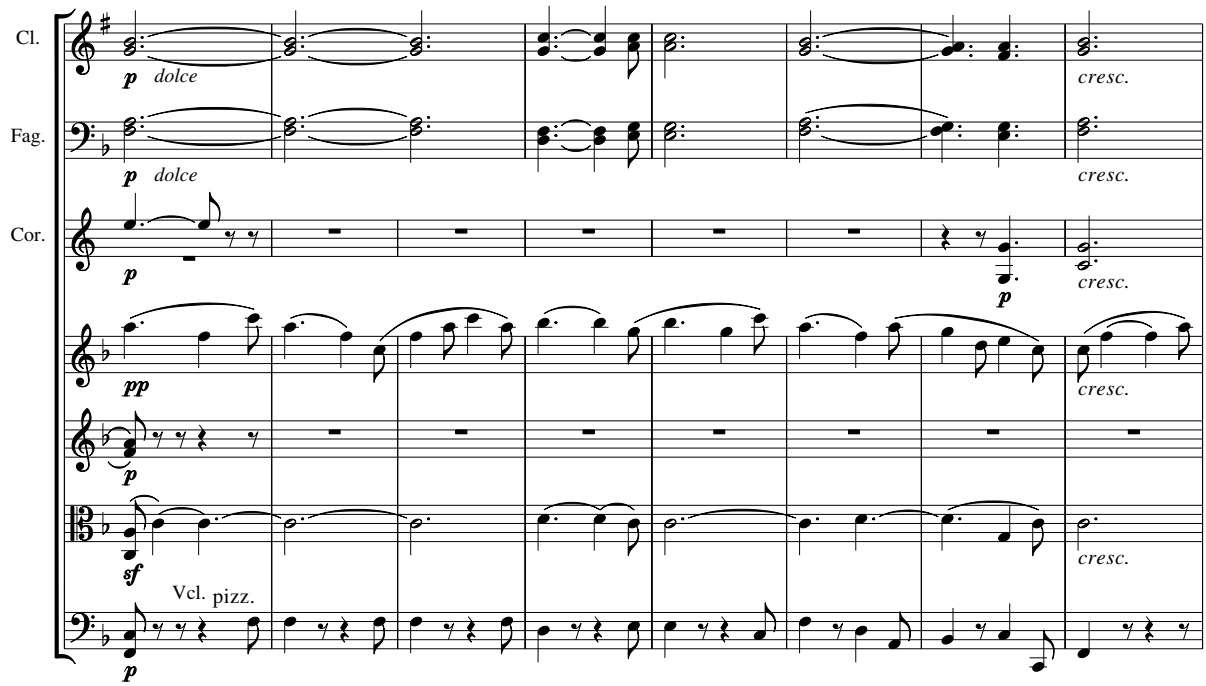


Example 5: Beethoven, Pastoral, movt. V, mm. 1–16.

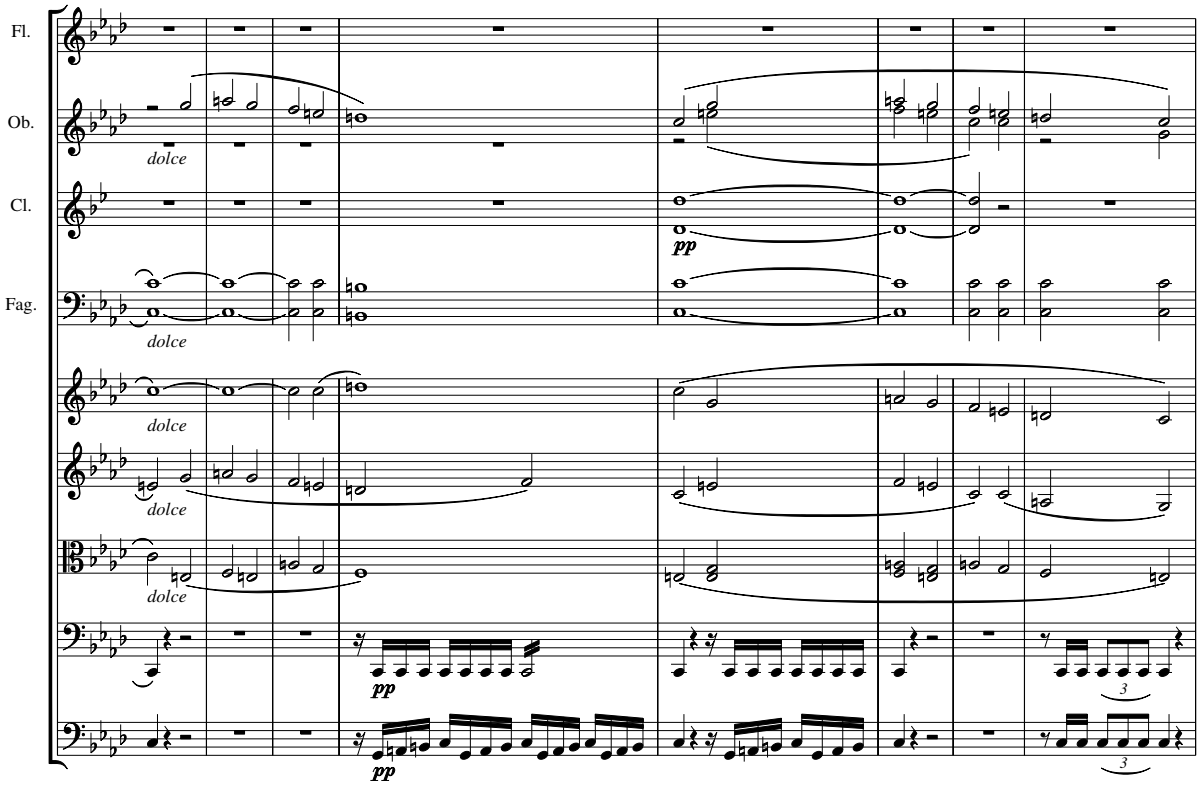
is not so much an emancipation from language as a shift away from an aesthetic of singular referentiality."[100]

Indeed, Enlightenment music may have fulfilled the sensualist ideal better than language itself. Condillac, Lessing, and Herder all yearned for a language both rational and immediate, which would achieve precision without abandoning the

100. Downing A. Thomas, *Music and the Origins of Language: Theories from the French Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), p. 171.



senses. This dialectic finds a Utopian solution in the work of Mozart, Haydn, and their contemporaries. Their music combines signs with astounding flexibility and clarity, while losing nothing in immediacy. In this sense, the Viennese masters consummate the sensualist tradition. Coming of age during Condillac's moment of greatest influence, before Napoléon's abuses had tarnished Enlightenment Utopianism, Beethoven carried the torch even further. We may justly claim that his heroic style, at the deepest level, articulates the intellectual program of the French Revolution.



Example 6: Beethoven,
Pastoral, movt. IV, mm. 145–55.

Multiple Voices and Metrical Dramas in Beethoven's Goethe-Songs, Op. 83

Frank Samarotto

Beethoven's connection to Goethe is intertwined with a third person, Bettina Brentano von Arnim, whose own account places her near the genesis of some of Beethoven's songs on texts by Goethe:

> One day in May [of 1810], Beethoven, sitting at the pianoforte with a song just composed before him, was surprised by a pair of hands being placed upon his shoulders. He looked up "gloomily," but his face brightened as he saw a beautiful young woman who, putting her mouth to his ear said: "My name is Brentano." She needed no further introduction. He smiled, gave her his hand without rising and said: "I have just made a beautiful song for you; do you want to hear it?" Thereupon he sang . . . "Kennst du das Land?" He asked: "Well, how do you like it?" She nodded. "It is beautiful, isn't it?" he said enthusiastically, "marvellously beautiful; I'll sing it again." He sang it again, looked at her with a triumphant expression, and seeing her cheeks and eyes glow, rejoiced over her happy approval. "Aha!" said he, "most people are touched by a good thing; but they are not artist-natures [*Künstlernaturen*]. Artists are fiery; they do not weep [*Künstler sind feurig, die weinen nicht*]." He then sang another song of Goethe's, "Trocknet nicht Thränen der ewigen Liebe."[1]

1. Thayer-Forbes, p. 493. Thayer's account is compiled from three sources: (1) a supposed letter to Goethe dated 28 May 1810 (Forbes describes it as "piecing together of notes . . . written at the time"), which von Arnim published in a collection entitled *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde* (Berlin, 1835) and from which the original is cited above; (2) a letter of 1832 to German travel writer Fürst von Pückler-Muskau; (3) Thayer's own interviews with von Arnim in 1849–50. The first of the songs referred to is *Mignon,* op. 75, no. 1; the second is *Wonne der Wehmut,* op. 83, no. 1, the first of the songs I analyze.

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The theatrical character of this little vignette suggests that a certain amount of von Arnim's own feelings have been overlaid onto reality, that relatively quotidian incidents have been shaped into a more dramatic episode.[2] The account makes us as much conscious of the intermediary source as it does of its purported content. Though here and elsewhere von Arnim may actually transmit Beethoven's sentiments with at least rough accuracy, we still sense the presence of two voices, perhaps in agreement, perhaps not.

In a sense, the other two members of this triangle share a similar relationship. Beethoven's settings of Goethe's poetry are not merely translations of the poetry's meaning into the language of music, but are truly filterings of the text through Beethoven's own artistic vision. As William Kinderman has put it, "the words enter into a dialogue with the music, which is not subordinated to the text but, on the contrary, creates a new formal context for it."[3] I will suggest something even beyond this: Beethoven does create what might be characterized as a dramatic restatement of the poetry's meaning, but that drama is in many senses independent of Goethe's poetry, running a parallel course to it, a separate voice coloring its account of the text.

This drama is accomplished through an aspect of music powerfully associated with Beethoven: his special manipulation of rhythm and meter. Richard Cohn has analyzed the scherzo of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony as an opposition of duple- and triple-measure groupings, which he characterized as a dramatic conflict.[4] Of course, an instrumental work without an explicit program requires that the "drama" be metaphorical, without determinate actors or plot, a view developed by Fred Maus.[5] On the other hand, one might assume that in a Lied the text would naturally specify the course of the musical drama. We might expect it all the more if we give credence to von Arnim's claim to have heard Beethoven say, "Not only because of their contents, but also because of their rhythm, Goethe's poems have great power over me. . . . Melody is the sensuous life of poetry. Isn't the intellectual content of a poem transformed into sensuous feeling by the melody?"[6]

2. In his revision of Thayer, Forbes prefaces the passages on Bettina von Arnim with a delicate reminder of her "lively imagination and emotional feeling," as well as her "sense of the opportunity for literary expansion" (Thayer-Forbes, p.492).

3. William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U California P, 1995), p.143. Kinderman is referring to *Wonne der Wehmut*.

4. Richard L. Cohn, "The Dramatization of Hypermetric Conflicts in the Scherzo of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," 19CM 15 (1992), 188–206.

5. See "Music as Drama," *Music Theory Spectrum* 10 (1988), 56–73.

6. "Goethe's Gedichte behaupten nicht alleindurch den Inhalt, auch durch den Rhythmus eine große Gewalt über mich. . . . Melodie ist das sinnliche Leben der Poesie. Wird nicht der geistige

As in the opening vignette, in which the declaration that "artists do not weep," is followed by a song that wallows in tears, the claim that the rhythms of Goethe's poems have power over Beethoven's music may have to be taken with a grain of salt. The songs themselves seem to me to demonstrate a rhythmic life stubbornly independent from their texts. The analyses that follow will begin by considering in great detail the second song mentioned above, the one filled with tears, which bears the title *Wonne der Wehmuth,* and should be compared to an insightful analysis of this song by Kinderman.[7] Our analyses coincide on a few points, but overall we differ considerably, particularly on the importance I ascribe to rhythmic issues. In particular, I will focus on Beethoven's ability to conjoin rhythmic impulses and conflicts with other motivic elements related to tonal structure and how this conjunction brings about a kind of musical drama that speaks with its own independent voice.[8]

Wonne der Wehmuth, Op. 83, No. 1

Goethe's poem of 1775 is not overtly dramatic, at least in the sense of having a narrative content, but it does have the hortatory character of soliloquy. The single unrhymed strophe (with present author's translation) follows:

Wonne der Wehmuth	*The Pleasure of Melancholy*
Trocknet nicht, trocknet nicht,	Dry not, dry not,
Tränen der ewigen Liebe!	Tears of everlasting love!
Ach, nur dem halbgetrockneten Auge	Alas, to only half-dried eyes
Wie öde, wie tot die Welt ihm erscheint!	how hateful and dead the world appears!
Trocknet nicht, trocknet nicht,	Dry not, dry not,
Tränen unglücklicher Liebe!	Tears of unhappy love!

If we take the poem on its own, the varied restatement of the first two lines as the final two might suggest an A–B–A form. Beethoven's setting takes on this form

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Inhalt eines Gedichts zum sinnliche Gefühl durch die Melodie?" (cited from *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde,* p. 325, from the same lengthy letter cited above in which her first impressions of Beethoven are described in detail).

7. Kinderman, *Beethoven,* pp. 140–45.

8. This approach to conflicts among tonal and rhythmic elements is treated more formally in Frank Samarotto, *A Theory of Temporal Plasticity in Tonal Music: An Extension of the Schenkerian Approach to Rhythm with Special Reference to Beethoven's Late Music* (Ph.D. diss., CUNY Graduate Center, 1999).

to some extent, but is arranged as if a kind of free strophic variation combined with a ternary form whose A–B–A outlines are not quite coordinated with those of the text (see table 1).[9]

The tonal scheme, which I will discuss presently, is the most clearly ternary aspect of this song. Beethoven creates a scheme that simulates a three-verse structure by inserting repetitions of the motto phrase "Trocknet nicht!" All but the last of these are conjoined with a melodic-rhythmic motive, first heard in the opening beat-and-a-half of the song, which initiates each apparent strophe; around this motive crystallize the central issues of this song.[10] To be sure, this is a loose simulation of strophic variation: each "Trocknet" statement initiates only a single musical phrase for each part of the form, all differing in length, and only the last concluding on the tonic.[11]

Table 1: The Text in Beethoven's Setting

Text with Beethoven's alterations in italics[1]	Strophic form	A–B–A Form
Trocknet nicht, trocknet nicht,	First strophe	A (mm.1–4)
Tränen der ewigen Liebe!		
Trocknet nicht!	Second strophe	B (mm.5–15)
Ach, nur dem halbgetrockneten Auge	[False strophe;	[mm.11–15]
Wie öde, wie tot die Welt ihm erscheint!	still within B]	
Trocknet nicht, trocknet nicht,	Third strophe	A^1 (mm.16–23)
Tränen unglücklicher Liebe!		
Trocknet nicht, trocknet nicht,		
Tränen unglücklicher Liebe!		
Unglücklicher Liebe!		
Trocknet nicht!		

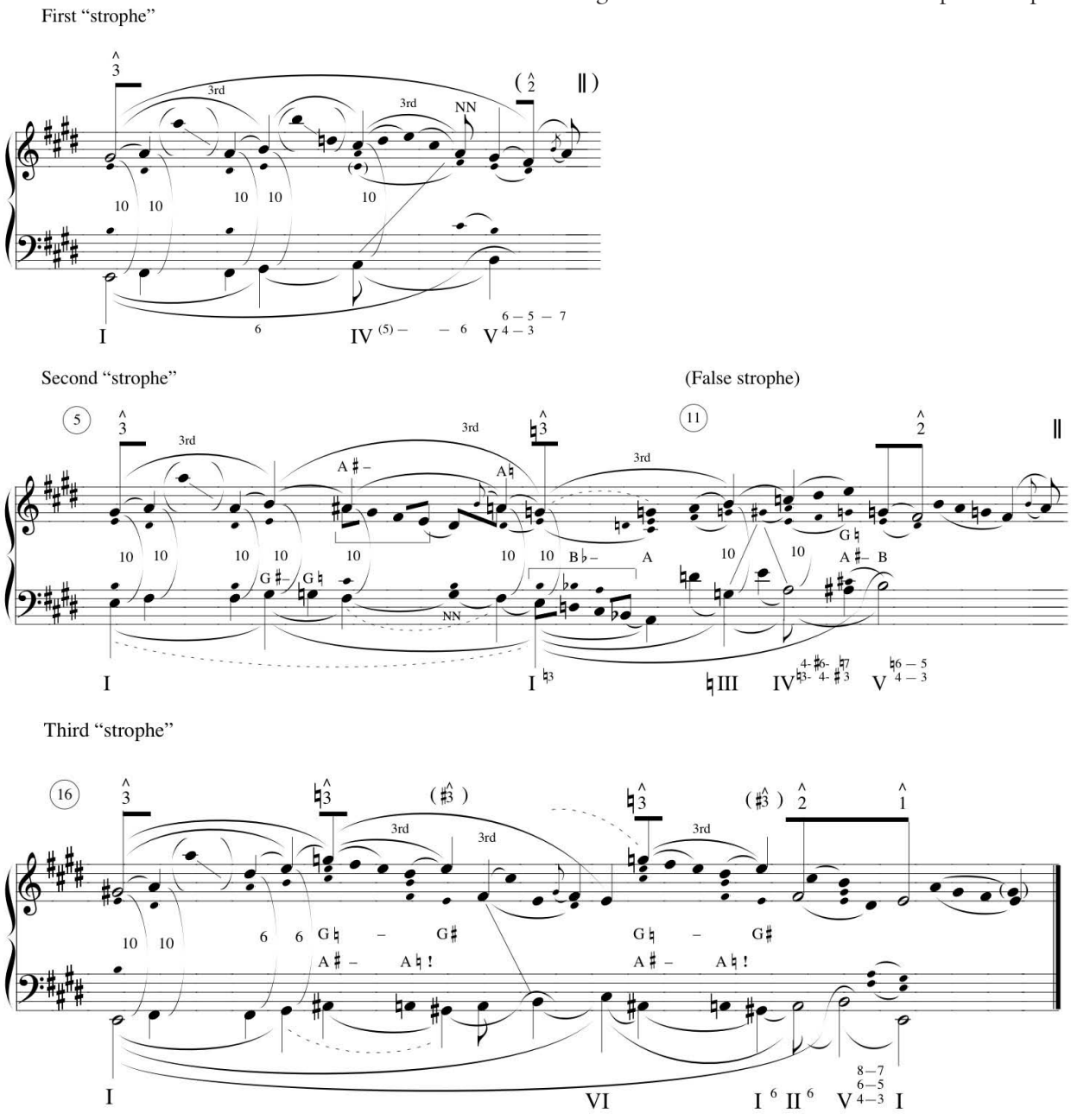
1. The separation into strophes is, of course, inferred from the musical setting and will be justified by the musical analysis. The repetition of "Unglücklicher" is not capitalized in the original. Schubert's more conventional setting, discussed below (D.260, composed 20 Aug. 1815), repeats only the last two lines.

9. Hans Boettcher outlines this song's "outer form" as A (a a') A^1 (a^{1}' a^{2}'). See *Beethoven als Liederkomponist* (Augsburg: Filser, 1928), p.57.

10. To be sure, the last "Trocknet" is set as a faint recollection of the rhythmic profile of that motive, the melody instead directed toward closure.

11. Phrases here are understood to comprise larger-scale harmonic motions and not just repetitions of design (as occurs for instance in mm.11*ff.*). The differing lengths of the phrases are of course conditioned in part by the line lengths of the original poem (6, 8, 10, 10, 6, 8) and exacerbated by Beethoven's insertions and repetitions.

The inconclusiveness of the first two "strophes" plays a major role in shaping the drama of this song. The first phrase closes on a half-cadence, its bass tracing a stepwise path to the dominant. Twice more this song retraces that path, seeking closure on the tonic and finding different obstacles at each attempt. Example 1

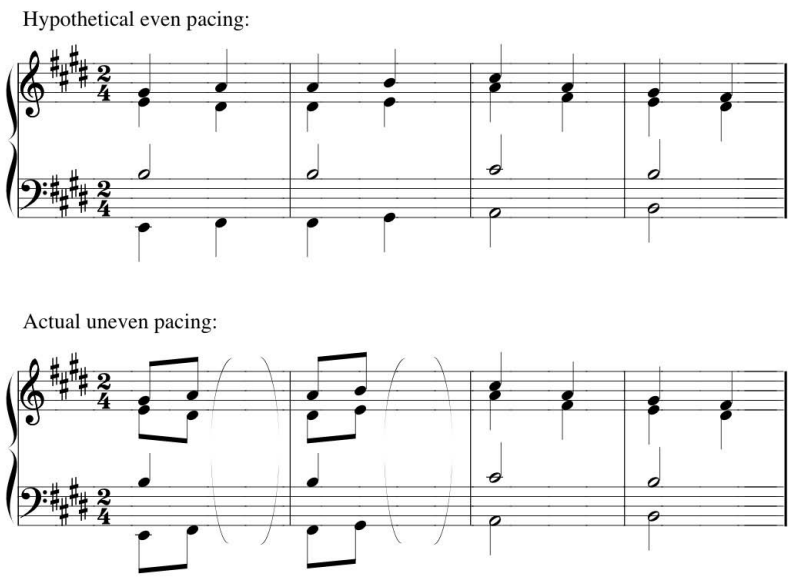


Example 1: Beethoven, *Wonne der Wehmut*, Op. 83 #1, voice-leading sketch

presents a voice-leading analysis of the entire song, laid out to show each of these attempts on its own system.

The first phrase (mm. 1–4) occupies the first system and simulates the first strophe. Here the "Trocknet" motto is introduced, prolonging the tonic through a third (G♯–A–B) moving in parallel tenths with the bass.[12] This third-motion is taken in two steps, split between two measures (1 and 2). However, rather than filling these measures evenly, which would match the pace of mm. 3–4, each step is compressed into the first half of each measure, as if the motive is choked off by tears.[13] Example 2 illustrates this by proposing a hypothetical even pacing, followed by the actual rhythm.[14] (Both are slightly simplified.) Besides making for a lopsided harmonic rhythm, this uneven pacing leaves a kind of emptiness in the second half of each measure, as the full texture gives way to a lone *portato* scale in the piano's right hand. In both articulation and direction, the scale surely represents falling tears, produced in immediate response to the exhortation, "Trocknet nicht," but it also does more. The special rhythmic arrangement of the "Trocknet" motive imparts to the second beat a blankly static quality, suggesting a melancholic void, filled with tears.[15]

Example 2: Beethoven, *Wonne der Wehmut*, Op. 83 #1, rhythmic analysis of first phrase, mm. 1–4



12. That the voice's first B is an appoggiatura is evident not only from the piano's right-hand chord, but even more definitely from the parallelism with the next measure.

13. This recalls the rhetorical figure of *suspiratio,* which often depicts tears.

14. The disparity in pacing is all the more pronounced in that one might expect an acceleration in the latter part of the phrase.

15. Kinderman points out the parenthetical quality of this scale, but without considering its larger rhythmic implications. See his *Beethoven,* p. 143.

Yet this void exerts a curious attraction. By m.5, the words "Trocknet nicht!" have wandered over to the second half of the measure, even at the expense of assuming a flat monotone on A. In fact, this tendency toward rhythmic shift was seeded in the song's first utterance: Beethoven emphasizes the significant word "nicht" ("Dry *not*") by the expressive appoggiatura B (written as a full sixteenth note), thus accruing an accent to the normally weak second eighth.[16] The rhythmic gesture takes on an anacrusic quality, without actually displacing the meter that one perceives. It is as if the "Trocknet" motive is seeking to shift itself ahead toward the second beat. Measure 5 takes a halfway step, with the voice relocating its accent, while the piano wordlessly "sings" the "Trocknet" motive needed to open the second strophe.[17] By the second measure of this strophe (m.6), both voice and piano succumb to the attractions of the second half of the measure and begin a full-textured setting of the next poetic phrase solidly on the second beat. As the hitherto empty second beat is suddenly filled, the meter seems momentarily shifted from weak to strong; the displacement is strengthened by the fact that the rhythm of the *second* half of m.6 (eighth-sixteenth-sixteenth) was first heard on the *first* half of m.3, in effect coming in too early. The displacement is immediately rescinded on the downbeat of m.7 by change of harmony and the accented dissonance, again an appoggiatura B.

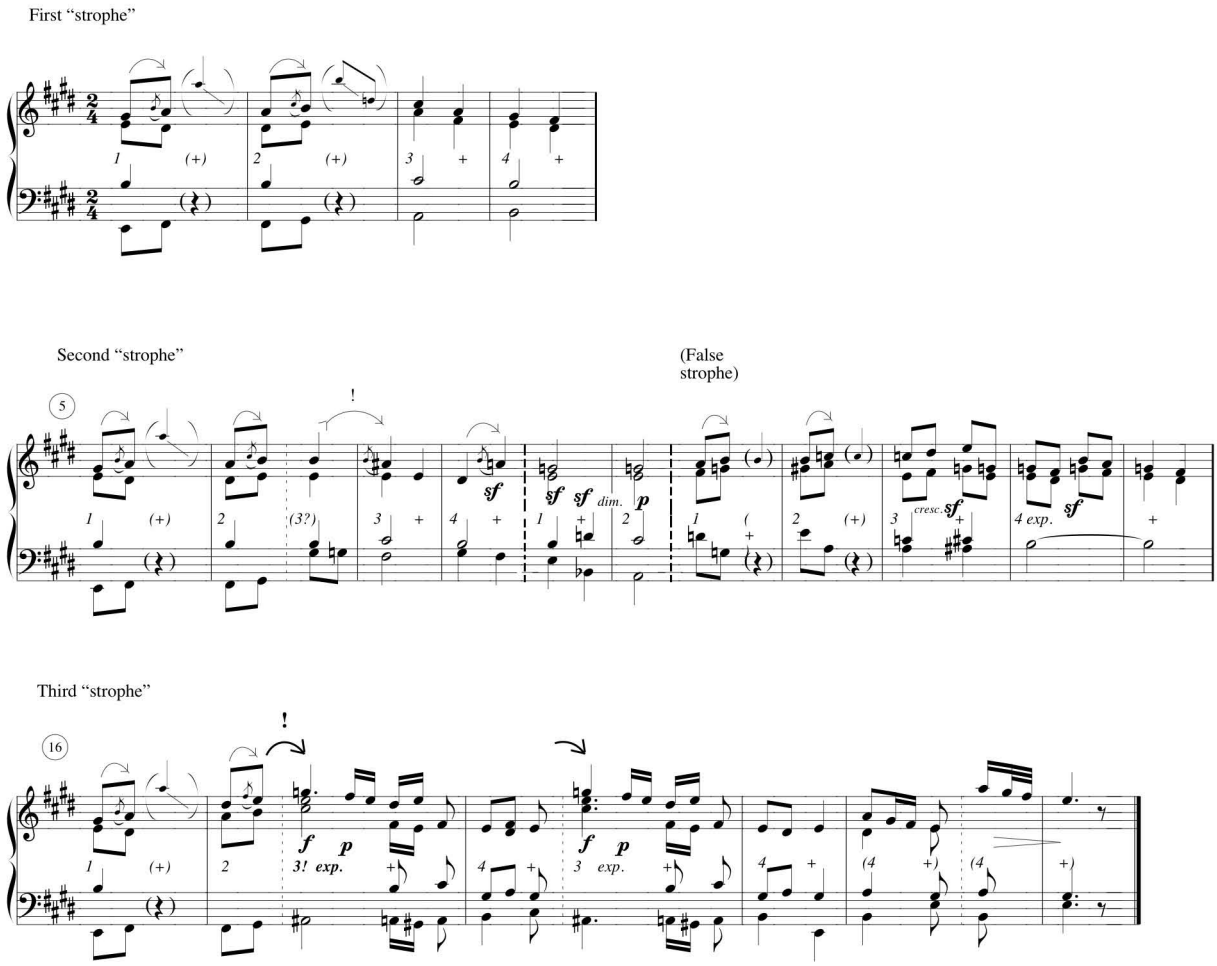
I have tried to picture these rhythmic events in ex.3.[18] As in ex.2, the music is slightly simplified.[19] Numbering between measures indicates grouping into hy-

16. Offbeat accents are, of course, a common feature of Beethoven's music. William Rothstein has recently provided a valuable elaboration of this aspect of Beethoven's style, using my concept of "shadow meter." See Rothstein, "Beethoven with and without *Kunstgepräng'*: Metrical Ambiguity Reconsidered," in *Beethoven Forum* 4 (1995), 165–93; and Frank Samarotto, "Strange Dimensions: Regularity and Irregularity in Deep Levels of Rhythmic Reduction," in *Schenker Studies 2,* ed. Carl Schachter and Hedi Siegel (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), pp.222–38.

17. The detailed dynamics and added turn figure heighten the vocal quality.

18. This example is based on the techniques of applying Schenkerian analysis to rhythm developed by Carl Schachter and William Rothstein. See Schachter's series of three articles: "Rhythm and Linear Analysis I: A Preliminary Study," *Music Forum* 4 (1976), 281–334; "Rhythm and Linear Analysis II: Durational Reduction," *Music Forum* 5 (1980), 197–232; "Rhythm and Linear Analysis III: Aspects of Meter," *Music Forum* 6, pt. 1 (1987), 1–59; and Rothstein, *Phrase Rhythm in Tonal Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989).

19. The reduction is based on the voice-leading analysis in ex.1. At times, the special technique of normalization is employed. For example, in m.3, the upper-voice A, which occurs as the final sixteenth note in the score, occupies the entire second beat in the analysis in accordance with its higher structural status. At a yet deeper level this A would occur simultaneously with the bass A of m.3, as indicated by the diagonal line in ex.1.



Example 3: Beethoven, *Wonne der Wehmut*, Op. 83 #1, rhythmic analysis of whole song

permeasures. The special rhythmic character of the "Trocknet" motto is indicated by the curved arrow that illustrates the sense of impulse toward the second eighth of the measure, and the parenthesis around the second beat to convey vacant stasis. When the second half of m.6 is unexpectedly filled, a dotted bar line is used to suggest the momentary impression that the third bar of this four-bar hypermeasure has intruded too early.

When this impression is corrected in the next measure, the musical gesture underlying the syllables "Ach, nur dem halb-" reveals itself as an enlarged version of the "Trocknet" motto: the B–A♯ on the "halb-" recalls the B–A on "nicht"

(both on an F♯ bass and both coming from a tonic chord). What takes this beyond ordinary motivic development is that the metric positions have been reversed. The "Trocknet" motto led to an accented appoggiatura on a weak second eighth note; the enlarged repetition leads to a true downbeat, one that reaffirms the notated meter. A moment later (m.8) the appoggiatura figure recurs again, on B–A♮, this time with an explicit *sforzando*. Besides painting the expressive word "öde," this gesture once again places an accent on the second half of the measure. The music seems conflicted, under the sway of an inner impulse to shift its accentuation forward.

There is conflict in the pitch realm also. The A♯ strongly asserted in m.7 does not initiate a full-fledged, and expected, modulation to the dominant. The fuller context of ex.1 shows that the A♯ is reinflected back to A♮, prolonging a parallel tenth with the bass F♯. In its form in m.8, the F♯–A tenth (part of a V^4_3 harmony) is a recurrence of the sonority of the second eighth note of m.1. In effect the music tells us that this latter sonority is the one that *should* have occurred and thus must be emphatically reasserted. The conflict between A♯ and A♮ becomes a *sub rosa* parallel to the song's hidden rhythmic impulse toward the second beat.[20]

Also, in this passage, a second conflict between diatonic and chromatic tones has developed. The inconspicuous passing G♮ of the bass of m.6 suddenly comes to the fore in the lifeless monotone of mm.9–10, depicting a dead emotional world. The pall cast by this turn toward the tonic minor makes a bleak alternative to the bright G♯ with which the song began. Again the setting in tenths brings the contrast G♯–G♮ into sharp aural focus.

Example 1 clarifies the prolongation of the tonic in mm. 5–9 (through an inflection from major to minor). Without strong harmonic motion, however, no conclusion is felt. Moreover, the music pushes past the tonic minor harmony, through dully insistent *sforzandi,* to an A dominant seventh (V^7 of VII!) that is oddly lacking in force. Even the previous A♯ has lost its desire to ascend, making an appearance as a B♭ leading to A.[21] Mired on a downbeat, the music seems for a moment at a dead end.

20. This conflict is seeded within the "Trocknet" motto when a passing A♯ is inserted in m.2, leading to B but grating against the piano's A♮.

21. The association is strenghthened by the hidden repetition, indicated by brackets in ex.1, of the melody's tritone A♯–E as E–B♭ in the bass. This particular motivic repetition is triply unusual in that it (1) uses the interval of a tritone, (2) places that tritone in distinctly different harmonic contexts, and (3) employs the unique capability of the tritone to yield itself in inversion (though this inversion is used to produce the enharmonic equivalent B♭).

The continuation makes no more than a gesture toward resolving this dominant: the seventh, G, though nominally resolved in an inner voice, is cavalierly led through G♯ to A! What emerges now is the "Trocknet" motto, for the first time transposed. It is subtly altered in other ways as well. Whereas the original gesture moved from tonic to dominant harmony, this version does the reverse. Thus, though the appoggiatura that gave the second eighth its accent is not present here, harmonic progression takes over instead to lead us forward. The second half of the measure is now truly a void, the voice alone, *pianissimo.*[22]

In the midst of despair, solace is found in at least continuing a minor-key recomposition of the first "strophe" (i.e., mm.11–15 repeat mm.1–4). But the corresponding text is different and the previously straightforward path to the dominant is suddenly altered on the word "unglücklicher." In m.13, for the first time, A♯ and G♮ come together, and for the first time a *crescendo* and *sforzando* make the impulse toward the second beat explicit and undeniable. (Both the G♮ and the *sforzando* echo in the next measure on the same text.) Bringing together these tonal and rhythmic elements reveals their underlying affinity. Just as the chromatic tones A♯ and G♮ conflict with the underlying diatonicism, the impulse to accent the offbeat disrupts the stability of the notated meter. For the first time as well, the speaker admits, almost in spite of himself, just what sort of *Wehmut* this is, and at what an emotional cost.

At this point we must look back to consider two subtleties of form that decisively shape this song's drama. The first involves the strophic arrangement. I have labeled mm.11–15 a "false strophe," not just because the recurrence of the "Trocknet" motto in m.15 is transposed and varied, but because these measures are part of a larger tonal motion. A comparison of the first strophe of ex.1 with the entire second strophe shows that mm.5–15 are an extraordinarily varied recomposition of the four-bar model in mm.1–4. This emerges most clearly in the bass: the E–G♯–A–B of mm.1–4 is retraced as E–G♮(!)–A–B in mm.5–15. (The first attempt to reach G♯ in m.8 is quickly deflected back down through G♮, and, after some deliberate hesitation, returns to E.) To be sure, this second strophe presents enough overt contrast to be separated out as the middle section of a ternary form, but that separation would be misleading.

Herein lies the second point: the minor coloration of the second strophe could seem like a passing cloud to be left behind as we return to the muted *Wonne* of

22. In a slightly earlier version of this song, the second halves of both mm.11 and 12 include a descending passage in the piano right hand analogous to that of m.1. This version, presumably transmitted to Goethe by Bettina von Arnim and found in manuscript in the Goethe and Schiller Archives in Weimar, is published as Hess 142 in *Beethoven Werke,* Abteilung XII, Band I: *Lieder und Gesänge mit Klavier Begleitung,* ed. Helga Lühning (Munich: G. Henle, 1990), pp.216–17.

the first strophe. But it is not to be; though the text is exhausted, the drama is not. Beethoven repeats the final two lines, returning the "Trocknet" motto to its original form (at least for m.16). However, now, in m.17, *Wehmut* will not be denied, and like a spasm of pain *Thränen* burst forth. The diminished-seventh sonority of m.13 returns stronger than before, with A♯ an immediate substitution for the expected bass A♮, and with G♮ now the climactic, highest tone in the voice part.[23] Dynamically isolated as the lone *forte* in a *piano* context, this diminished-seventh chord is like the intrusion of an unwelcome foreign element, unreconciled to its surroundings. For one thing, its tonal function is almost ignored. As ♯IV^7, usurping the place previously occupied by IV in this phrase, it should lead straightforwardly to the cadential dominant. Instead, the powerfully directed A♯ in the bass is forced back to A♮, the bass of a V$^4_2$ that is not structurally significant.[24] The melodic G♮ begins a linear third that returns to E and thus prolongs the tonic. In this way, the functional force of the ♯IV^7 dissipates, yielding back into the tonic it so harshly disrupted; it is this tonic six-three that points toward the cadence. (In its second appearance in mm.19–20, it emerges from the VI harmony, itself a kind of substitute for the tonic.)

Its rhythmic element is even more obviously disruptive. Recall the strange attraction exerted by the second half of the measure. What was hitherto a quasi-void is suddenly filled with such power that the meter is for the first time truly distorted. As shown in ex.3, the pattern of the first strophe was to have the IV harmony arrive on the third bar of a four-bar hypermeasure. The ♯IV^7 that takes its place (cadentially thwarted though it is) arrives too early, but so forcefully that it becomes more than just an anticipation. The perceived bar line is shifted back, and the third measure is expanded beyond normal length.[25] The dominant appears in the fourth measure as expected, but a deceptive cadence allows the diminished-seventh chord to be repeated, so that we relive the third and fourth bars of the hypermeasure. (See the numbering in ex.3.) At this second attempt, the voice cannot bring itself to speak, rejoining only after the word "Thränen" would occur, and after its associated sounds have dissipated.

What then is Beethoven's reading of Goethe's poem? It is not merely that unhappy love creates painful tears; for that, a much simpler musical representation

23. The D♯–E on the first beat of m.17 is a superposition of an inner voice, inverting the tenths into sixths. The G♮ and the descending third that follows it are a continuation of that superposition.

24. This ironically recalls the B♭–A in mm.9–10.

25. Beethoven could have shown this by notating m.17 in $\frac{1}{4}$ and m.18 in $\frac{3}{4}$: not only would this be foreign to notational conventions of the time, but, more important, it would not express the level of tension that is felt between the disruptive anticipation and the listener's continuation of the notated meter.

would do. In addition, the same conflicts with G♮ and A♯ that depict unhappy love are also invoked to express the deadness of those whose feeling is so shallow as to allow even half-dried tears! The crucial point is that *those* poor souls do not feel the rhythmic impulse that the protagonist lives for. (It is precisely the downbeat emphasis in mm.9–10 that creates a kind of dull emptiness.) The hidden impulse to move toward the weak beat is a musical analog of the intensity that emotion, *any* emotion, brings. The nearly empty second beat of the first two measures is at least tenderly consoling, but the fully accented second beat of m.17 is what the music has been reaching for all along. It finds that beat filled with a diminished-seventh sonority that surely expresses pain. This is the *Wonne der Wehmut:* to feel the pain of melancholy is at least to feel as fully as possible.

But doesn't the minor-key inflection in mm.11–15 express melancholy also? It does, but this is where Beethoven's musical drama takes its own path. In my larger structure, the first strophe presents a model phrase leading to a half-cadence on the dominant. The second strophe greatly elaborates on that model, but arrives finally at a similar dominant. At this point the text is completed, but some conventional repetition of text would allow for satisfying rounding off both formally and tonally. By returning to the opening "Trocknet" motto, Beethoven seems to do just this. The interjection of the diminished seventh, exploding onto the second beat but dying away without function, creates, in what should have been a final resolution, an exquisite equivocation of pain inextricable from the pleasure lying just below its surface.

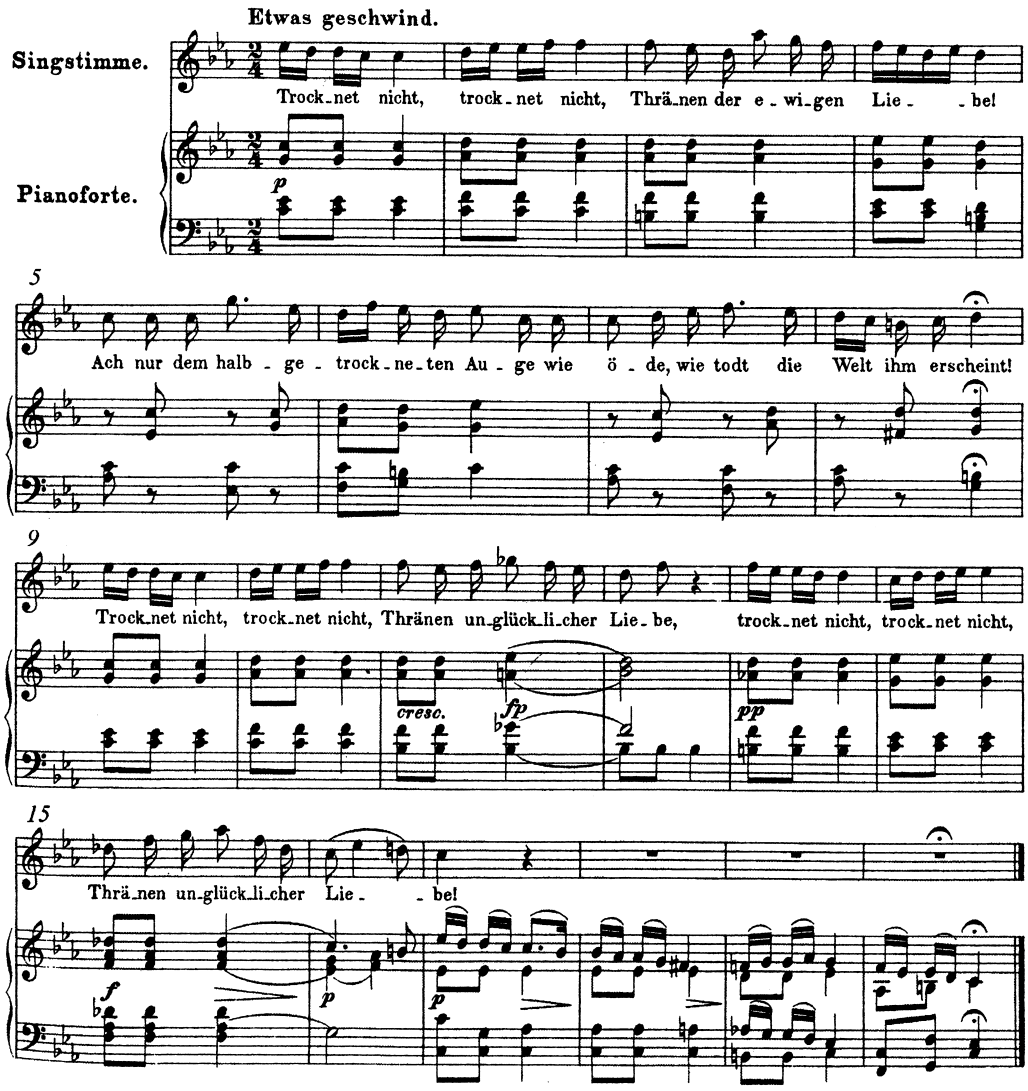
These ideas are perhaps present in Goethe's text, but Beethoven's drama is certainly not. The gradual accumulation of metric and tonal conflicts that culminate in the last phrase is not implied or even suggested by the shape or significance of the poem. (As already noted, the change from "ewiger" to "unglücklicher" is not the trigger for the final dramatic stroke.) In a sense, the two texts run parallel to each other, each speaking with its own voice.

Even after the actual singing voice falls mute, the drama continues. In the brief coda (mm.22–23), the open-ended exhortation of the "Trocknet" motto is finally answered by a falling fourth, over a V^7 on a strong beat leading to a I on the weak beat. But this is immediately gainsaid: the weak beat asserts its sway one last time as this very progression is shifted to begin on the last eighth of m.22. The attraction of weakness is not easily dismissed.

It may clarify my characterization of Beethoven's text setting to make a brief comparison with a setting by the greatest of art song composers, Franz Schubert.[26]

26. See the note to Table 1.

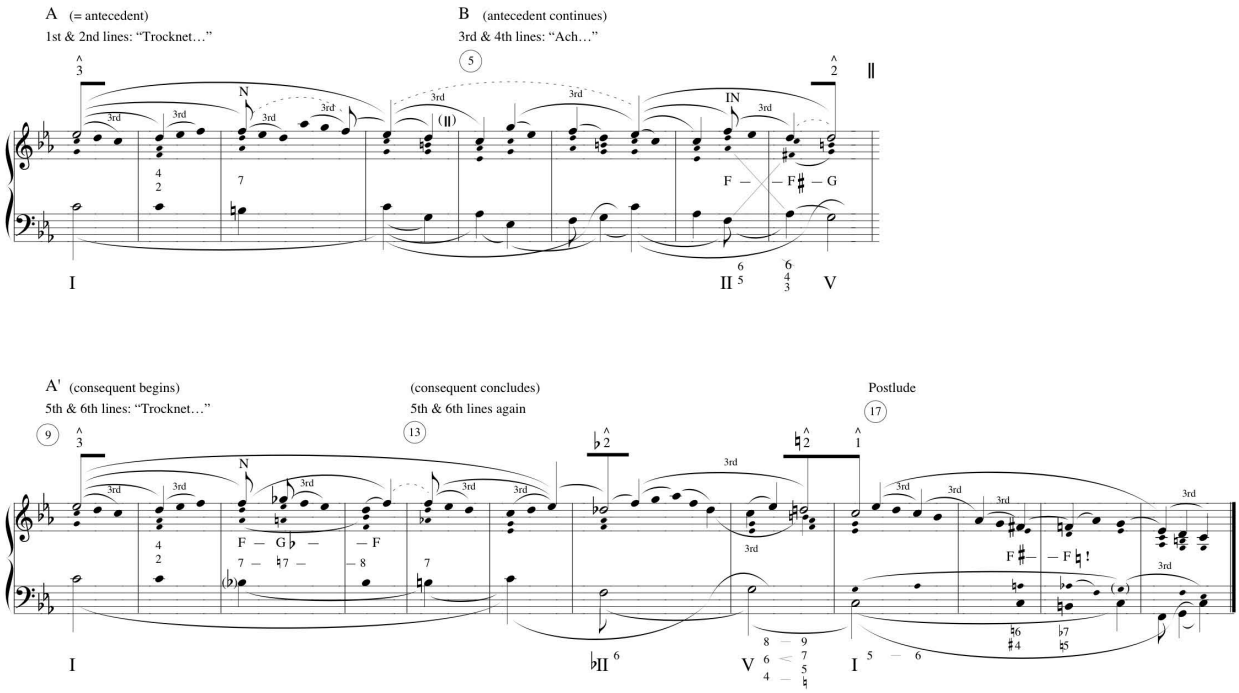
The score is given in ex.4a. Schubert's work is early in his output and obviously a slighter effort; in this light Beethoven might appear to be the superior *Liedkomponist*. The situation, however, is more complex than that: Schubert's music may be lesser than Beethoven's in this instance, but Schubert's setting is, it seems to me, a more perfect union of text and music. One is immediately struck by the simplicity of the rhythm: while Schubert, like Beethoven, properly places an ac-



Example 4a: Schubert, *Wonne der Wehmut*, D. 260, score

cent on the word "nicht," there is no other world of rhythm to complicate the issue in Schubert's setting.[27] The representation of tears in the paired sixteenths is one with the singer's heartfelt statement, a contrast with the ambivalence in the Beethoven setting.

The analysis in ex.4b highlights another difference. The formal indications above the staves are keyed to the lines of the text and show that Schubert has realized the A–B–A implication of Goethe's poem in a clear and unproblematic way.[28] Both settings, however, share an overall antecedent-consequent structure that shifts the dramatic focus to the final line. More striking, the use of chromatic motives is similar enough to cause one to suspect a direct compositional influence. The chromaticism in question is ♯4̂, F♯, and its enharmonic equivalent G♭. This tone is subtly introduced in its more normal ♯4̂ form in m.8, where an augmented sixth arising



Example 4b: Schubert, *Wonne der Wehmut*, D. 260, voice-leading sketch

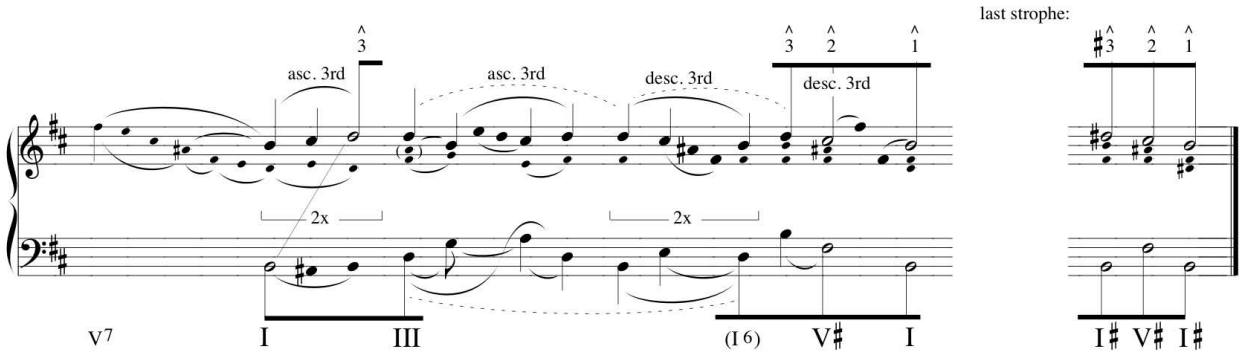
27. This is not to say that rhythm is not frequently a central issue in other Schubert songs. See, for instance, Arnold Feil's analysis of metric conflicts in "Im Dorfe" (from *Winterreise*) in *Franz Schubert: Die schöne Müllerin; Winterreise* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1975), Eng. trans. Ann C. Sherwin (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1988), pp.29–38.

28. This notwithstanding the nuance gained by beginning the B section on VI.

through voice exchange creates a cross-relation, a twinge of pain that expresses the text. This twinge returns with greater force when the opening music, returning in m.9, deviates from its previous path to acknowledge the fact of "unglücklicher Liebe." Here, in m.11, F♯ returns as G♭, denied its desire to rise to the dominant tone. Though the song's dramatic focus is invested in m.15's Neapolitan sixth, the piano postlude brings back F♯ (again as part of a diminished-seventh harmony) and forces it down to F♮ as a reminder of the source of the protagonist's melancholy. Although both Schubert and Beethoven place their climaxes in a repetition of Goethe's final two lines, Schubert's repetition reinforces a straightforward reading of the poem. The sense is of a single voice interpreting the poem through the medium of music.

Sehnsucht, Op.83, No.2

A different sort of emotion attracts the speaker of this poem; its folklike simplicity belies its less-than-innocent desire.[29] The five eight-line strophes of Goethe's poem are straightforwardly reflected in Beethoven's strophic setting, with only the last strophe inflected to major to convey the favorable turn of events. The *Volkstümlichkeit* of the text is captured as much by the rhythmic and formal clarity as by the melodic simplicity. The voice-leading analysis in ex.5 shows how much the upper



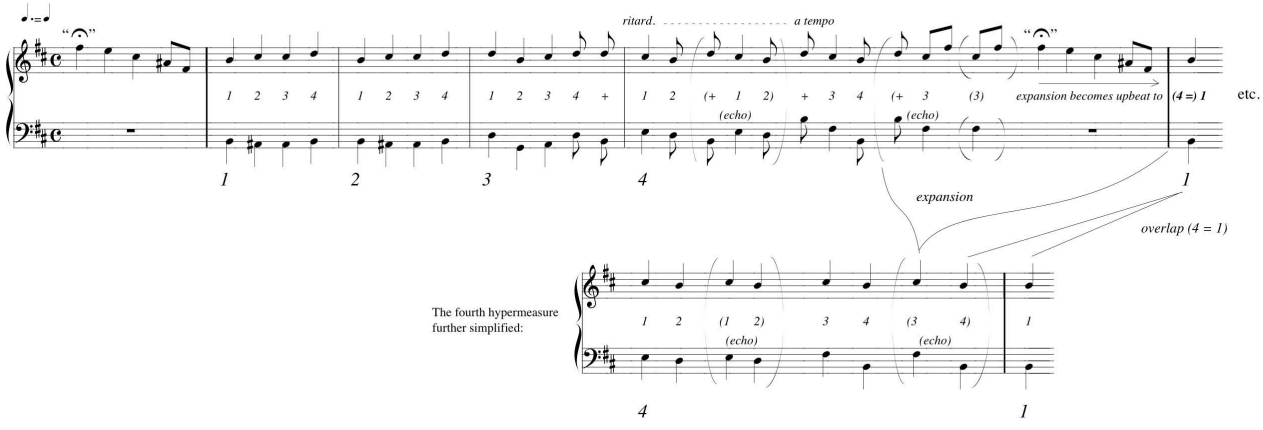
Example 5: Beethoven, *Sehnsucht*, Op. 83 #2, voice-leading sketch

29. Joseph Kerman has referred to its "faintly erotic or voyeuristic overtones," in "*An die ferne Geliebte,*" in BS I, p.128.

voice centers on three tones, B–C♯–D. These tones are arranged with balanced symmetry: two ascending statements of this third plus a varied one (harmonized in III) are set against a consequent of two descending thirds plus a variation that brings this expanded sentence form to a close.[30]

Scarcely present in the deeper structure of the vocal line is the tone F♯. The fifth scale degree makes a significant appearance in two places, however: the upbeat $f\sharp^1$, at the words, "What tugs at my heart so?," and an octave higher in m.11, embellishing the cadence at the wish, "Would that I were there!" Beethoven's agent in creating a parallel drama independent of Goethe's poem is the $f\sharp^2$. This tone becomes the focal point of a piano interlude that stands literally outside the text (between verses) as much as it is absent from the deeper melodic structure. The song opens with the interlude, whose implication of dominant harmony leads naturally into the text's opening question.[31] The first long-held note, with the lack of accompaniment, creates a certain sense of temporal suspension, as it gradually coalesces into the rhythmic swing of the vocal part.

Example 6 attempts to capture this sense in a rhythmic analysis. In this example, which illustrates one strophe, rhythmic values are slightly reduced so that two bars of the score are joined into one hypermeasure in the analysis (turning the meter



Example 6: Beethoven, *Sehnsucht*, Op. 83 #2, rhythmic analysis of first strophe

30. For simplicity's sake, the graph shows a $\hat{3}$–$\hat{2}$–$\hat{1}$ descent here, which would then recur in each verse. In the larger picture, the final statement would subsume the others as the definitive structural descent.

31. Schubert's most famous setting of a Goethe text, *Erlkönig,* also expresses an opening question by beginning the vocal line over a dominant harmony.

into common time). Though the vocal entrance has two levels of measure numbering, the piano's introduction does not. In addition, the first note has a "quasi-fermata" to suggest its feeling of indeterminate length. Initially, at least, mm. 1–2 stand outside the hypermetric scheme, asserting neither a strong downbeat nor a clear upbeat to the vocal melody.

In contrast to this, mm. 3–8 are clearly patterned to form a still larger hypermeter indicated by the numbers below the system in ex. 6. Complication enters with the *ritardando* leading into m. 9. The hesitation lends to m. 10 the quality of an echo, repeating the first two "beats" within the overriding fourth hypermeasure. Correspondingly, the *a tempo* in m. 11, which brings in the structural cadence, seems like a resumption of forward motion, and thus brings in beats three and four. With an agitated lack of satisfaction, the piano picks up the voice's somewhat perfunctory close and echoes it. The music gets stuck on the V chord, however, unable to complete the melody's f♯^{1}–b^1, harping instead on c♯^{2}–f♯^{2}, significantly the very same motivic fourth needed to start the next verse.

Suddenly, in m. 13, echoes of echoes give way to the same long f♯^{2} with which the song began, and for a moment we are held in the stasis of an unfulfilled desire. What at first appeared out of nowhere now emerges from the dominant of m. 12, which is, in a deeper sense, a repetition of the same dominant that closed the strophe in m. 11. This unfulfilled V chord becomes the V implied by the piano's right-hand interlude, which is inexorably drawn toward the next verse as an unambiguous anacrusis. The long F♯ thus reveals itself as an expanded version of the voice's eighth-note F♯ upbeat.

These events are further simplified in the lower system in ex. 6. At the heart of mm. 9–14 is a single hypermeasure, consisting of the four tonal events standing outside of the parentheses. The first set of parentheses encloses a simple echo; the second echo, containing V–I, is hypothetical in that the $\hat{1}$ over I never actually appears. Rather, the third beat *within the echo* is expanded through echoes of its own to the point of the near dissolution of meter that occurs in the piano interlude. Thus the tonic that would have completed the echo is displaced until the downbeat of the next verse, so that the fourth beat within the echo becomes the first beat of the next large-scale hypermeter.[32] Note that the last parenthesis in the upper system opens but does not close. The true *closing* tonic does not arrive until the final measure of the entire song, and somewhat weakly at that.

32. Many types of phrase elision and metrical reinterpretation are clearly discussed in Rothstein, *Phrase Rhythm,* pp. 44–56. Rothstein explains the technique of parenthesis too, but does not combine techniques in the unusual way I have suggested here.

Again Beethoven's music both expresses the text and creates a drama that stands outside it. As already mentioned, this drama quite literally stands apart, since it becomes most evident in the piano interludes between the vocal strophes. Neither do these interludes seem to participate in the larger metric structure. As implied by my discussion above, the nine measures of the vocal melody could be easily heard as an expansion of eight measures (with m. 10 an echo). The interludes would simply be additions to a more basic regular structure.

Further, the interludes are far more than mere connectives between strophes. The F♯ that is the song's first sound, suspended, seeking fulfillment, clearly represents *Sehnsucht* in muted internal form. As the sixteenths rush toward the vocal downbeat, F♯ takes the more aggressive form of the lower-octave upbeat that drives the vocal melody's rising third, each tone dipping back to gain more energy. In this role as an inner voice, F♯ persists through III and V, but, irrepressible, it reappears in the upper octave in the cadence. The immediate echo of this cadence does not reaffirm closure, but instead ignores it, insisting that it has not occurred. The parenthetical comments of the piano emerge from behind the parentheses, usurping the closing tonic attained by the voice and melding it instead with the next strophe's opening tonic, which in turn must again seek fulfillment. This unusual manipulation of the larger metrical structure becomes an insistent voice telling a story that runs parallel to but not quite coincident with Goethe's text.[33]

Mit einem gemalten Band, Op.83, No.3

The third text is also suffused with desire and uses the image of a painted band to stand for an emotional bond with a distant beloved.

Mit einem Gemalten Band	*With a Painted Band*
Kleine Blumen, kleine Blätter	Little flowers, little leaves
Streuen mir mit leichter Hand	are strewn for me with light hand
Gute junge Frühlings-Götter	by good young spring gods,
Tändelnd auf ein luftig Band.	dallying, onto an airy band.
Zephir, nimms auf deine Flügel,	Zephyr, take it on your wings,
Schlings um meiner Liebsten Kleid;	wind it around my love's dress;

33. The reader is invited to compare this song's use of the fifth scale degree as a source of phrase elision with that in "Für Elise," WoO 59, composed around the same time; besides the similarity of basic melodic profile, scale degree $\hat{5}$ leading to a third rise from the tonic, that fifth scale degree is left suspended between phrases as both end and beginning preceding the returns in m. 15 and m. 38 (and in a more disguised way before m. 82).

Und so tritt sie vor den Spiegel	and so steps before the mirror
All in ihrer Munterkeit.	all in her light-heartedness.
Sieht mit Rosen sich umgeben,	She with roses is surrounded,
Selbst wie eine Rose jung.	herself like a young rose.
Einen Blick, geliebtes Leben!	One look, my beloved life!
Und ich bin belohnt genung.	And I have reward enough.
Fühle, was dies Herz empfindet,	Feel, what this heart senses,
Reiche frei mir deine Hand,	Reach out with an open hand,
Und das Band, das uns verbindet,	And let the bond that binds us,
Sei kein schwaches Rosenband!	be no weak rosy band.

Beethoven's setting responds to the poem's change in focus in the middle stanzas, from the speaker to the beloved, by adopting a ternary form (see table 2). The last column is given fuller explication in the voice-leading analysis of ex.7. The neighbor-note B♭ plays a recurring role on both local and larger levels, but what I want to highlight is a fourth motive with which it is associated, and which develops at the end of the first strophe as the text winds its way finally to the words "tändelnd auf ein luftig Band." In an exuberant excursion above the obligatory register, the melodic high point reached at mm.7–8 spins out a descending fourth f^2–c^2; it is followed by a structurally significant B♭, but without any necessary attachment to it. This series of tones, indicated by the brackets on ex.7, becomes the touchstone for the middle section: mm.11–12 make a first attempt to retrace this path f^2–e^2; mm.13–14, a second. With effort, an emphatic $e\flat^2$ moves things affirmatively forward, and this time the tonicization of IV binds the F–C fourth to B♭ as a unified fifth progression.

Table 2

Textual Strophe	Textual Focus	Tonal Form	Tonal Focus
First	Speaker	A	$\hat{3}$ I
Second & Third	Beloved	B	$\hat{4}$ IV
Fourth	Speaker	A & Coda	$\hat{3}$ I

A (1st strophe)

F–C 4th + B♭ NN
(= band of roses)

B (2nd strophe)

5th (from F–C 4th + B♭)
(= band of roses wrapped around beloved)

E♭-B♭ 4ths (= beloved seeing herself in roses)

(consonant support for NN)

(3rd strophe)

E♭–B♭ 4th (= desire for vision of beloved)

Mm. 28–38
= mm. 1–11

A (4th strophe)

F–C 4th + B♭NN
(= bond, not band)

Coda (4th strophe repeated)

B♭-F 4th
(= realization of bond)

Example 7: Beethoven, Op. 83, #3, *Mit einem gemalten Band*, voice-leading sketch

The relation to the text is clear: the fourth F–C is associated with the band of roses, but its tonal connection to B♭ is only incidental; B♭ is associated with the beloved and the cadence at m.17 wraps the fourth around it with true harmonic progression. The e♭^{2}–b♭^{1} fourths that follow in mm.17–21 at first seem an empathic reaction to the beloved, transposing the speaker's original motive into a closer relation with B♭. The band, however, is only an imaginary proxy, a reification of the protagonist's desire. It is thus no surprise that in the more agitated setting of "Einen Blick, geliebtes Leben! Und ich bin belohnt genug," the same e♭^{2}–b♭^{1} fourth is equally illustrative of desire unfulfilled.[34]

So far this is Goethe's story, and Beethoven's music tells it well. It is here at the end of the B section that the separate metrical drama begins to come to the fore. To explain this, I must backtrack and describe an unusual characteristic of this song's rhythm. Example 8 presents a rhythmic analysis in durational reduction (at half value). This analysis includes a special feature in which the larger hypermetrical grouping is heard as sometimes displaced from the notated meter (which is shown as partial bar lines in between staves). This not-uncommon metric technique can create a sense of restlessness in the music, as the listener seeks to reconcile two competing claims for metric orientation.[35] One way to reconcile this sort of ambiguity in general is to hear the closing tonic in a cadential progression as metrically strong, so that in this case the tonic of m.3, which is counted as "4" in my example, would be heard as the first real downbeat. I instead prefer to hear the second half of m.1 as metrically strong, largely because of the vocal entrance that follows a half measure of accompanimental curtain. At the same time, like the rhythmic impulses lying below the surface of *Wonne der Wehmut,* there is an undercurrent pulling toward beat 4 of my hypermetric counting.

This latter impulse is finally realized at the entry into the B section at m.11: an elision takes place so that a weak fourth beat becomes a strong first beat (albeit only in the piano's echo) reorienting the meter to the actual notation.[36] The metric stability of the ensuing phrases is associated with the image of union with the

34. Also appropriate to expressing desire is the greater complexity of the prolongation of this fourth, especially in the two apparent arrivals at the tonic in mm.24 and 25, which are given the effect of a six-four by the surrounding low bass Fs in mm.23 and 26.

35. Metrical displacement as a kind of metrical dissonance is explored in the music of Schumann in Harald Krebs, *Fantasy Pieces: Metrical Dissonance in the Music of Robert Schumann* (New York: Oxford UP, 1999).

36. The situation might seem similar to that of *Sehnsucht,* in which an echo expansion leads to a metric reinterpretation, but that song features a juxtaposition of radically different types of temporal discourses. In *Mit einem gemalten Band,* the piano echo is unobtrusively integral (the voice even joins in at the reprise in mm.36–38) and completes its phrase in m.11 before the voice resumes.

Partial barlines indicate the notated meter.

A (1st strophe)

displaced hypermeter

(curtain) 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 (4=1)

1 2 3 4 (4 echoed)

B (2nd strophe)

11 *undisplaced hypermeter*

4=1 2 1 2 1 2 + 1 ( ) ( )

cresc. *f* *p* *pp* *cresc.*

1 2 3 4 e x p a n d e d – – – – – –

(3rd strophe)

contraction

anticipatory expansion

21

cresc. *f* *fp* *cresc.* *p*

1? 2 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 1 1? (curtain) 1

1 2 3 4 (1?) 1

A (4th strophe)

"Fühle…"

displaced hypermeter

Mm. 28–38
= mm. 1–11

Coda (4th strophe repeated)

38 *undisplaced hypermeter*

Adagio

Tempo I

displaced hypermeter

undisplaced hypermeter
(but: 1 2 3 4)

4=1 2 1 2 1 2 1 exp. 2 exp. 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4=1 2 3 4 1

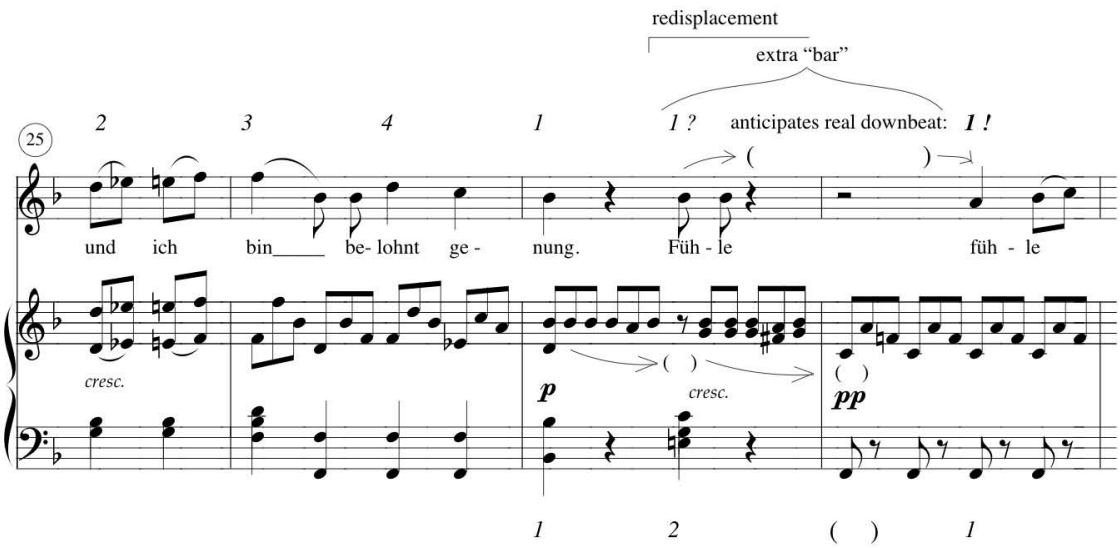
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

Example 8: Beethoven, Op. 83, #3, *Mit einem gemalten Band*, rhythmic analysis of whole song

beloved. Though the hypermeter in mm. 11–17 is no longer displaced, the impulse toward the fourth beat reemerges at the deeper level of hypermeter indicated below the system in ex. 8, in which the first three beats amount to a V^7 seeking resolution in the cadence on IV in m. 17. Having reached this goal we luxuriate in expanding echoes of the E♭–B♭ fourth. At the mention of desire in m. 21, metric stability is momentarily disturbed by the eager early arrival of the next phrase, but the succeeding measures, leading the accented downbeat of m. 23, insist on affirming the bar line.[37]

When the B section concludes on the unambiguous downbeat of m. 27, the association is complete: $\hat{4}$ as a top voice, IV as a key, and undisplaced hypermeter become one with the fantasy of vicarious union with the beloved.[38] The fourth strophe will return focus to reality as the speaker wishes for true emotional empathy to form a real connection to the beloved. Though IV is not the most expected key for the B section, the return to the key of the A section is not especially difficult. Beethoven provides a quite brief transition that is a strikingly concentrated focal point for the song. It is here that the musical drama separates itself from the poem.

Example 9 highlights the crucial moment, the second half of m. 27, where the word "fühle" anticipates the fourth strophe. This word ought to fall on the displaced



Example 9: Beethoven, Op. 83, #3, *Mit einem gemalten Band*, rhythmic detail of mm. 25–8

37. This is effected by contracting the IV/II of B♭ and expanding the V^7 of B♭ so that the entirety of m. 22 represents an anticipatory harmony (see the small insert in ex. 8).

38. Even the present tense of "ich bin belohnt genug" invokes verbally what does not yet exist.

downbeat of the reprised A section. It does seem to displace the meter, but the real reprise in the next measure immediately shows where the true downbeat is. Moreover, the first "fühle" is placed above a passing V^6_5; it is seeking the tonic, but is not there yet. It is precisely this harmony, however, that more naturally belongs on a weak beat, one that transforms the melodic B♭ into a tone that must resolve to $\hat{3}$ of F. In one stroke Beethoven creates a moment that stands between worlds and joins elements of both: the vocal entrance is displaced, while the harmony is not; B♭ is the reiterated melody tone, but its meaning is changed. And yet the sense is not that real connection is achieved, but only the desire for connection. The speaker reaches out for B♭, but is cut off by the reappearance of the half-measure curtain. In this moment, this otherwise light-hearted song strikes a note of urgency, stepping out of the playful character of the poem.

Some of this urgency continues into the coda, which insistently repeats the fourth strophe. Example 8 also shows the continuing struggle between downbeats, as m.38 returns the meter to its undisplaced condition in the same way as did m.11.[39] The climactic Adagio undermines itself by allowing a playful return to displacement. At last m.45 settles into synchrony with the notated meter, but there is a final irony as the last statement of the motivic fourth associated with the band/bond is stated in displacement (see the counting above the staff). At the end, we are still not in the world of the beloved; the fourth is only subjunctive, not real. Subtle though it is, this drama is all the more effective for being left unresolved.

In sum, I have argued that in Beethoven's settings of these Goethe texts there are complexes of rhythmic and metric events, allied with tonal elements, that could be characterized as dramatic. In *Wonne der Wehmuth,* this drama crystallizes around a special conflicted quality conferred on the second beat of the measure, which becomes associated, climactically, with a similar conflict surrounding the lowered $\hat{3}$ and raised $\hat{4}$. In *Sehnsucht,* F♯, scale degree $\hat{5}$, emerges as an embodiment of longing and plays a pivotal role in a complex phrase structure that itself enacts lack of fulfillment. In the third song of op.83, the common technique of metrical displacement is entwined with a special significance given to scale degree $\hat{4}$, whose elements come together in a breathtaking moment of urgency and desire.

All of these robust musical threads enact their dramas unrestrained by the poetry they set. If these songs of Beethoven truly speak with more than one voice, it would seem reasonable to question whether they are less successful as songs.

39. Measures 38–39 are like a double-time version of mm.11–14, although this acceleration is qualified by the curious marking "geschliffen."

Are they like the anecdote with which I began, less than trustworthy because of the speaker's personal feelings? Or has Beethoven composed "absolute music" when he should have been expressing a text? I think not: even shorn of its text, Beethoven's music would seem to express *something,* just a something not quite in precise coincidence with its poetic text. I do not consider this a flaw, or a lesser achievement, of text setting. The relationship between words and music is a complex and multitextured one: sometimes they dance together in matchless elegance, other times they stumble on each other's feet but belong together nonetheless. In the same way, I find Bettina von Arnim's recollections of Beethoven all the more attractive because they show as much of her as him. After all, Beethoven's voice can be heard elsewhere and quite audibly.

REVIEWS

Knowledge, Self, and the Aurality of the Immaterial

Richard Leppert

Michael P. Steinberg. *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and Nineteenth-Century Music*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. xiv, 246pp.

Michael Steinberg's cultural analysis of (mostly) nineteenth-century central European art music addresses what he terms "music's capacity to think, to argue, and to develop the position of a thinking, feeling subject in juxtaposition with a multiple and challenging cultural and political world" (p.xi). Steinberg thereby marks his project's affinity to a distinguished body of other recent scholarship by the likes of Lawrence Kramer[1] and Berthold Hoeckner,[2] among others: but complements, not replicates. He starts with Mozart operas and ends with Mahler symphonies, visiting along the way the music of Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Wagner in detail, and a number of other composers' works more briefly, including that of Brahms, Verdi, Dvořák, Janáček, Schoenberg, and Berg. Steinberg's fundamental concern is music's agency in the production and maintenance of subjectivity. His temporal locus, beginning with late Classicism, includes the history of Romanticism (broadly conceived) and its aftermath, organized around post-Enlightenment notions of the subject qua individual, with individuality registered as the defining principle—historical, not ontological—of human worth. Steinberg considers the highly contingent history

1. Lawrence Kramer, *Opera and Modern Culture: Wagner and Strauss* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U California P, 2004).

2. Berthold Hoeckner, *Programming the Absolute: Nineteenth-Century German Music and the Hermeneutics of the Moment* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2002).

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of subjectivity as manifested in musical production, criticism, and consumption. The musical culture of his concern is set against a broad range of contemporaneous aesthetic, social, religious, and political events and discourses, which together help to establish the parameters of what counted as "quality" humanity. Steinberg's book is also very much about cultural divisions in Europe: north versus south, east versus west, through which he traces one historical constant, the actuality of subjectivity as the commonly perceived fundamental determining principle of both modern being and being modern. In the end, his focus is on self-knowledge and difference, especially as made audible in music.

The point he seeks to advance is that during the long nineteenth century (roughly 1780–1914) the internalized structure, social organization, and intersubjective stakes of subjectivity were matters of intense and quite endless debate across the discursive terrain, from aesthetics to psychology, all of it at once enmeshed in ideology and politics. But more, Steinberg articulates subjectivity as a phenomenon in motion, rather than as a fixed essence inhabiting subjects. Subjectivity, in other words, is a property of modern history that, like history itself, was up for grabs. Both are radically contingent, particularly *within modernity*. In addition, and critical to Steinberg's understanding, subjectivity locates the subject in a state of perpetual self-examination, just as self-examination produces subjectivity. Subjectivity sets the boundaries for the actuality of modern subjecthood. In the end, Steinberg is concerned with the *intellectual* history of—the thinking about—the immateriality of feeling and selfhood, given material form in aesthetic discourse. The irony here, of which he is keenly aware, is that the aesthetic materiality around which he constructs his study is the least material of the arts, for which reason it was of course particularly valorized during the increasingly dystopian materialism of the period he investigates. The instrumental realities of modernity gave birth to the modern subject and simultaneously produced the multiple sites of abjection and aporia against which the subject, and its subjectivity, would struggle. In this respect, Steinberg outlines the history of the sound of trauma. He puts a distinguished assembly of German-speaking composers (along with the occasional non-German cultural other) in conversation with Dr. Freud—and to very good purpose—but also, and this can be of little surprise, with Dr. Adorno, concerning both of whom more follows.

Any pretense to being a subject requires the possession of a credible claim to one's autonomy; but the trouble is that autonomy turns out to be rather more of an advertisement for "individuality" than a mundane reality. That is, the subject's purported autonomy keeps running headlong into the lived experience of subjec*tion*. Subjects, as Foucault has taught us, are subject*ed,* which is to say that claims to autonomy are more than slightly chimerical. (In the late modernity of our own

present, the long-established ideological foundations informing the belief systems defining subjectivity are increasingly difficult to keep well hidden.) Steinberg recognizes subjectivity as a mode of experience rife with internal contradiction and inhabiting the uncertain boundary between autonomy and integration, between, in other words, the self and the world. Subjectivity stands "firmly" on the slippery ground of the renegotiation of perpetual difference—one where self, other, and otherness are by no means easily distinguished, despite all claims to the contrary. Subjectivity is a cultural-historical phenomenon simultaneously acting-out in, with, and against culture and history. Subjectivity is work in progress. It's performed—and it has its own aesthetics.

Steinberg's book principally addresses what he calls "the making of subjectivity," in regard to which he repeatedly asks the question, "What *was* this music 'trying to do'?" (p.4). Well, it's trying to speak: as an "I," according to the most basic principles of Romanticist aesthetics for which music is the "language" of the unspeakable that must be spoken, the secret[3] that demands to be known, the return of the repressed that insists upon being *heard*. Being heard in this sense, however, does not mean producing representation. Were all this simply a matter of making plain that which, for whatever reason, hadn't as yet been *said,* there would be no urgent need for music in the first place. The concretion of representation available in language (*real* language, not "mere" language-like music) as well as in visual forms of expression (whose indexicality in modernity insists on the worth of a thousand words) would do the trick nicely. The "task" of music, by contrast, is to accomplish what representation cannot: to "speak" the unspeakable, *but also* to listen. Music hears history; not least, music can listen for the whispers drowned out by the dominant discourses of modernist historisicm, whispers in large part silenced, however ironically, by the instrumentalization of language itself, as with the uncommunicability of modern communications media organized around the principles of the culture industry.

Music pushes back. In the words of Jacques Attali, music "makes audible what is essential in the contradictions of the developed societies: *an anxiety-ridden quest for lost difference, following a logic from which difference is banished*."[4] Music, in other words, (at best) acknowledges contradiction and even insists on it. As regards Steinberg's particular concern, music gives voice to the silences imposed

3. See Roland Barthes, "Listening," in Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation,* trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985), pp.247–49.

4. Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music,* trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 1985), p.5 (original emphasis).

on subjectivity. The music Steinberg considers acknowledges the principle of autonomy as the foundation for modern selfhood, at the same time it lays bare what stands in the way of autonomy's actuality. Subjectivity is broadly sanctioned as a cornerstone of modernity, but principally as a marketing ploy. As a false claim for "I," it serves as a distraction from everything that prevents the actual realization of what the sanction appears to promote. Music, Steinberg argues, may let us hear the truth.

Barthes distinguishes between hearing, which he notes is a physiological phenomenon, and listening, which he describes as an intersubjective psychological act, which thus presumes reciprocity: "'I am listening' also means 'listen to me'."[5] Listening invokes the other: "The injunction to listen is the total interpellation of one subject by another: . . . it creates transference: '*listen to me*' means *touch me, know that I exist*."[6] Under conditions where the auditor is successfully interpellated by the speaker, a second, as it were, silent interpellation occurs. The auditor, through the silence of listening, intersubjectively answers back: "*listening* [thus] *speaks.*"[7] Barthes's concern here is neither music nor music listening, but listening as such, but his point coincides with what Steinberg is after, namely, that music speaks as a "mode of intersubjectivity" (p.9). As Steinberg explains his book's title, "the pun in 'listening to reason' grasps these mutualities: listening to music takes place at the same time as music (invested with the fiction of subjectivity) listens and reasons; listening in order to reason, to learn the (political) art of subjectivity" (p.10). Here follows what he means, starting with Mozart.

It's hardly surprising that Mozart's late comedies address subjectivity with an intense focus, given the increasing cultural urgency for the promulgation and promotion of subjectivity as the foundation for principle of general emancipation already well evident by the late eighteenth century. *Don Giovanni, Le nozze di Figaro,* and *Così fan tutte* differentially enact personal freedom through what Steinberg names "ongoing negotiations between individuality and power" (p.18). The threat of power to individuality, however, is not simply imposed externally; it is also and at the same time the result of the culturally defined self at odds with itself—a self that has internalized the external, precisely because the autonomy on which individuality hinges is always already fully enmeshed in what it seeks to transcend: the historicity of discourse incorporating culture, ideology, and not least, of course, the human unconscious.

5. Barthes, "Listening," p.246.
6. Ibid., pp.250–51 (original emphasis).
7. Ibid., pp.252 (original emphasis).

In Mozart, subjectivity gets staged—both literally and metaphorically—and, better, sung. But not as a fixed phenomenon. Mozart, after all, isn't so much "reporting" in these operas as exploring, and it takes three stagings and a lot of mouthy texts (much of it very *secco*) to lay the ground work and at the same time justify the lavishness of these operas' lengthy musical "moments," when words ultimately fail, as they always must, calling forth music as their *supplément* that is in truth their *sine qua non*. Recitative, after all, makes quite the point of its own self-limitation, which serves to set things up nicely for what's going to matter a great deal more than a torrent of half-musical words. To the extent that recitative, whether *secco* or accompanied, tantalizes our ears with the promise of what it refuses to give us, it raises the stakes of the "real" music when it finally bursts forth. Call it foreplay, and name what it activates: desire—the pull of subjectivity, underwritten by the erotics of sonority promised by the aria. Mozart's recitative delivers the facts; it is quantitative and utterly mundane, and that's the point. Spit it out as fast as possible and get to what really matters. Aria delivers the qualitative, in essence the *person,* the inner self, the real—the secret. All of this is at once staged within hearing distance of establishment musical and theatrical convention, the Baroque opera of gods and goddesses, kings and queens, in which subjectivity plays back seat to rather more broadly determinant urgencies such as domain and orthodoxy. In Mozart, the new is set within the old; each needs yet abhors its other, and that not least is precisely the means and point of the enterprise of these musical intrusions into mundane experience. If the argument for theater in the late eighteenth century relies on its ability both to articulate and aestheticize official power, Mozart's comedies, which stage subjectivity by making it lavishly, even excessively, musical (in arias and ensembles), challenge the very existence of that on which they depend: official culture. Mozart's comedies, in other words, might seem to offer the dominant culture, which underwrites these operas' very existence, not less than the noncomic aporia of mutually assured destruction. The saving grace, that which prevents such an outcome, relies precisely on da Ponte's richly smart-assed turns of phrase, matched by Mozart's wryly tuneful, darkly bright music. Dialectics at work. In short, theater (and court) is saved for music, and music for whomever wants to hear it, by the optimism Mozart assigns to contradiction, and to the certainty of uncertainty. In Mozart, we hear the delicious instability of what counts as being both modern and a subject, without quite being able to escape the usual, the old order, and the reality of (still) being subjected.

Steinberg suggests that Don Giovanni is a subject with power who stands against power, hence one might say an early modern relative of the Odysseus defined by

Adorno and Horkheimer, less sadist than masochist, but more than a bit of both, the pain directed outward and inward, just like the pleasure. Pain and pleasure serve Don Giovanni as the foundation for life, living, and being pretend-autonomous; pain and pleasure also serve as the foundation for his being a genuine thorn in the side of entrenched authority. *Figaro* comes at all this without the allegorical baggage of *Don Giovanni*—there's no hectoring statuary at the most inopportune moments. *Figaro* is set to the west of central Europe, but its reality is both contemporary and, in a word, familiar. Beaumarchais, after all, was only too well known in Vienna and thereabouts to the East. His investment in the politics of class and gender, set within a regime of crass power politics exercised at the level of the *very* personal, was lost on no one who liked to read. In truth, the set-up is not far from sit-com; after all, the lord of the manor didn't *really* have rights to maidenhead; and, clearly, the putative housing arrangements within the castle are risible and obvious to everyone except young Figaro, a blockhead when it comes to recognizing his boss's sexual predation. A little license has to be granted to set up this elaborate and very satisfying joke. We duly provide Beaumarchais, da Ponte, and Mozart license, but we do so in order to get at rather more than just the funny stuff, namely, the real war, religious in fervor, over what it means to lay claim to oneself. In short, patriarchy confronts its offspring, and the results are not just Oedipal but political. Revolution (however comic) is in the air. In the parlance of our own sixties recently past, *Figaro* marks the reality that the personal is political. Or, to give the matter the seriousness it deserves, *Figaro* confronts the *Jetztzeit* (to borrow Benjamin's wonderful neologism)—highlighting an urgency that cannot be captured by invoking the mere *Gegenwart*.

Figaro legitimates desire, staged in the uncertain and contingent theater of modern marriage; but it's not on that account just another comedy of manners. Adopting a Foucauldian insight, Steinberg aptly suggests that *Le nozze di Figaro* "is explicitly about the subject defined as the body with rights" (p.20)—though without guarantees. Steinberg focuses a lot of warranted attention on Figaro as family romance, and here Freud makes a grand entrance, with his focus on the anxieties of the bourgeoisie (never mind the virtual ontological status the good doctor grants this social class).

Figaro, emergent modern, wants a piece of the subjectivity's action, and he gets it, though maybe at a cost that is only sorted out in the last of these comic operas. *Così fan tutte* lavishes itself on the subjectivities of its happily conflicted characters but, ironically, precisely at the expense of their interpersonal relations. The opera is a little like the spate of current reality TV shows in which every turn and twist of real or would-be relationships is held up for the pleasures of seeing an endless

string of missteps and deceptions, ultimately structured in the foreknowledge of the social guarantee that at least half of all these enactments of self through desire will fall flat, and probably before too long. In Steinberg's words, "subjectivity is marked here as an unmanageable erotic energy" (p.21). Or Mozart's comedy boils down to a warning: *Vorsicht!* Subjectivity Rampant![8] In *Così,* things just aren't what they seem. Life and experience are both masked and masking. Both make possible what counts as the modern subject; but, sadly, nothing is so masked and masking as subjectivity, at heart not less than a macroeconomy of (largely unrequited) desires. (Steinberg's discussion of *Così,* far more than *Don Giovanni* or *Figaro,* addresses plot and narrative over specifically musical considerations, hence how all this works itself out in sonority remains largely unexplained, except by means of general inference.)

Steinberg here, and indeed throughout his book, links social theory to history and as well to composers' practice. In particular, he attends to the compositional choices that shape the musical discourses surrounding the nature of the subject as marked by subjectivity. Steinberg is interested in the materiality of his subject. Operatic lives find their reality in the experience not of characters but of human beings whose lives are fully enmeshed by the movements of history. Don Giovanni, for example, confronts subjectivity on the contested terrain of Baroque and modern, Catholic and Protestant, as these are manifest not simply in the plot, but also, and more important, in the singing voice and the orchestra. Thus Steinberg treats the opening chords of *Don Giovanni* as shocks (a favorite and richly loaded term borrowed from Adorno, from whom Steinberg has learned a great deal, even when he parts company). These two chords

> are acoustic impositions, originating and remaining outside the symbolic order that the opera will soon define through music, words, and action. Structurally and retroactively they can be incorporated into a surrounding harmonic logic, but that incorporation functions itself as an ideological absorption of their externality and violence. They assert themselves first as a foreign force, in the way that divine law is inscribed as both absolute and absolutely foreign. What we have here is an instantiation of a Reformation and Old Testament idea of divine authority, musically prefiguring and opposing a Catholic representational world (p.28).

8. See Lawrence Kramer, "Subjectivity Rampant! Music, Hermeneutics, and History," in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction,* ed. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp.124–35.

What follows, in Steinberg's reading, in the second section of the overture, are the "worldly energies," those of ordinary social life encompassing both the "high" of the (Catholic) aristocracy and the "low" of the peasantry.

Steinberg's account of all three operas works through each of the major characters, their music in particular. Not the least remarkable thing about this often-remarkable book is the skill with which Steinberg, an historian not a musicologist, meets the analytical demands of musicology well more than halfway. On this score there's something to be at once admired and regretted; admired to the extent that in the total absence of a single printed musical example Steinberg finds language adequate to making clear what happens in sound; regretted to the extent that printed examples would, for musicologists—if not necessarily for many others—provide more than the mere convenience of not taxing so much memory. Musical examples would likewise help to anchor the authority of the analysis and, at the same time, open the possibility for the reader to engage Steinberg's argument more effectively.[9]

While I'm on the subject, it might as well be stated here that, despite the notable authority with which Steinberg discusses music, there are occasional misfires. Thus in his discussion of *Figaro* and "Se vuol ballare," Figaro's act I aria, which confirms that the young husband-to-be finally gets it, Steinberg doesn't. He critiques Figaro for textually claiming that he'll "call the tune," while singing to the $\frac{3}{4}$ time of the minuet, that is, the European anthem of his aristocratic social betters. Steinberg misses the irony of Mozart's use of minuet rhythm, as beautifully explained some years ago in the long-famous essay by Wye Allanbrook.[10] First, while the aria opens in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, as sung by Figaro, it possesses none of the minuet's graceful lilt. Figaro, after all, is furious. As he puts it, *he* will now call the tune, which is tantamount to suggesting that he will invert the social order. Lilt is out the window, replaced by a nearly percussive accenting of beats. Metaphorically, it's not to be danced in

9. Throughout the text there are sentences such as: "The final, long syllable on 'coronar' twice generates a delaying vocal ornamentation—the first time a broken F-major (tonic) chord, the second time a sustained F-major note. [A note as such is neither major nor minor, to be sure.] The third utterance of the word is followed by an eighth-note rest (a full beat, since we are in $\frac{6}{8}$ time) marked with a fermata, or long pause" (p.45). A bit of score would have allowed Steinberg the better to concretize this description for the benefit of his larger point, which follows the passage quoted.

10. Wye J. Allanbrook, "Metric Gesture as a Topic in *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni,*" MQ 67 (1981), 106–07; Wye J. Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: "Le nozze di Figaro" and "Don Giovanni"* (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1983), pp.79–82. See also Frits Noske, "Social Tensions in *Le nozze di Figaro,*" ML 50 (1969), 45–62; and Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988), pp.99–103.

embroidered slippers but in something closer to jackboots. Second, and this escapes Steinberg's notice entirely, Mozart disrupts the minuet in a way that would cause chaos on the ballroom floor; without warning, he accents the second beat of some measures. By so doing, he belittles the dance and what it stands in for, the symbolic order of the *ancien régime*. He's hinting by the second-beat accents what's coming in the aria's B section, namely, the overthrow of this old dance (and all that it aestheticizes) in favor of something new. Before the change, however, there's a very brief transition, one that would produce even more trouble on the dance floor, a vocal passage that reverts virtually to the boundary of a fast-moving recitative, rhythmically entirely impossible to dance to. Mozart then makes an abrupt switch to a duple-time Allegro, a contradanse, *contra* the minuet, a hint of what's coming, a foretaste of a swirling mob (if only from the point of view of those wearing slippers) of oppositional energy—and insistent subjectivity.

In all three operas, da Ponte/Mozart take us partway down the road to modernity and the modern subject. But by the end of each, some semblance of the old regime is restored, if only with a wink. After Mozart, and specifically with Beethoven on the scene, there'll be no more fluttering of the eye. With Beethoven, subjectivity is no longer a game; it's a matter of life and death. Steinberg's Beethoven chapter, subtitled "Beethoven: Heroism and Abstraction," takes up from Burnham[11] and Dahlhaus.[12] Essentially, Steinberg's purpose is to "stake out the terms of analysis of Beethoven's aesthetic as an aesthetic of abstraction" (p.61). Steinberg maintains that abstraction is the key element of Beethoven's heroic style. He suggests that Beethovenian abstraction is compatible with the "first-generation argument about autonomous music" (pp.61–62) and is not coterminous with Wagner's codification of the idea and ideology of absolute music that came after the fact. (By contrast, Steinberg points to Wagner's move away from a concept of musical autonomy and independence to one of authority; authority for Wagner, Steinberg suggests, reaches beyond aesthetics into the realm of politics and to absolutism.) Autonomy in Beethoven, manifest in the music's critique of representation, is anti-absolutist; heroism and abstraction together produce a musical rhetoric of refusal. More to the point, the heroics are abstract. The music has no taint of nationalism. Its claim is to its own formal integrity—though, to be sure, precisely this quality coincides perfectly with the emergence of bourgeois centeredness and, to state the matter

11. Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995).

12. Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to His Music,* trans. Mary Whittall (New York: Oxford UP, 1991); and Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music,* trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1989).

more crassly, self-centeredness (not the same thing). Abstraction in Beethoven, the refusal of representation in what Wagner will name absolute music, nonetheless invokes that which it denies. Representation, so to speak, is the present absence, the historical gorilla standing in the wings, which Beethoven works hard to keep offstage. What this boils down to is that the heroism (gendered male) of Beethoven's music does not represent (depict) the hero; rather the music *is* the hero, possessing its own voice, and not serving as a stand-in for something else or someone other.[13] "For such a first-person voice accrues as a kind of awakening critique of (baroque) power—again, Orpheus and the Furies, not represented or repeated by or in the music, but quoted, as a correlative to the music's production of subjectivity. The baroque and the modern, intertwined, in polemical dialogue" (pp.66–67).

The point for Steinberg, and with regard to the middle movement of the Fourth Piano Concerto, is that the Orpheus story that we might imagine referenced in this brief movement is not narrated but merely cited, precisely in order to gain distance from it, except to the extent that it serves as a citation for, as Steinberg puts it, "being *like* Orpheus": "Nineteenth-century audiences heard a music talking about itself in a critical and generous spirit, engaged with its world and with its listeners" (p.67). The music makes itself personal. Stated in the terms of religious difference, it eschews the authority and central command of Catholicism for the noncentralized, individualized, hence less absolutist or authoritarian, theology of Protestantism (and this despite Beethoven's own putative Catholicism). Like others, Steinberg hears in Beethoven the spiritual underpinning of bourgeois aspiration, itself fully complimentary to the composer's considerable anxieties about his family's class origins and social standing, altogether nothing if not permanently conflicted—a combination, as Steinberg puts it, of "freedom and abandonment" (p.70), with reference to the emergent bourgeoisie in the immediate aftermath and uncertainties of 1789. Steinberg hears the music of post-*Eroica* Beethoven as post-heroic, a "reinscription of the dialogical and critical rhetorics of classicism into a music of profound self-consciousness—and that in the dual meanings of self-awareness . . . and self-critique. Through the formal inscription of this interiority, Beethoven reinvents classical rhetorical, as well as North German and Protestant cultural style" (p.72). The heroic in the Beethoven post-heroic, Steinberg argues, is carried by Leonore ("the most articulated, most personified bearer of Beethovenian heroic subjectivity, which now seems capable of negotiating every obstacle except

13. Steinberg here critically engages Owen Jander, "Beethoven's 'Orpheus in Hades': The *Andante con moto* of the Fourth Piano Concerto," 19CM 8 (1985), 195–212; and Leon Plantinga, *Beethoven's Concertos: History, Style, Performance* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), chap.4.

the politics of gender" [p.73]). Steinberg insists that Leonore is ever the hero, never the heroine; she saves men for the world: "in the multiply displaced pantheon of modernity, Leonore is the most austere of bourgeois, Protestant goddesses. She is Athena" (p.83).

From Beethoven to Biedermeier. Steinberg takes up the problematics of the middle, quasi-lost generation between Beethoven and Wagner, discussing Mendelssohn at considerable length, and Schubert and Schumann more briefly. The principle issue organizing his thought is what he terms Biedermeier music's sounding "an awareness of its past" (p.95). Steinberg's effort is to sort through just what this means. In particular, as has been well established by scholars like Walter Frisch[14] and John Daverio,[15] these composers self-reflexively confronted history *tout court* and recent music history, and the vital ghost of Beethoven, especially, reacting with varying degrees of culture shock, melancholy, nostalgia, and so on. Put simply, temporality has become a problem that impacts the material reality of composing and the subjectivities of those who compose.

Concerning Mendelssohn, Steinberg is at pains to understand both his personal and musical biography, especially the former to which Steinberg devotes a great deal of space; he reads Mendelssohn's compositional practice as a mediation between subjectivity and community. Steinberg sees him—this composer who "looked back" so self-reflexively toward Bach ("as a musician Mendelssohn may have been a historian" [p.122])—as someone who addressed the past in order to emerge into the newness of an already evident future. The point of much of this discussion revolves once again around family drama and romance, in particular the history of German Protestantism set within and against the composer's Christian conversion, which, however, did not lead him to become less self-conscious that he was a Jew. The family part revolves in particular around the Oedipal match between Felix and his father, replete with the latter's urging his son's assimilation in the majority creed. Steinberg links these realities to music; the father/son dialectic, for example, to Mendelssohn's *Paulus* and its conversion narrative—Steinberg's interest is in the oratorio's male duets, which he reads as expressions of a reestablished harmony between father and son.

If Mendelssohn ultimately orders history, for Schumann history constitutes the instantiation of the uncanny. "Schumann's piano is the site of the private, the

14. Walter Frisch, "'You Must Remember This': Memory and Structure in Schubert's G-Major String Quartet (D. 887)," MQ 84 (2000), 582–603.

15. John Daverio, "'One More Beautiful Memory of Schubert': Schumann's Critique of the Impromptus, D. 935," MQ 84 (2000), 604–18.

secret, the *heimlich,* and thereby also of the *unheimlich*: the uncanny, the unhomely, the radical defamiliarization of the most familiar" (p.124). Here, once again, Freud assumes center stage, with his account of the uncanny as "that class of the terrifying which leads back to something long known to us, once very familiar."[16] With Schumann, history is at once privatized and domesticated, made radically inward and distinctly first-person.

Steinberg's Wagner chapter returns with force to the matter of family romance within the context of music drama. He considers two families, the one circumscribed by the narrative, the other by what he terms "the family history of music drama, in which the *Ring* itself figures as the most prominent progeny" (p.133). As to the former, Steinberg riffs from the 1976 Bayreuth production by Patrice Chéreau staged as a historical allegory of German modernity set within the familial milieu of the *Grossbürgertum,* where family meets Nation. But whereas Chéreau's time line encompasses 1870 to 1920, Steinberg's chronology is a good deal longer, the whole of the long nineteenth century, that is, the "whole" that *Listening to Reason* organizes. The story is one of perpetual crisis in which those experiencing the crisis conduct the analysis of their own suffering. Much of what Steinberg is after involves social psychology; music listens to the historical moment while an emergent nation, on the couch, spills its secrets. The *Ring* plays the role of attempting to rescue and redeem some form of heroic subjectivity against the corruptions of modernity, not simply by telling the story in music of subjectivity's quasi-universal decline and fall but also and more important by institutionalizing this critique in a new music, one of the now and would-be future—institutionalized in form and sound, and, to be sure, institutionalized *in situ* in the materially imposing reality of the Bayreuth shrine.

As for the family drama of the music itself, Steinberg argues that Wagner's music confronts the history of absolute music for which the composer claimed naming rights. In a way, Wagner, after identifying the existence and essence of absolute music, claimed it for the German nation. The "strictly" musical values of absolute music, that is, antiprogrammatic by definition, aptly program a powerful ideological and distinctly political charge. In brief, Wagner nationalizes the operatic music industry; and he claims legitimacy for his annexation by insisting on the rights of inheritance, rather than those accruing from mere association or empathy. Wagner names his daddy, Beethoven, the George Washington of modern music; he establishes a line of succession from musical father to musically precocious son. By this

16. Sigmund Freud, "The Uncanny," in Sigmund Freud, *Collected Papers,* trans. Joan Riviere et al., 5 vols. (London: Hogarth Press, 1925), IV, 369–70.

means, Wagner deftly assigns to himself the inheritance of the symphonic tradition to invest, and spend (or squander), as he will.

Steinberg illustrates his argument through several key moments in the *Ring*. Indeed, this is the pattern he follows through the book. Yet the moments (long moments, some of them) are carefully chosen, not so as to skew the results, instead to typify a larger whole concerning which no volume this size could accommodate. For the most part, this serves Steinberg's purposes well, if not always (see below). For example, taking up the private-public dialectic common to bourgeois modernity, rife with contradiction between outward projections of power fueled by capital, on the one hand, and love and interiority, on the other, Steinberg points to a special class of affective relationship common to nineteenth-century Germany, that between brother and sister, what he terms "a classic site of the countermodernizing affective bond" (p.142), for which he offers fascinating source material. As he makes clear, brother-sister affections in this period, often highly erotically charged, dangerously encroach on the incest taboo. Enter Siegmund and Sieglinde who don't so much approach the taboo as run without hesitation to violate it. Steinberg's point is that their incestuous union, located at the heart of the *Ring* plot, thereby "places the *Ring* at the center of nineteenth-century familial and social discursive and material networks." Within this context, Siegmund "in his unique psychological delicacy and complexity" embodies the Biedermeier crisis over history, the role of the past in defining an uncertain future. Specifically, Siegmund's life "traces the cultural and political transition in mid-century Germany from liberal hope to violent betrayal. His personality marks the hope and defeat of subjectivity" (p.143). Welcome to 1848.

Siegfried, progeny of incest, constitutes the move from subjectivity to identity, and to identification with empire, the creation of Germany and the promulgation of ambitions that reach well beyond the geography assigned to the aesthetic, to a brave new world, and a nasty one besides. Siegmund violates a taboo, but in gaining Sieglinde he finds his "true Self in a real Other" (p.151). This then constitutes the one success story of the music drama to the extent that the autonomous self finds intimacy (sameness and difference embrace), momentarily producing the semblance of reconciliation. But the embrace comes with a bill attached. Siegmund's self-feminization is charged against his account as a hero, and the overdraft is way too much to ignore. Father steps in and calls a halt—via murder.

Steinberg's chapter on the nation takes up death and commemoration in the musical guise of the requiem, specifically those by Brahms, Verdi, and Dvořák, composed between 1868 and 1890, and which Steinberg understands "as massive utterances of collective voices and wills . . . commonly associated with national and

nationalist consciousness in music." Large-scale compositions, these Requiems have the potential to serve as political rhetoric—and as "sustained ideological embarrassments" (p. 163). And yet, broadly speaking, they do not. Steinberg argues that these works succeed by producing a rhetoric of collectivity while nonetheless restricting the collective voice. That is, the Requiems produce a voice of the people, but *not* the voice of a nation (whether Germany, Italy, or Bohemia). In other words, the compositions resist incorporation into that "ideological master-category" of later nineteenth-century modernity, the nation. The works do not embarrass precisely to the extent that they eschew ideological posturing. The collective voice, mediated through solo and choral writing, as well as the orchestra, invokes the sacred, but not so as to reinscribe, say, Baroque forms of ecclesiastical power, rather to render what Steinberg names "a guarantor of subjectivity at the level of intimacy and personal devotion" (p. 164), accomplished through reference to personal and collective memory, with memory serving to cohere the past with present in order to voice the possibility of a more hopeful future.

None of the Requiems by Brahms, Verdi, and Dvořák is a church work; each keeps its distance from religious institutional authority—indeed, as Steinberg suggests, Verdi's is not merely nonclerical, it's anticlerical. Each is written for the auditorium, and not the sanctuary. Yet neither does any of them incline toward the default then-usual substitute for the church, namely, the nationalist state. Musically, the Requiems inhabit nothing outside themselves; further, they present rather than represent. Simply stated, "the voice of the people is limited to music and emerges only in music; nothing external to music is represented" (pp. 166–67)—and this, incidentally, despite a title (a German Requiem) or a dedication (to Manzoni, a hero of the Risorgimento). I'll confine my remarks to Steinberg's discussion of the first of these compositions.

Brahms makes no use whatever of Catholic liturgical texts; institutionally speaking, the work is decidedly Protestant; its "German-ness" doesn't reflect nation but the nativism of Luther and Bach (the texts are taken from Luther's Bible, though without reference to either Christ or afterlife). *Ein deutsches Requiem* (completed after a very long gestation in 1868) addresses "death, survival, mourning, and renewal . . . [and] follows the Protestant duality of privacy and community" (p. 175). Community, evoked in the choral writing, meets the personal in the emotive power of long, arched phrases, and, of course, in the relation established between solo and choral antiphony, as in the fifth section, where the soprano takes on a maternal voice, at once consoling and hopeful, with the choir echoing the sentiment. As Steinberg reads the work, the real maternal voice (Brahms's mother, who died in 1865) is silenced; her consoling agency resides now only in music, in

aesthetic experience. Steinberg takes it further to argue that the German Requiem ultimately realizes a musical reconciliation between the maternal and paternal voices (Schumann, Brahms's musical father, whose death in 1856 served as original motivation for the composition); his account is credible, though the discussion of the music is too attenuated to provide the reader with much more than a glimpse as to how this is achieved in sound (approximately a single paragraph on p. 176).

Throughout the book, the biographical history of composers' subjectivity is set to reflect what happens (is *composed* to happen) within their works. This is a path to a hermeneutics that can all too easily reduce the meaning of art to something akin to the intentional fallacy and/or to psychological transference, except that in this iteration one would have to speak of something like an unconscious, or subconscious intentionality, but one no less fraught with the suspicion of being altogether too pat. What tends to make Steinberg's assessments for the most part convincing, given the book's organizing principle, is that he amasses a great deal of historical source material regarding both biography and musical meaning; equally important, he connects biographical experience to the larger histories within which his composer-subjects lived: social, political, cultural, intellectual, and, not least, material. More on this at the end.

Steinberg's sixth chapter is concerned with what happens to opera after Wagner, in relation to what he deems an effort by composers succeeding Wagner to recover "musical integrity" (p. 194). Wagner, as he puts it, "traumatizes voice—first by marking its femininity, then by silencing it" (p. 197); his example is Brünnhilde. In this chapter, Steinberg looks to composers who seek to recover the voice, to move beyond trauma toward recovery. He outlines musical discourses that supplant (German nationalist) identity with one of subjectivity. His argument is built around consideration of *Pelléas et Mélisande, Bluebeard's Castle,* and *Makropoulos Case,* with briefer reference to *Moses und Aron* and *Lulu*. The discussion centers on what he terms "the regeneration of the voice" in post-Wagnerian opera:

> Subjectivity, in opera, coincides with the voice. It exists, here as elsewhere, beyond the subject. It is therefore also beyond identity positions, including gendered and national positions. Giving voice means giving movement, elasticity, and resonance to its subject, granting it subjectivity. Thus, nation and gender are fused tropes in the operatic world: the posttraumatic regeneration of voice, post-Wagner, equals the regeneration of non-Germanness and a certain kind of subversive femininity (p. 199).

The works Steinberg considers are not taken to be exemplars of identity coterminous with the language of the text or the ethnicity of the composer. Instead,

Steinberg reads all these works, in essence, as belonging in a general way to Italy, to the historical sense of the voice that anchors the history of Italian opera, encompassing what he terms "the ability to refer to—never to become or imitate—pure voice" (p.200), since there is of course no such thing as "pure voice," though there is a historico-cultural claim for it: "Since there can never be an embodiment of pure voice, it can only be a fiction: not produced by a body, and outside the symbolic order. It is the key fiction of Italian opera, the key to the trope of subversive femininity at the core of Italian opera. After Wagner, opera wants to be Italian, especially if it has to speak French, Hungarian, or Czech in order to become so" (p.200). Steinberg's argument is principally dependent upon a detailed analysis of text and narrative; while here and there he comments on how all this works in sound, there is no sustained discussion of the music itself, and this is disappointing since, in the end, matters of the operatic voice, real or metaphoric, obviously enough hinge on singing.

Steinberg's account of *Bluebeard* revolves around the argument that the text is driven by a powerful metaphor of home, set against the fact of the home's general elusiveness to modern consciousness. The metaphor invokes psychology and the self (what Steinberg terms "the home of the ego" [p.212]), but also homeland and thus politics. But with *Bluebeard,* set so to speak "at home," it's precisely home that's absent, and which cannot be relocated in the noncommunicative communication between Judith and her new husband. (Obvious enough, the loss of the ability to communicate serves as a marker of modern aporia.) Despite the inability to connect through discursive exchange, the putative lovers bond—as Steinberg aptly notes—in masochism, a "new" disease whose name was coined in 1886, defined by Richard Krafft-Ebing as a psychic or physical condition through which pleasure was derived from pain. Just as hysteria was assigned to women, masochism was linked to men, heterosexual men, and resulted from their willingly surrendering power and the authority to punish to a woman. Bluebeard's home is his castle, and the castle, with its seven behind-doors secrets, is literally the edifice of his selfhood. Judith penetrates it/him repeatedly, by convincing him to hand over the keys. In the end, he asks to be taken. (When Bluebeard hands each key to Judith, and she in turn shoves the key into the lock, one might reasonably say that she becomes the agent of his own self-penetration. By this means, there occurs a double penetration, hence an over-determined feminization.) Judith's own traversing of the road to masochism is confirmed after the opening of the last door, when she joins the other wives, becoming simply another part of Bluebeard's human horde but locked away even (or especially) from him.

Steinberg reads the allegory as coterminous with the history of the troubled

relations between Hungary and Austria. Austria is woman, Hungary masochistic man, with no way out for either the characters or their nation doubles. Steinberg has a point regarding the allegory he outlines—and the move he makes here is similar to others throughout the book. Steinberg is a responsible historian; the congruencies he presents cannot be easily ignored. But I don't think it's quite sufficient to leave the matter rest at that. This is a book of history, whose argument ultimately and fundamentally centers, as it must, on musical sound, rather than, say, on libretti. And yet the music of *Bluebeard* is discussed, except in passing, in a single paragraph, one concerning the music that blasts forth in the orchestral tutti—gorgeously consonant, for the first and last time in the entire opera, and extraordinarily dynamically assertive—at the opening of the fifth door. Steinberg is clearly correct to hear this music (if not what it "describes," namely, the landed riches of the domain) at the focal point of the opera. It's an extraordinary musical moment even now, when one all too easily might associate the sonorities with big-budget epic film music. But what of the human voice, as opposed to the "voice" of the orchestra? Steinberg offers just the one point and concerning just one note: on seeing what lays beyond the open door, Judith reacts with a high C. There's nothing he says here I'd fault, but I want more in a chapter devoted to "pure voice," however literally fictive. What, *in particular,* matters in the music of the human voice in *Bluebeard* relative to the chapter's overarching theme of giving voice. To be fair, Steinberg is clear from the start that his reference is not fully encompassed by singing. But when his examples are drawn solely from opera, it's a matter of concern when singing voices go AWOL.

Finally, a passing word about *Moses und Aron* and *Lulu,* the chapter's brief coda. Steinberg addresses the claim to pure voice in these operas, one unfinished and the other left incomplete due to the composer's death, by two canonical figures working within the German tradition, as opposed to the three composers, non-German, who found means to get "beyond" Wagner cited earlier. Steinberg's comments revolve around the following claim: "What post-Wagnerian German opera does . . . with the fiction of pure voice is to mark the operatic zone beyond voice with a kind of meta-aesthetic of opera based on two possibilities: silence [Schoenberg] and scream [Berg]" (p.222), lines of demarcation that Steinberg examines both literally and, especially, metaphorically.

The last chapter, by way of a conclusion, principally concerns Mahler, the symphonies for the most part, and the Ninth in particular, with regard to these works' discourse on subjectivity and its survival in the twentieth century. Steinberg connects Mahler's musical project to Freud's psychoanalytic one: "the survival of subjectivity in a world of multiply and increasingly alienated subjects" (p.231). The

aporia of modernity, the world as it is, so to speak, can neither be escaped from nor transcended; in Freud's own words, "We cannot fall out of this world,"[17] a sentiment echoed by Adorno, appropriately quoted by Steinberg: "What the immanence of society blocks cannot be achieved by an immanence of form derived from it."[18] The tack Steinberg follows in his insightful discussion is captured in spirit by the following:

> Mahler's symphonic work . . . strikes me as an uncanny combination of dreaming and interpreting. His false cadences work like dream structures, disappearing as they seem about to resolve. They resemble symphonic cadences of Brahms in the way they seem ethically to cut off narrative and rhetorical postures that cannot be fulfilled truthfully. But where Brahms's cadences form lines of argument and thereby correspond to activities of the conscious mind, of the ego, Mahler's engage patterns of desire in which the ego traffics, to the extent that it can, with the id (p.232).

For the most part in sync with Adorno, Steinberg reads the Ninth Symphony's musical discourse on subjectivity as not "about" the self, rather about a self in the world; the two don't necessarily meld, but the boundary between the one and the other perpetually blurs. The negotiation of this uncertain boundary, in Steinberg's words, "giv[es] the music its motivation and its urgency" (p.235).

Final things. Steinberg's reading of secondary scholarship, including a great deal of recent work, is consistently impressive. No less relevant, he knows the music with a command as impressive as the breadth of his keen familiarity with German philosophy and aesthetics from Kant through Adorno, as well as the social, political, intellectual, and cultural history of the European nineteenth century. The book's scholarly apparatus is responsible and thorough (and Princeton had the good grace to place the notes at page bottom); the book is very well indexed.

In sum, this often remarkable and original book's strong point is, from another perspective, its Achilles' heel. As history, Steinberg consistently and very effectively makes the case for the agency of music in the formation, maintenance, and contestation of society and the attendant cultural apparatus. In this regard he has a great deal to say to both historians, who for a very long time have preferred to

17. Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents,* ed. and trans. James Strachey (New York: W. W. Norton, 1961), p.12.

18. Theodor W. Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy,* trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1992), p.6.

leave music out of the mix, and musicologists, who for much of the history of their discipline have regarded the history congealed in music as an inconvenient guest of aesthetic comportment. Here's the rub: Steinberg's accomplishment comes with a considerable I-owe-you dangling in the form of a largely unacknowledged debt owed to aesthetics, which has pretty much disappeared into the book's shadows. Steinberg convincingly, indeed often brilliantly, makes the case for music's relation to the reality of which it is a part, the history beyond the history of music. But he does this in a way that does not acknowledge what Adorno, in his *Aesthetic Theory,*[19] named art's "remainder," incorporating not least its "enigmaticalness," its *rätselhaft* character: that which discourse (including academic discourse) cannot not totally come to own through its own explanations. Put differently, what makes art the domain of aesthetics, which is to say, what gives art the right to its name, is its *engagement* with history, which at the same time reaches *beyond* history—at best toward some semblance of hope and Utopia (here Adorno speaks), but which in any event makes art more than a mirror reflecting what lies outside its parameters. Hence, and by means of a single example, I cite the danger of equating, say, a composer's personal trauma with the trauma heard in his music, something Steinberg quite clearly invokes. Any claim to a relationship approximating 1:1 does a disservice to both sides of the colon that marks the link. Steinberg, who has read Adorno very carefully, knows this and, I'm confident, is largely sympathetic to the caveat. In the end, and to be fair, his project doesn't so much need to address directly the aesthetic "remainder" as it needs perhaps to be more explicitly open about that which he's set aside. *Listening to Reason* is a work of high integrity; it has a great deal to teach. Indeed, it's a book of importance. It is not—nor does it pretend to be—the full story.

19. Theodor W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory,* ed. Gretel Adorno and Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 1997).

Beethoven and the Voices of Authority

Michael C. Tusa

Stephen Rumph. *Beethoven after Napoleon: Political Romanticism in the Late Works*. California Studies in 19th-Century Music, 14. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004. ix, 295pp.

How does one account for the qualities of Beethoven's later music that for many listeners and critics set it apart from his earlier output? Following by only a year Maynard Solomon's attempt to answer this question by reference to the ageing composer's explorations of religious issues, esoteric philosophy and Romantic imagery,[1] Stephen Rumph's *Beethoven after Napoleon: Political Romanticism in the Late Works* offers a political answer based on a hermeneutic approach to the works. The result is an important and provocative addition to the growing body of criticism that seeks to understand Beethoven's output within the broader cultural and intellectual currents of his day; it is also a controversial one that challenges a number of cherished ideas about the composer's political affiliations.

Rumph's thesis is straightforward enough. Throughout his life, Beethoven as a composer engaged with the leading intellectual and political issues of the volatile times through which he lived. Rumph upholds the conventional view that Beethoven's earlier works resonate with the ideals of the Enlightenment, but the author parts company with the traditions of Beethoven interpretation when it comes to the political implications of the later works. In his view, political and

1. Maynard Solomon, *Late Beethoven: Music, Thought, Imagination* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U California P, 2003).

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economic circumstances attending Austria's defeat at the hands of Napoleon led Beethoven in 1809 to become more conservative, nationalist, and legitimist in his politics. Thus, according to Rumph, Beethoven moved closer to the so-called political romanticism of writers like Novalis, Friedrich Schlegel, Joseph Görres, Friedrich von Gentz, and Adam Müller, who developed an antipathy to Enlightenment ideals in reaction to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic occupation. Not coincidentally, Beethoven in 1809 began to explore alternative paths to the "heroic" style that had seemingly embodied the confident spirit of liberalism. Rather than a withdrawal into the realm of pure spirit or a critique of the repressive politics of the Metternich era, Rumph hears in Beethoven's late works affirmations of tradition, order, and hierarchy, the values of the Restoration that Beethoven supposedly despised.

Chapter 1, "A Kingdom Not of This World," introduces the reader to the overarching themes of the book through the musical writings of E. T. A. Hoffmann. Hoffmann's hostility toward French rationalism and materialism, his reformist impulses, his idealization of the past (particularly in regarding Palestrina as the apex of the church style), and his organicist aesthetic invite comparisons to the political thinking of Prussian reformers like Karl Freiherr vom und zum Stein and Wilhelm von Humboldt and conservative apologists like Novalis, who idealized the Middle Ages for its faith and for its "organic" social structure. Rumph's reading of Hoffmann's celebrated review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony stresses the distance between the critic's Romantic viewpoint and that of the pre-1809 Beethoven as inferred from the symphony, as Hoffmann misreads the work as an embodiment of his own totalizing metaphysics, sacrificing the individuality and character of themes and even the manifest expressive trajectory of the piece to a theory of wholeness on the basis of thematic interrelationships. The political ramifications of such a view are, of course, utterly alien to Enlightenment notions of freedom and individuality.

Unlike the conservative Romantic Hoffmann, the Beethoven portrayed by Rumph in chapters 2 and 3, the pre-1809 version, is a figure familiar from numerous biographical and critical studies of the twentieth century, the disciple of Enlightenment whose music embodies ascendant bourgeois hopes for autonomy, freedom, and progress. To support this interpretation, one clearly indebted to Theodor W. Adorno, Rumph unleashes the hermeneutic method that he follows throughout the book, relating features in Beethoven's music to philosophical and aesthetic categories that in turn have political implications. Thus in chapter 2, "The Heroic Sublime," Rumph unpacks the moral implications of the category of the sublime as expounded by Kant and Schiller: the experience of the sublime

serves as a stimulus to heroic overcoming, in that it awakens a recognition of the superiority of mind over sense, and, in Kant's words, "reveals a life independent of all animality and even of the whole world of sense" (p.47, quoting Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason*). To demonstrate how Beethoven's middle-period music partakes of this quality, Rumph focuses on the fourth of the *Six Songs,* op.48, to texts by Gellert, "Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur," the only piece by Beethoven actually to use the word "sublime" in the performance indications (*Majestätisch und erhaben*). In Rumph's interpretation, the sublimity in this paraphrase of Psalm 19 resides principally in the harmonic shock at the start of the second stanza, an abrupt move from G major to a numinous, sustained E♭ major, which prompts a heroic response, the conquest of the upper register in the vocal part. Of interest is Rumph's interpretation of the whole of op.48 as a song cycle whose poetic and musical trajectory—descent into death (Nos.1–3) followed by rebirth and ascent (Nos.4–6)—foreshadows other representations of death and rebirth in Beethoven's middle-period music.[2]

With chapter 3, "Promethean History," Rumph reads the cyclic trajectories of the Pastoral and the *Eroica* Symphonies as models for the grand historical visions of writers like Schiller and Hegel, the so-called *Universalgeschichte,* tracing the development of the human spirit from its origins to its destination, an approach, Rumph acknowledges, that Solomon had earlier used in an influential reading of the Ninth Symphony. Rumph begins with a relatively brief discussion of the Pastoral Symphony, which he relates to Schiller's historical progression from a "naïve" state of nature to a Utopian future condition that achieves a "second nature," a synthesis that reconciles the advances of modern consciousness with the wholeness of originary natural innocence. Rumph hears in the start of the first movement a separation of naive object (the folklike tune of mm.1–4) and sentimental subject (the more ruminative, choralelike reaction in mm.5–15) that is closed in the coda of the fifth movement, where naïve and sentimental are synthesized in a choralelike treatment of the *ranz des vaches* melody.

The pastoral symbolism of the Sixth Symphony leads Rumph backward in time to the *Eroica,* for which he offers a novel reading, interpreting the symphony as a story of the fall and redemption of humanity, a paradigm that underlies the ballet on which the symphony evidently is based and "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" (p.70). In this reading, the *Eroica* is

2. For another recent discussion of op.48 as a cycle, see Joanna Cobb Biermann, "Cyclical Ordering in Beethoven's Gellert Lieder, Op.48: A New Source," *Beethoven Forum* 11 (2004), 162–80.

another "pastoral" symphony, but one whose initial state of nature—represented by triple meter, triadic melody, and an E♭ tonality that Rumph convincingly associates throughout Beethoven's *œuvre* more with lyricism than with martial expression—is quickly shattered through semitonal movement and syncopated rhythm at m. 7. The disruption converts the remainder of the first movement into a heroic struggle with the material and the symphony as a whole into a quest for the recovery of a stable, natural state, which emerges in the dancelike periodicity and tonic-dominant swing of the contredanse of the finale. Particularly significant for Rumph's reading is his attention to the prominent role of the horns in the symphony as nature symbols. For Rumph, the symphony is also about the relationship of the individual to the collective in the unfolding of the *Universalgeschichte,* as the symbolic death of the individual in the *Marcia funebre* marks a heroic sacrifice for the sake of the species as a whole that is redeemed in the finale, which presents a model for the way to balance the needs of the individual and collective in a perfectly harmonized society.

Chapter 4, simply entitled "1809," argues for the significance of that particular year as a turning point in Beethoven's political thinking and musical approach. Having begun the year with the successful negotiation of a substantial annuity designed to ensure the economic freedom needed to devote himself to major works, Beethoven saw his economic security quickly erode as a consequence of the war with France. Angry about the disruption of his world, Beethoven thus became conservative and "anti-French." The year 1809 also introduces four new features that suggest the beginning of a turning away from the optimistic style of his middle period: (1) an interest in old music, particularly that of German masters, evident in his requests to Breitkopf and Härtel for their score editions of eighteenth-century composers; (2) renewed interest in counterpoint, provoked in part by his need to assemble teaching materials for his new student, the Archduke Rudolph, but also, Rumph speculates, for its specific associations with the Hapsburg dynasty; (3) the lyrical tone of a number of works composed or begun in 1809, in particular ops.74, 78, and 81a, which Rumph regards as a purging of "French" elements of the heroic style (he offers an intriguing reading of the "Harp" Quartet, op.74, as a negation of the heroic style, particularly in the way it juxtaposes—rather than synthesizes—contrasted materials); and (4) the writing out of cadenzas and other improvisatory gestures that, on the one hand, transform a performer's prerogatives into a composer's dictates and, on the other, inscribe a subjective voice into a piece. According to Rumph, the common denominator behind these new directions was Beethoven's desire for order in a chaotic time: for the sense of stability and continuity represented by historic tradition, for restraint within his own musical

expression and for control over the vicissitudes of performance. On this reading, 1809—and not 1814 as argued by Carl Dahlhaus—emerges as *the* watershed for Beethoven's later intellectual and musical development, with clear implications for Beethoven's relationship to the subsequent development of German politics:

> 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 (pp. 106–07).

And with this Rumph posits a new, binary division of Beethoven's creative career, comprising a first, liberal phase from 1789 to 1809 in which the composer worked out the ethical and moral ideals aroused by the exhilarating first days of the French Revolution and a second phase, running from 1809 until his death, in which the composer's Utopian views took on more conservative and ambivalent features.

Turning from biography back to criticism, chapters 5 and 6, "Contrapunctus I: Prelude and Fugue" and "Contrapunctus II: Double Fugue," focus on what Rumph calls Beethoven's "contrapuntal project," the infusion of contrapuntal methods into sonata-form movements of the last decade. To a certain extent both chapters show how Beethoven's form of historicism differed from that of a Restoration apologist like Friedrich Schlegel, for whom only a return to the faith of medieval Christianity could bring salvation to modern man. Beethoven's symbolic confrontation of archaic (counterpoint) and modern (sonata form) is not as reactionary, insofar as it suggests the interpenetration of past and present, but in Rumph's view it is not an easy combination either, as the "static" processes of counterpoint collide with the more "dynamic" principles of sonata form, creating odd forms that do not suggest the same confident syntheses as the middle-period works.

Rumph starts chapter 5 with the first movement of op. 109, which he interprets as a monorhythmic "prelude" that is twice interrupted by blocks of contrasting material—parenthetical insertions in William Kinderman's influential formula-

tion—that take the place of the secondary theme and stand outside the essential discourse of the movement. Rather than rely on the typical processes of motivic development, the movement progresses primarily through manipulations of the contrapuntal principal theme, like inversion and revoicing. Similar techniques lie at the heart of the first movement of op.127, which once again juxtaposes sharply contrasted blocks—the chordal, introductory gesture of the Maestoso and the more contrapuntal melody of the Allegro—and progress through a kind of developing variation of texture and register. The contrast between Maestoso and Allegro is implicitly resolved in the coda, where the contrapuntal fabric of the latter acquires the breadth of register to which the former had grown in its own development. The chapter concludes with a particularly searching discussion of op.111. Rumph highlights the conflict of counterpoint and sonata form in the first movement by interpreting the principal theme as a fugal subject in search of contrapuntal treatment; in the non-contrapuntal environment of the first group, the theme repeatedly breaks down rhythmically, and it finds rhythmic continuity only in the more contrapuntally conceived transition, closing group, and development section. Rumph also contributes new ideas to the notion that the Arietta is an "expressive double" of the first movement, adding to the shared diminished-seventh chains, noted by Charles Rosen and Lawrence Kramer, the roles of rhythmic diminution and stratification in both movements and the special role accorded trills in both movements, as an initiating gesture out of which the principal theme of the first movement originates, and as a culminating gesture of transcendence in the Arietta.

With chapter 6 Rumph shifts to the contrapuntal combination of melodies with sharply contrasted rhythmic profiles, particularly the combination of a martial, dotted rhythm in one voice with a chorale- or *cantus-firmus*-like melody in another, a complex he designates as the "*Große Fuge* texture" (p.135). Often treated in double fugue, it is a texture that also appears within sonata-form contexts, with paradoxical results. After tracing the antithesis of march and chorale back to the successive presentations of such materials in the scherzo of op.95 (and ultimately to the explosive contrasts within the opening measures of its first movement) and the simultaneous combination of march and *cantus firmus* in double counterpoint in the development of the second movement of op.102, no.1, Rumph focuses on the three late quartets, seemingly related to one another by their shared reliance on chromatic motives, ops.132, 130, and 131. For Rumph's purposes, the significant feature here is that the "common motive" in all cases is embedded in a contrapuntal context that problematizes sonata form. In the first movement of op.132, Rumph highlights the rhythmic tension between the static chromatic idea and the marchlike component of the principal theme, which combine briefly and

then reseparate by the end of the exposition. Rumph sees the idea of rhythmic conflict as a leading idea for the quartet as a whole, with the *Heiliger Dankgesang* affording another take on the opposition of stasis and motion in the alternation of the Lydian chorale and the dancelike D-major sections and with the conflicting metrical implications of the second movement providing yet another kind of rhythmic tension. Such tensions are resolved in Rumph's view by the propulsive *Teutscher* rhythms of the finale, "the last purely heroic finale" in Beethoven's *œuvre* (p.143). In op.130 the contrapuntal matrix for the chromatic motive appears in both the first movement and *Große Fuge* (which Rumph ultimately regards as the more meaningful finale for the quartet), as both develop the contrapuntal texture in parallel trajectories, progressing from relatively volatile counterpoint at the outset to greater stability. And with the finale of op.131 it is once again the tension between new and old, dynamic and static, sonata style and counterpoint that gives the movement its unique character, although here, in opposition to op.132, it is the growing importance of the contrapuntal, *cantus-firmus*-like element over the course of the movement that, in Rumph's view, undermines the heroic rhetoric of the movement without actually achieving a triumph on its own.

The finale of the Ninth Symphony occupies center stage in the next two chapters, which situate the "Ode to Joy" in different contexts. Chapter 7, "Androgynous Utopias," takes as its starting point the combination of the "Freude" and "Seid umschlungen, Millionen" melodies in double fugue in the Allegro energico section. Rumph interprets this climactic moment, the outcome of Beethoven's own selection and rearrangement of solo and choral stanzas from Schiller's poem, as a simultaneous juxtaposition of "male" and "female" as well as the culmination of a progression of the "Freude" melody not only from the individual to the collective but also from day to night, from the sublime to the beautiful, and from the martial to the Divine, thereby reversing the typical progression of Beethoven's truly heroic works. This provocative interpretation, which seemingly stands the "Ode to Joy" on its head by viewing the numinous sections of the poem as "female" and "beautiful" rather than "sublime" and "male," allows Rumph to draw analogies to the political theories of Edmund Burke, Novalis, and Adam Müller, all of whom were interested in one way or another in tempering the aggressive forces of bourgeois economic activity through the stabilizing influence of a landed, hereditary aristocracy (regarded as "beautiful" or "graceful" by Burke and thus gendered feminine), so as to allow for an orderly progress of society that avoided both the inert stagnancy of mere traditionalism and the chaos of unrestrained change. Beethoven's "Ode to Joy" is thus not as egalitarian and liberal as traditional interpretations would have it. Rumph traces the stylistic ancestry behind this marriage of male and female back

through the Dona nobis pacem of the *Missa solemnis* to the conclusion of *Wellingtons Sieg*. Rumph ingeniously rehabilitates this much maligned work not only as a sophisticated embodiment of the balancing of bourgeois action and aristocratic gentility but also as a harbinger of Beethoven's late obsession with double fugue and of later finales, like those of op.111, op.125, and the *Große Fuge,* that seem to reconsider the discourse of prior movements from a higher plane.

The "Ode to Joy" also plays a leading role in chapter 8, "Vox Populi, Vox Dei," which considers the category of "voice" in Beethoven's late-period music from two different perspectives. First, Rumph reinterprets the pronounced vocal element in Beethoven's late period. Rather than regard the simple, direct tunes that frequently appear in the late works as a populist reaching out to the common listener, as Joseph Kerman's influential interpretation would have it, Rumph understands them instead as objects for ironic treatment by an authoritarian composer who manipulates them mechanically (frequently through counterpoint) or exposes their weaknesses through parody (as in the case of Beethoven's dissection of Diabelli's waltz). This leads to a second category of "voice" in the late works, the notion of an authorial voice or presence standing somewhere outside the work. Drawing on recent writings of Elaine Sisman and Karol Berger, Rumph cites a number of improvisatory, cadenza- or recitative-like moments (of which the string bass recitatives in the finale of the Ninth Symphony constitute the *locus classicus*) that seem to hover outside the normal, dramatic flow of time in the musical discourse and that discover (or, in Rumph's view, dictate) a new course of action for the ensuing music. Rumph aligns the presence of this authoritarian, didactic voice with Fichte's notions of compulsory education by an elite intelligentsia. Rumph further suggests that the authorial voice that enunciates the recitatives and dictates the "Freude" melody to the chorus ultimately merges with the collective at the presentation of "Seid umschlungen, Millionen," a totalizing rapprochement of voices that Rumph considers to be one of the most disturbing messages of the symphony: "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" (p.221).

As a work of criticism *Beethoven after Napoleon* offers a number of original interpretations—including the pastoral reading of the *Eroica,* the discussions of the friction between counterpoint and sonata form in the late works, and the imaginative revaluation of *Wellingtons Sieg*—that are welcome complements to the extant body of Beethoven criticism, irrespective of whether one agrees with the political conclusions that Rumph draws from his analyses. To be sure, some of the interpre-

tative moves are debatable. That Beethoven understood counterpoint specifically as a conservative symbol of Hapsburg tradition and authority, as claimed at several points in the book (e.g., p.111), is not sufficiently supported; the extensive use of counterpoint in the *Missa solemnis* for the Archduke Rudolph's installation as Archbishop of Olmütz suggests this interpretation, but this genre of sacred music on its own carried with it expectations of contrapuntal treatment, and in any event Beethoven's late fascination with counterpoint emerged in compositions prior to op.123. The identification of Beethoven's "heroic" style as "French," which conveniently provides a political subtext to Beethoven's middle-period works, simplifies the situation: while Beethoven doubtless emulated the élan and pathos of the Parisian music of the Revolutionary period, his most ambitious pieces, as Rumph also shows, unfold along trajectories more closely affiliated with the grand historical schemes of German thinkers. Somewhat reductionist is the focus solely on the "heroic" characterization of Beethoven's output before 1809; such a characterization naturally facilitates an opposition to the antiheroic elements of the late style, but it is a one-sided view of the composer that masks the fact that a number of Beethoven's earlier, less heroic, pieces already explore some of the categories that become fixations in the later works: the lyricism of sonata-form movements like the first movements of op.14, no.2, and op.24; the juxtaposition and subsequent combination of sharply contrasted blocks in the first movement of op.54 (admittedly not in sonata form); the intrusion of ruminative, written-out cadenzas that seem to emerge from another realm at critical moments in a structure, as in the first-movement recapitulations of the "Tempest" Sonata and the Fifth Symphony, or at the juncture between third and fourth movements in op.27, no.1.

Of course Rumph's project is as much historical and biographical as it is critical, and here his work will invite response and further work. For example, Rumph's 1809 hypothesis, compellingly presented as it is, nevertheless needs to be tested to determine whether 1809 is the real turning point in the development of Beethoven's thought that he asserts it to be. Beethoven's disgust with the war and his monetary anxieties are clear enough, but the claim that the composer turned his back on French (*sive* Enlightenment) political ideals and the French (i.e., heroic) components of his earlier style as a consequence of these remain to be proved. The one piece of evidence that Rumph adduces as a sign of Beethoven's anger toward the French (in contradistinction to his anger toward the war) is Johann Friedrich Rochlitz's account of a meeting with Beethoven in 1822: as Solomon has shown, however, there is reason to doubt whether this meeting ever took place![3] As to the rejection of the heroic style in 1809, one can easily imagine an alternative

3. Solomon, "Beethoven's Creative Process: A Two-Part Invention," *Beethoven Essays,* pp.134–38.

explanation tied more directly to economic necessities than (initially) to aesthetic preferences and ideology. That is, at a time when the economic uncertainties of war discouraged work on pieces requiring large forces (the kind of major works that the annuity of 1809 was supposed to facilitate) and created financial needs that could be addressed in part by offering attractive pieces to publishers, the composer turns to smaller, more intimate, and thus more easily marketable pieces. How else can one explain the evident discrepancy between Beethoven's professed reluctance to occupy himself with solo piano sonatas (expressed in a letter of 19 September 1809 to Breitkopf and Härtel) and his conspicuous absorption in that genre (ops.78, 79, and 81a) and other genres of solo piano music (ops.76 and 77) in the years 1809–10?

A more serious reservation arises from the lack of biographical support for the purported conservatism of Beethoven's thought in the years after 1809. Rumph does an excellent job of introducing the reader to the political theory of the era in which Beethoven lived, and his analyses show why Beethoven's later works *can* be heard as pronouncements of an authoritarian mind intent on upholding the social and religious status quo (and also why this music can be used to buttress totalitarian political ends), but the connection between Beethoven's work and the conservative political theory needs to be fleshed out much more fully to persuade that the composer indeed turned his back on the principles of his youth (whose connections to Beethoven through contacts in Bonn are, in contrast, amply documented). After all, Beethoven seemingly did not embrace orthodox Catholicism and the escapist, idealized medievalism that played such a prominent role in the lives and writings of the political Romantics. To conclude that Beethoven abandoned the Enlightenment primarily on the basis of the structure and tone of the later works seems risky, as many facets of Enlightenment political thought were just as authoritarian and elitist as the conservative thought that emerged in opposition to it. Instead of rejecting the premises of Enlightenment, might it not be more accurate to say that with advancing age and increasing concerns about his mortality, spiritual questions, and artistic legacy, Beethoven modified, enriched, and, yes, even questioned the Utopian ideals of his youth without really renouncing them?

In "A Modernist Epilogue" (chapter 9), Rumph critiques a handful of influential twentieth-century commentators (Walter Riezler, Heinrich Schenker, Joseph Kerman, Charles Rosen, and Maynard Solomon) responsible for shaping the discourse on late-period Beethoven. Rumph notes that their modernist goal of creating and upholding a "Classical," "enlightened," and "absolute-musical" image of Beethoven's later works stems from the wish for paradigms of order and control in a century

that witnessed the chaos of world war, rapid technological change, and massive social upheavals, conditions not too different from those that, in Rumph's view, led Beethoven himself toward a more conservative stance after 1809. (It is somewhat puzzling to find Solomon in this list in view of his hermeneutic essay on the Ninth Symphony and his own critique of the modernist attempt to protect Beethoven from the unruliness of Romanticism,[4] not to mention the richly hermeneutic content of the aforementioned *Late Beethoven*.) Rumph also takes Adorno to task for his implicitly modernist proclivities, including his disinclination to explore hermeneutic evidence for the political meanings of Beethoven's music, as well as for his desire to shield late Beethoven from the taint of the Restoration. No doubt Rumph's willingness to enmesh Beethoven in the unsavory political theory of the early nineteenth century will some day tell a future critic just as much about the particular anxieties and aspirations of a postmodern era that remains drawn to the historical figure of Beethoven and his music but repelled by the culture they have come to represent.

4. Solomon, "Beyond Classicism," in *The Beethoven Quartet Companion,* ed. Robert Winter and Robert Martin (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U California P, 1994), pp.59–75; rpt. in Solomon, *Late Beethoven,* pp.27–41.

Imagining Beethoven

David B. Levy

Maynard Solomon. *Late Beethoven: Music, Thought, Imagination*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003. xi, 327pp.

Maynard Solomon remains one of our most erudite and well-read writers on Beethoven. The subtitle of this book, however, puts things out of order. "Imagination" should most decidedly be placed before "Music" and "Thought," for it is "Imagination" that dominates the landscape of the prologue and twelve essays that comprise *Late Beethoven*. If you are searching for closely detailed analytical studies of Beethoven's late works, then this is not the book for you. What Solomon instead presents is a compilation of new essays and revised versions of older ones, each of which touches on some aspect of Beethoven's creative life between 1812 and his death in 1827. The touchstone for many of the essays is Beethoven's *Tagebuch* of 1812–18, a resource whose importance Solomon has himself explored elsewhere.[1] The "late" in its title, therefore, is used in much the same way one speaks of the "long" eighteenth century. At its best, this book offers fresh perspectives and insights into the influences that affected the composer's state of mind toward the end of his life. At its worst, it is an exercise in pointless speculation.

Imagination, of course, can imply many things. In the forefront stands Beethoven's own extraordinarily fertile musical imagination. A prime example of this is the way in which he mined the raw materials from Anton Diabelli's waltz theme to yield

1. Solomon, *Essays,* pp.233–95.

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the treasure trove of thirty-three variations that continue to challenge performers, scholars, and audiences alike. It is appropriate, therefore, that two of Solomon's essays (nos. 1 and 9) are devoted to the "Diabelli" Variations. The first of these essays, "The End of a Beginning: The 'Diabelli' Variations,"[2] reveals the bent of Solomon's own imagination. He begins by challenging the conventional wisdom that has cast aspersions on Diabelli's theme itself. Beethoven, like Wagner's romanticized cobbler Hans Sachs, knew the sturdiness and signification of good *Schusterflecken*. As Solomon sagely observes,

> By its utter indestructibility, its imperviousness to perpetual attempts to dismantle it, Diabelli's theme comes to stand for the unwearying tenacity of every individual, and gives token of assurance of a permanent place in the order of things. The "Diabelli" Variations is not a conjurer's trick demonstrating how an unlikely edifice can be built upon an absurd foundation. It is a demonstration of a different kind: how one thing can be radically transformed into another—or split into many—without itself being annihilated; it is an essay on creative metamorphosis and a promise of endurance (p. 21).

Solomon reminds us of the important distinction between *Veränderungen* and *Variationen*. One has to question why, then, after making such a fine beginning and establishing clear definitions, Solomon feels compelled to overproblematicize and overtheorize the meanings of Beethoven's openings. In what way is Diabelli's waltz theme, as he writes, simultaneously both a continuation and a new start? A continuation of what? Likewise, in what ways are the beginnings of the Eighth Symphony and the "Hammerklavier" Sonata "declarations of discontinuity" (p. 21), as Solomon calls them, without defining his term "discontinuity"? Such language does little to clarify the pieces or our understanding of them. More helpful is the way in which Solomon points out the way stations we encounter en route to the "celestial" goal (the minuetlike final variation) toward which Beethoven's extraordinary metamorphoses have taken us. As useful as many of Solomon's observations may be, neither of his essays is a substitute for the richly detailed study by William Kinderman.[3]

Solomon is at his best in the fourth essay, "Pastoral, Rhetoric, Structure: The Violin Sonata in G, op. 96." Here he offers a useful study into an "early late" composition too often neglected by violinists, probably because of its lack of virtuosic opportunities for display and lower dramatic tensions. I've always seen this work

2. *Beethoven Forum* 7 (1999), 139–53.

3. William Kinderman, *Beethoven's Diabelli Variations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

as a little masterpiece in its own right that also looks forward to moments in the late string quartets—for example, the *Alla danza tedesca* of op.130, or the whimsical first movement of op.135. Solomon points out the kinship between op.96 and the song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte,* a work that shares the sonata's strain of melancholic nostalgia coupled with its folklike pastoral topoi. Here, perhaps, is one of the chief differences between "middle" and "late" Beethoven—the sense that the "Paradise Found" in the Violin Sonata in F Major, op.24 ("*Frühling*") has evolved into a Proustian memory of a "Paradise Lost" of op.96. Here is music criticism at its finest. Solomon's imagination successfully places the reader in the state of mind (thought?) of the music itself, causing us to hear it with new awareness and sensitivity.

By stark contrast, the sixth essay, entitled "The Seventh Symphony and the Rhythms of Antiquity," is an unconvincing and disappointing speculative adventure. Whereas other writers (Gustav Nottebohm, Carl Czerny, Friedrich Mosengeil, to name a few whom Solomon cites) have discerned the presence of ancient poetic meters in this symphony, Solomon dangerously hyperextends the argument into the realm of intentionality. Although there is no disagreement, among those who have experienced the Seventh Symphony, that its surface rhythmic impulse is the work's primary feature (Wagner's "apotheosis of the dance" and Berlioz's "ronde des paysans"), Solomon believes, and wants us to believe, that the application of ancient poetic meters was in the forefront of Beethoven's mind:

> Beethoven himself not infrequently developed an entire movement from rhythmic materials analogous to readily identifiable Greek meters. . . . In no other extended work by Beethoven, however, do the poetic meters serve so plainly and pervasively as the generative source of the whole, and this weighs in favor of the proposition that the Seventh Symphony was *conceived as a conscious development of classical meters* (p.119; italics mine).[4]

Thus in one short, swift stroke, "analogous to" has transformed itself into a "conscious development." Having boldly stated this, however, Solomon starts to retreat by admitting that "Beethoven left no commentary on the Seventh Symphony, either written or spoken, detailed or aphoristic, no explanation of its deployment of Greek meters" (p.120). Still later, he writes of "*implied* connections between it and Greek music or poetry, and with ceremonies and celebratory events of the

4. The author frequently cites personal correspondences with Thomas J. Mathiesen in support of his contention that Beethoven had ancient poetic meters in mind when composing the Seventh Symphony.

antique world" (p.121; italics mine). Moving still further afield, and for reasons not entirely clear, Solomon evokes the oft-cited notation from a sketch leaf of 1818 whose references to "ancient modes" and "celebration of Bacchus" have been linked to the Ninth Symphony. With backward-glancing references to interpretations of the *Eroica* Symphony that associate that work with Greek and Roman rituals, he states, more sweepingly, that his "observations about the Third Symphony suggest that the Seventh Symphony *may have marked* a culminating stage of Beethoven's classicizing symphonic project, elaborating a highly imaginative idea—to represent or evoke the ancient pagan world via a fantasy reconstruction of its music" (pp.125–26; italics mine).[5]

Speculation and imaginative hermeneutics have a legitimate place in the history of music criticism and may lead one to hear a piece with different ears. But Solomon crosses a dangerous line, falling into the quagmire of intentional fallacy. From a purely syntactical point of view, the scansion of the rhythmic patterns in the Seventh Symphony may indeed bear kinship to modes of Greek poetry, but they are not the only story told by this work. The Seventh Symphony also raises many other puzzling issues quite unrelated to its surface rhythms. Among these are its unorthodox internal and external key relationships, as well as the unusual emphasis on the dominant (and not only in the second inversion A-minor chords that frame the *Allegretto*). Solomon's eagerness to convince us leads to some factual errors. Despite his assertion that in the Seventh Symphony "there are no fermatas, ritards, accelerandos, or other dislocations or discontinuities of tempo" (p.119), the work *does* have fermatas (three alone in the first movement—see mm.88, 299, and 300). As for tempo changes, doesn't the final Assai meno presto in the coda of the third movement qualify as a significant interruption or discontinuity of speed?

A primary thesis that governs *Late Beethoven* is Solomon's conviction that the palpable shift of musical style in Beethoven's post-1814 works is accompanied by a parallel or analogous fundamental philosophical change in Beethoven's *Weltanschauung*. If, as Solomon maintains in his prologue, Beethoven's thinking underwent a "sea change" that "eventually amounted to a sweeping realignment of his understanding of nature, divinity, and human purpose" (p.2) that are reflected in the late style, one is left to wonder why so many of the ideals of the Enlightenment, as found in Schiller's *An die Freude,* continued to hold sway so powerfully. Solomon himself struggles in trying to reconcile the "intersecting constellations of thought—Romanticism and Freemasonry" (p.9) (see essay nos.3, 7, and 8) that are present in works throughout the composer's career. But therein lies the rub.

5. See, inter alia, Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995).

As I attempted to follow Solomon's journey through the many Masonic threads found in Beethoven's *Tagebuch,* I searched in vain for the promised "sea change" that separates the Beethoven of the second decade of the nineteenth century from that of the first, as revealed in the Heiligenstadt Testament.

More successful, although hardly original, is Solomon's exploration of Beethoven's search for the divine in a chapter with the Wordsworthian title of "Intimations of the Sacred." Other scholars—William Kinderman and Robert Winter come immediately to mind—have also commented eloquently on this property of Beethoven's late style. What I found to be a new and useful contribution from Solomon was his reference to a quotation found in Beethoven's *Tagebuch* of 1816, "For God, Time absolutely does not exist." Here we begin to penetrate some of the defining moments in the late works, such as mm.643*ff.* from the Ninth Symphony's finale (*Über Sternen muß er wohnen!*) or the heavenly *Harmoniemusik* of the third movement Adagio of the same work, not to forget similar passages in the slow movements of the late sonatas and quartets. Like the "Diabelli" Variations, the Ninth Symphony receives a chapter of its own. "The Sense of an Ending: The Ninth Symphony" is a reworking of a 1991 article that originally appeared in *Critical Inquiry*.[6] I quite admire and agree with Solomon's observation that Beethoven's return to *An die Freude* represented an idealized fulfillment of the "unrealized possibilities" of the politics of the composer's lifetime, although I remain uncomfortable with his notion that the brotherhood of mankind comes at the price of "a suppression of individuality" and "conformity as a precondition of salvation" (pp.224–25). Indeed, Solomon seems to contradict himself in the touching final essay (dedicated to the late Edward W. Said), "The Healing Power of Music," where he reads the "Ode to Joy" as a "reconciliation" between "God and his creatures, of the millions and the solitary individual" (p.237).[7] Elsewhere I have called into question his misreading of Schiller's interrogative (*Ihr stürtzt nieder, Millionen?*) into the imperative "Prostrate yourselves, ye multitudes."[8]

As ever, with his command of a wide range of literature on which he draws, Solomon gives us new, and sometimes profound, ways of thinking about Beethoven and his music. Recent books by Esteban Buch and Stephen Rumph are causing

6. *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991), 289–305.

7. News that the late Stanley Sadie was comforted on his deathbed by the strains of the Lento assai, cantante e tranquillo variations of Beethoven's Quartet in F Major, op.135, is but the latest reminder of the consoling power of Beethoven's late-period slow movements.

8. See David Benjamin Levy, *Beethoven: The Ninth Symphony* (rev. edn. New Haven: Yale UP, 2003), p.16. Solomon may have had in mind Averdonk's text for the final chorus of Beethoven's 1790 *Cantata on the Elevation of Leopold II to the Imperial Dignity,* WoO 88.

us to think about Beethoven's late period in more political, and less philosophical and literary, terms.[9] Of course there can never be a "last word" about a cultural phenomenon as important as "Late Beethoven." That Solomon seeks to find "connections—at least, the analogies—between Beethoven's thought and his later works" is a noble goal (p.2). This book would ultimately prove more useful if its author could have resisted substituting his own "thought" and "imagination" for that of his subject.

9. Esteban Buch, *Beethoven's Ninth: A Political History,* trans. Richard Miller (Chicago: U Chicago P, 2003); and Stephen Rumph, *Beethoven after Napoleon: Political Romanticism in the Late Works* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U California P, 2004).

Beethoven's Acoustics

John Spitzer

Stefan Weinzierl. *Beethovens Konzerträume: Raumakustik und symphonische Aufführungspraxis an der Schwelle zum modernen Konzertwesen*. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Erwin Bochinsky, 2002. 267pp.

The picture on page 214, adapted from Stefan Weinzierl's outstanding new book on Beethoven's concert halls, is worth at least a thousand words. Weinzierl's graph shows how loud various concert halls sound compared to the size of the halls. The round dots to the upper left of the graph are the halls in Vienna for which Beethoven composed his orchestral works and in which these works were performed during his lifetime. The diamonds and triangles to the bottom right are some typical nineteenth- and twentieth-century halls in which Beethoven's orchestral music is often performed today.

Clearly, Beethoven's concert rooms were considerably smaller and much, much louder than most modern concert halls. They sounded louder for several reasons. Because they were smaller, more direct sound reached more listeners, and direct sound was augmented by more reflected sound. Their walls were made of hard, reflective surfaces like plaster and glass. Seating took up a smaller portion of the hall, and in most cases the seats were not upholstered. How much louder? It's hard to say, because "strength factor" (G_{mid}), the measure of loudness that Weinzierl and other acousticians use, does not measure absolute loudness but rather how much loudness reverberation in the hall adds to direct sound.[1] Thus the Theater an der

1. Leo Beranek, *Concert and Opera Halls—How They Sound* (Woodbury, N.Y.: American Institute of Physics, 1996), p. 574. G_{mid} is measured in decibels on a logarithmic scale. An increase of three decibels represents a doubling of sound intensity.

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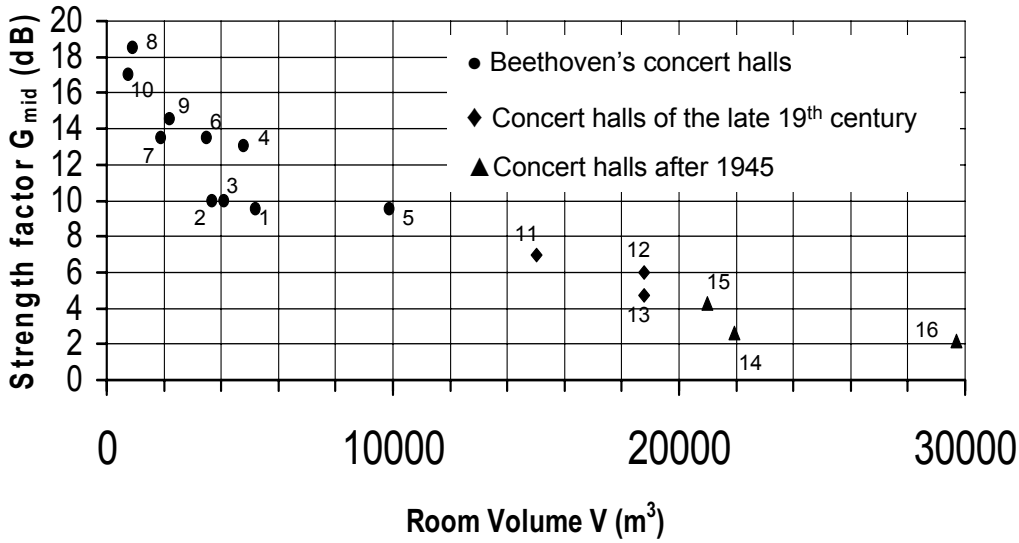

1	Theater an der Wien	9	Augarten
2	Burgtheater	10	Mehlgrube
3	Kärntnertortheater	11	Musikvereinsaal
4	University Great Hall	12	Concertgebouw (Amsterdam)
5	Grosse Redoutensaal	13	Symphony Hall (Boston)
6	Kleine Redoutensaal	14	Royal Festival Hall (London)
7	Landhaus Assembly Room	15	Philharmonie (Berlin)
8	Lobkowitz Palace	16	Gasteig (Munich)

Figure 1. Concert Halls: Size vs. loudness. Adapted from S. Weinzierl, *Beethovens Konzerträume.*

Wien, where the Second, Fifth, and Sixth Symphonies were premiered, added about three times as much volume to the direct sound of Beethoven's orchestra as Symphony Hall does to the Boston Symphony today. The Great Hall (Aula) at the University of Vienna, a room that Beethoven called "the most advantageous" for the premiere of the Seventh Symphony in 1813,[2] added almost seven times more volume than Symphony Hall. And the little concert room in the Lobkowitz Palace, where the Third Symphony was introduced in 1803, was something like twenty-

2. Brandenburg, II, 337.

four times louder than Symphony Hall. Comparisons with other late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century halls—the Philharmonie in Berlin or the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam—yield similar results.

Loudness was not the only difference between Beethoven's concert halls and modern halls. Weinzierl shows that Beethoven's halls differed systematically from modern halls along other acoustic parameters, like bass ratio (a measure of timbre or warmth) and lateral fraction (a measure of how spacious the hall sounds). It seems as though Beethoven's audiences must have had very different experiences of his symphonies, concertos, and overtures than audiences have today.

Weinzierl's goal is "to understand the significance of room acoustics for musical performance practice" (p.9). He constructs his argument meticulously, based on both historical scholarship and research in acoustics. First, he asks where Beethoven's works were actually performed during the composer's lifetime. Weinzierl surveys primary and secondary sources (AmZ, Beethoven letters, Perger, Antonicek, etc.) to identify performances in Vienna between 1795 and 1827 of works by Beethoven for orchestra (including concertos and concerted choral works). He documents 244 performances of 35 different works in 14 rooms. Beethoven's most important venues were the Grosse Redoutensaal (43 performances), the Assembly Rooms of the Landhaus in the Herrengasse (39), the Kärntnertor Theater (31), the Kleine Redoutensaal (23), the Great Hall of the University (21), the grand pavilion in the Augarten (21), the Theater an der Wien (20), the Burgtheater (15), the ballroom in the Mehlgrube (10), and the concert room in the Lobkowitz Palace (6).

What were the acoustical properties of these ten rooms? Many of them have been destroyed, and those that survive (Theater an der Wien, Grosse Redoutensaal, etc.) have been extensively remodeled since Beethoven's time. Therefore Weinzierl had to deduce their acoustical properties from their dimensions, construction materials, placement of the orchestra, placement of the audience, and other factors. Working from contemporary architectural drawings and descriptions, as well as measurements of the surviving rooms, he establishes exact or approximate values for dimensions, room geometry, absorption coefficients, and other parameters of the ten most important concert rooms.

Weinzierl then uses the values he has deduced from historical sources as input into acoustical modeling software in order to calculate the acoustical properties of Beethoven's concert rooms. The software he uses is EASE (Electro-Acoustic Simulator for Engineers), which was introduced in 1990 and is widely used by acoustical engineers to predict the acoustical properties of halls they design.[3] To

3. EASE has been updated and expanded several times since the 1990 version that Weinzierl used for his study. See http://www.renkus-heinz.com/ease (accessed 1 Feb. 2005).

my knowledge, Weinzierl's study is the first time that this software has been used to model past rather than future buildings. The output from EASE is a set of acoustical parameters: loudness factor (G_{mid}) reverberation time (RT), bass response (BR), clarity (C), and lateral fraction (LF). These are not the only parameters that EASE can calculate, but they are the ones Weinzierl believes are the most significant for a listener's auditory experience.[4]

Comparing the acoustical parameters he has calculated for Beethoven's halls to the same parameters measured in modern halls, Weinzierl concludes that the halls where Beethoven's works were performed during his lifetime differed significantly and systematically from the halls where Beethoven's works are most often heard today. The biggest difference, as seen in figure 1, is loudness (G_{mid}): an orchestra sounded considerably louder in any of Beethoven's halls than the same orchestra would sound in a modern concert hall. Bass response, the proportion of bass to treble frequencies reinforced by the hall, differed between eighteenth-century and modern halls in an interesting way. The timbre of an orchestra in most modern halls sounds much the same whether the hall is occupied or empty. In Beethoven's halls, on the other hand, when the room was full of people, treble frequencies were damped, and the bass became proportionally stronger. With a full house in the Theater an der Wien or the University Great Hall, the bass became much more prominent than it is in Symphony Hall or the Berlin Philharmonie (pp. 189–90 and fig. 5.6). Spaciousness, as measured by lateral fraction (LF), also differed systematically between Beethoven's halls and modern ones. The proportion of sound reflected from the walls and thus reaching listeners from the side rather than from the front was considerably higher in Beethoven's halls than in modern halls (pp. 191–92 and fig. 5.7).[5] Other things being equal, Beethoven's orchestras would have seemed to fill the entire room more than modern orchestras do.

For reverb time (RT) and clarity (C), according to Weinzierl, the differences between Beethoven's halls and modern halls are less striking. Beethoven's halls spanned a wide range of reverb times, from the theaters, which were drier than modern concert halls, to the University Great Hall and the Redoutensäle, which had a great deal of echo, particularly when the audience was small. Likewise with clarity (C), the range of values for Beethoven's halls overlaps those of modern halls. The individual instruments sounded more distinct in the theaters (and curiously in

4. In his choice of output parameters, Weinzierl follows Beranek, *Concert and Opera Halls;* Jens Blauert, *Spatial Hearing* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997); and Michael Barron, "Subjective Study of British Symphony Concert Halls," *Acustica* 66 (1988), 1–14.

5. Weinzierl acknowledges that his LF calculations for theaters are problematic (p. 174, n. 7).

the Mehlgrube also), muddier in the Landhaus and the Redoutensäle (pp. 186–89, figs. 5.4 and 5.5).[6]

Weinzierl insists that the differences in acoustic parameters between Beethoven's concert rooms and modern halls made for big differences in the subjective experiences of listeners. Beethoven's orchestral works sounded louder to his audiences than they do to audiences in most cases today. They also had a more powerful bass and seemed to fill the room more than they do in modern halls. With its columns of figures, mathematical formulas, and computer modeling, the argument seems impressive. But how sound is it really? And what conclusions does Weinzierl draw for modern musical practice?

The first step, his research on Beethoven's concert venues, is unimpeachable. Weinzierl's Appendix I, a comprehensive list of performances in Vienna of orchestral works by Beethoven between 1795 and 1827, is valuable in and of itself, and it fills a gap in the literature. Even if Weinzierl has missed a performance or two, the ten halls that he studies were clearly the principal venues for Beethoven's orchestral music in Vienna. If Beethoven had any halls in mind as he composed his symphonies and concertos, it was these. Weinzierl could also have looked into performances of Beethoven's music outside Vienna, but this would not have affected his conclusions. The acoustics of concert venues in London, Paris, and Berlin were very similar to those of the Viennese halls.[7]

The second step in Weinzierl's argument, his research on the acoustical properties of historical concert halls, involves more assumptions. Just what kind of plaster was used on the walls of this or that room? What about ornaments and rough surfaces? How big were the windows? Most important: how big was the audience?—because when seats were not upholstered, the audience became the most important factor in absorbing sound. Weinzierl takes pains to acknowledge these and other uncertainties and to make his assumptions explicit. For each of the ten rooms he studies, he does three sets of calculations: one with an empty hall, one with a half-filled hall, and one with a full house. The parameters derived from each of these simulations are compared in turn to modern concert halls. Weinzierl is similarly cautious about where the orchestra was placed in theaters. For works with a chorus (*Christus am Ölberg, The Ruins of Athens,* the Ninth Symphony, etc.),

6. Up until now reverb time (RT) has been almost the only acoustical parameter used in studies of historical buildings. One of the many virtues of Weinzierl's book is to show that other parameters tell us more.

7. See Jürgen Meyer, *Akustik und musikalische Aufführungspraxis* (Frankfurt: Bochinsky, 1995). Michael Forsyth, *Buildings for Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985).

the orchestra was placed onstage with the soloists and chorus. For symphonies and concertos, however, Weinzierl believes that the orchestra was probably placed on the floor of the theater and that the curtain was closed. This hypothesis is a best guess based on reports of orchestral performances in Vienna and elsewhere in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[8] To see how much difference orchestra placement might actually have made, Weinzierl measured two sets of reverb time values in the modern Theater an der Wien, one with the orchestra on the floor and the curtain closed, another with the orchestra onstage. The values differed only marginally from one another, suggesting that even with onstage placement, Beethoven's orchestra would still have sounded considerably louder in an eighteenth-century Viennese theater than it would in a modern concert hall.

The third step in Weinzierl's argument, computer modeling of room acoustics, might seem the weakest. Since the debacles of Philharmonic Hall in New York (1962) and Barbican Hall in London (1982), there has been considerable skepticism among musicians regarding the prognostications of acoustical engineers. These halls were designed, however, thirty years before computer models were available, and even today such models seem to be only an ancillary tool in concert hall design. At issue here, in any case, is not whether computer models can design a good concert hall but whether they can make accurate estimates of acoustical parameters. The relation between input and output in EASE has been rigorously tested in both new and old halls, and it's likely that if the acoustical properties that Weinzierl imputes to Beethoven's halls are correct, then the output from EASE—reverb times, loudness factors, bass ratios, etc.—are also correct. Whether these acoustical parameters give us the best aural picture of Beethoven's concert rooms is still open to debate. Some acousticians argue that a room's spaciousness is better measured by "interaural cross-correlation coefficient" than by lateral fraction. Beranek lobbies for an additional parameter (initial time delay gap) to measure the "intimacy" of a hall.[9]

But these are fine points. People may quibble with Weinzierl's assumptions, speculate that his results might have been different if he had used a later version of EASE, or question what "loudness factor," "bass ratio," etc. actually mean for a listener's subjective experience. But none of this would change what the graph in figure 1 makes abundantly clear: when audiences of Beethoven's time listened

8. Otto Biba, "Concert Life in Beethoven's Vienna," in *Beethoven, Performers, and Critics,* ed. Robert Winter and Bruce Carr (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1980), p.83; Daniel Heartz, "Nicholas Jadot and the Building of the Burgtheater," MQ 68 (1982), 23.

9. See Beranek, *Concert and Opera Halls,* pp.461–75, 481–84.

to his orchestral music, they heard something very different from what modern audiences hear, and much of this difference was due to the difference in acoustical environment. These conclusions correspond to the conclusions of other recent investigators, especially Jürgen Meyer's acoustical measurements of Haydn's concert rooms and also my own work with Neal Zaslaw, based mainly on historical descriptions rather than on acoustical data.[10] But Weinzierl's conclusions are much more firmly grounded than those of previous authors, because he has more data, better data, and better models.

Beethoven's orchestral music, as it was heard in his day, sounded very loud; the bass was prominent, and the orchestra seemed very close to the audience, both visually and aurally. In the Grosse Redoutensaal or the University Great Hall an orchestra could create effects of such volume and power that people described it in terms of natural phenomena—a clap of thunder, a waterfall, a blinding light.[11] Is this experience available to audiences today? Not in today's halls, says Weinzierl. In a typical modern concert hall, with 2,000 to 3,000 seats and a room volume of 15,000–25,000 cubic meters, Beethoven's orchestral music will inevitably have less volume, less power, and less presence than it had in the halls for which he composed it. And Weinzierl demonstrates that it's impossible to make up for the difference by enlarging the orchestra. To make the *Eroica* Symphony sound as loud in the Philharmonie as it sounded in the Palais Lobkowitz, the Berlin Philharmonic would have to be expanded to something like 1,000 members (pp.183–84).[12] Rooms with the acoustical properties of Beethoven's concert halls do exist today—halls preserved from the eighteenth century, small theaters, and rooms built for chamber music. Since these halls seat audiences of 1,000 or less, however, performances in them by large, professional orchestras are seldom economically viable.

But wait a minute. . . . The experience of Beethoven's orchestra *is* available to modern listeners—indeed it's familiar. All you have to do is put on the headphones, crank up the volume and let the *Eroica* Symphony blow you away, just like it did in the Lobkowitz Palace in 1805. Want more bass response? More lateral fraction? Just twist a knob. Indeed modern acoustics technology offers yet more interesting

10. Meyer, "Raumakustic und Orchesterklang in den Konzertsälen Joseph Haydns," *Acustica* 41 (1978), 145–62; Meyer, *Akustik und musikalische Aufführungspraxis;* John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra—History of an Institution* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), chap.10. See also Willem Kroesbergen and Jed Wentz, "Sonority in the Eighteenth Century, *un poco più forte?*" *Early Music* 22 (1994), 483–95.

11. See Spitzer and Zaslaw, *Birth of the Orchestra,* pp.369, 521–22.

12. The greater volume produced by modern orchestral instruments, writes Weinzierl, makes comparatively little difference, given the acoustics of modern concert halls.

possibilities. EARS, a complement to the EASE software that Weinzierl used in his study, enables the user to specify the acoustic parameters of a room and then hear how that room sounds through earphones or speakers.[13] (This is how engineers try to anticipate how concert halls on their drawing boards will actually sound.) The EARS software can take a recording of an orchestra made in an acoustically neutral environment and process it to the specifications of any hall, real or imaginary. In principle it should be possible to hear how the *Eroica* Symphony sounded in the Lobkowitz Palace, then in the Theater an der Wien, then in the Great Hall of the University, and so on. A new frontier of performance practice stretches out before us. . . .

Don't hold your breath waiting for an "acoustical authenticity" movement. Even if the engineers could re-create the sounds that Beethoven's audiences actually heard and deliver these sounds to audiences through earphones or speakers, this is probably not how people want Beethoven to sound nowadays. As Richard Taruskin has demonstrated so convincingly, modern audiences want Classical period music to sound "modern," with steady tempos, clean textures, minimal vibrato, and so on.[14] The nineteenth-century tradition of performing Beethoven symphonies with massive orchestras and rescoring his works to sound better in large halls has been replaced by the late-twentieth-century tradition of smaller orchestras playing "original" and less powerful instruments. The sound of Beethoven's orchestral music in Beethoven's concert rooms—resonant, bass-heavy, and extremely loud—would seem more appropriate today to a heavy metal concert in a sports arena than a classical music concert in a symphony hall. In all likelihood, the experience that Beethoven's audiences had of his symphonies in his day is not the experience that lovers of Beethoven's symphonies today would care to repeat.

13. http://www.renkus-heinz.com/ease/ease_intro/auralize_intro.html (accessed 1 Feb. 2005).

14. Richard Taruskin, "The Pastness of the Present and the Presentness of the Past," in *Text and Act* (New York: Oxford UP, 1995), pp.90–154.

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