Beethoven's Compositional Approach to Multi-Movement Structures in his Instrumental Works

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Abstract

The multi-movement structures of Beethoven's instrumental works include some of the most obvious manifestations of his originality as a composer. His very first Viennese publications—the Piano Trios op. 1 and the Piano Sonatas op. 2—adopt the four-movement cycle that had previously been associated primarily with the symphony. And in his last five string quartets he transformed the conventional multi-movement cycles almost beyond recognition, particularly in the seven-movement Quartet op. 131, in which each movement runs directly into the next.

This study investigates Beethoven's compositional approach to multimovement structure, with the aim of gaining a better understanding of the underlying principles that influenced his musical decisions. Particular attention is given to an aspect of his sketching process that has received relatively little scholarly attention: multi-movement plans. These plans were generally sketched at an early stage in the compositional process, and outline preliminary ideas for the different movements of a work as a whole. Although Lewis Lockwood hypothesised that such plans were particularly frequent amongst Beethoven's sketches from 1800 to 1804, until now there has never been a detailed study of their role within Beethoven's sketching process throughout his career. This study reveals that multi-movement plans were a regular feature in sketches for instrumental works from 1800 onwards, and that they served a variety of purposes within the compositional process. Multi-movement plans from all stages of Beethoven's compositional career are transcribed and examined for what they can reveal about his conception of multi-movement structures.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Abbreviations

A-	Letter no. in Emily Anderson trans. and ed., The
	Letters of Beethoven, 3 vols., London, 1961
Baker-Christensen	Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Thomas Christensen, eds.,
	Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the
	German Enlightenment: Selected Writings of Johann
	Georg Sulzer and Heinrich Christoph Koch,
	Cambridge, 1995
BB-	Item no. in Sieghard Brandenburg, ed., Ludwig van
	Beethoven: Briefwechsel Gesamtausgabe, 7 vols.,
	Munich, 1996-8
BKh	Karl-Heinz Köhler, and others, eds., Ludwig van
	Beethovens Konversationshefte, 11 vols., Leipzig,
	1968-2001
Cooper, Creative	Barry Cooper, Beethoven and the Creative Process,
	Oxford, 1990
JTW	Douglas Johnson, Alan Tyson, and Robert Winter, The
	Beethoven Sketchbooks: History, Reconstruction,
	Inventory, ed. Douglas Johnson, Oxford, 1985
Kinsky-Halm	Georg Kinsky, Das Werk Beethovens, completed and
	ed. Hans Halm, Munich, 1955
Lockwood, 'Earliest'	Lewis Lockwood, 'Beethoven's Earliest Sketches for
	the Eroica Symphony', Musical Quarterly, lxiv (1981),
	457-78
NI	Gustav Nottebohm, Beethoveniana, Leipzig, 1872,
	repr. New York, 1970
N II	Gustav Nottebohm, Zweite Beethoveniana, Leipzig,
	1887, repr. New York, 1970
N 1865	Gustav Nottebohm, Ein Skizzenbuch von Beethoven,
	Leipzig, 1865, repr. New York, 1970
N 1880	Gustav Nottebohm, Ein Skizzenbuch von Beethoven
	aus dem Jahre 1803, Leipzig, 1880, repr. New York,
	1970

SV	Item no. in Hans Schmidt, 'Verzeichnis der Skizzen
	Beethovens', Beethoven-Jahrbuch, vi (1965-8), 7-128
Thayer-Forbes	Elliot Forbes, ed., Thayer's Life of Beethoven,
	Princeton, 1964, 2 nd edn., 1967
Wegeler-Ries	Franz Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, Remembering
	Beethoven: The Biographical Notes of Franz Wegeler
	and Ferdinand Ries, trans. Frederick Noonan,
	Arlington, 1987
Winter, Origins	Robert Winter, The Compositional Origins of
	Beethoven's Opus 131, Ann Arbor, 1982
WoO	Werk ohne Opuszahl (work without opus no. as listed
	in Kinsky-Halm)

Note on the Transcriptions

As explained in Chapter 1, many of Beethoven's sketches are difficult to decipher, and therefore a degree of interpretation has often been involved in the transcriptions. In cases where there is great doubt over a reading of a particular passage, this is indicated with a bracketed question mark. Where there is doubt over the reading of a word, a suggested reading is indicated within square brackets and followed by a question mark: e.g. '[Allegro?']. Where there is a word that cannot be deciphered this is indicated as a bracketed ellipsis: '[...]'. If Beethoven's notation is clearly erroneous and an interpretation has been made, the literal reading is shown above in square brackets preceded by 'ms:'. Symbols drawn by Beethoven (such as those to indicate cross-references to a different page) have been reproduced as they appear in the manuscript. The transcriptions do not generally indicate material that was deleted by Beethoven, except where the deleted material is clearly relevant to the issue of multi-movement structure; in these cases deleted material is indicated in angle brackets: <>

Transcriptions are my own unless otherwise indicated, though they rely heavily upon existing transcription where available. The transcriptions follow as closely as possible Beethoven's own notations, including stem directions. The following features have been added for the sake of clarity and accuracy:

- Stave numbers (presented within boxes) have been added to indicate the beginning of a new stave on the original page. Where a sketch begins in the middle of a stave rather than the beginning, this is indicated with an additional letter following the stave number: 1b indicates that the sketch is the second sketch to appear on stave 1, 1c indicates that it is the third to appear, etc.
- Features that are not present in the original but that were clearly intended (such as clefs or key signatures) are indicated within square brackets.
- Editorial barlines are indicated as dotted lines.
- Where sketch continues beyond the passage quoted this is indicated with '[etc.]'. Where 'etc' appears thus (without brackets or a full stop) it is Beethoven's own.
- Completions of Beethoven's shorthand notations appear within square brackets: e.g. 'All[egr]o'.

Chapter 1—Introduction

1.1—Aims

The principal aim of this thesis is to investigate Beethoven's compositional approach to the overall structures of his multi-movement instrumental works. Questions to be addressed include: did he have an overall structure in mind as he composed the individual movements of a work? To what extent did he create a sense of unity in his multi-movement works, and how was this achieved? What were the guiding principles that underpinned his approach to structure? What influenced his decisions to structure works in unconventional ways? In attempting to answer these questions, this study will consider existing interpretations of Beethoven's multi-movement works, and draw on evidence of his compositional process from sketches and other biographical sources.

1.2—Contexts

Beethoven's multi-movement structures are some of the most obvious manifestations of innovations in his instrumental music. His very first Viennese publications—the Trios op. 1 and the Sonatas op. 2—adopt the four-movement structure which had hitherto been standard only in symphonies and string quartets. And in his very last completed works—the five late string quartets—he transformed the conventional multi-movement cycles almost beyond recognition, experimenting with the number, formal types, and lengths of individual movements. Yet alongside these innovations Beethoven never fully abandoned the multi-movement structures inherited from his predecessors. The four-movement symphonic cycle, first standardised by Haydn, underpins even such revolutionary works as the *Eroica* and Ninth Symphonies. His compositional approach to multi-movement structures was therefore governed by more than simply a desire to be innovative, or an acceptance of pre-existing conventions.

How might we investigate the thought processes behind his unique compositional approach to this issue? In many cases the work itself explicitly reflects an obvious compositional aim. For instance, by the 1790s the four-movement 'fastslow-minuet-fast' cycle was so strongly associated with the genre of the symphony (as will be discussed in Chapter 2) that Beethoven's appropriation of it in his sonata works must reflect an ambition to elevate them to a symphonic level of grandeur and seriousness; this is indeed how Beethoven's approach in op. 1 and op. 2 is widely interpreted.¹ More often, however, the compositional aims are not so obviously discernible in the finished work. This is reflected in the fact that Beethoven's music has been analysed in a wide variety of (often conflicting) ways, as will be outlined and discussed below.

Analyses of Beethoven's Multi-Movement Structures

Two main strands can be identified in interpretations of Beethoven's multimovement structures since the 19th century. The first of these focuses on long-range musical connections between the different movements of a work, such as thematic or tonal connections, which contribute to an overall sense of integration. The second views the complete work as an emotional or psychological 'journey', in which the perceived sequence of emotions throughout the course of a work can be seen to form a coherent journey or narrative.

Multi-movement Integration

Within the first strand, thematic connections between different movements have been most frequently discussed; this type of approach can be referred to as 'thematicist' analysis. The importance of thematic connections in Beethoven's music was recognised even within his own lifetime; in E. T. A. Hoffmann's 1810 review of the Fifth Symphony, for instance, Hoffmann outlines that 'it is particularly the close relationship of the individual themes to each other which provide the unity that is able to sustain *one* feeling in the listener's heart'.² Similar thematic connections are frequently referred to in interpretations of many other works, notably the first 'Razumovzsky' Quartet (op. 59 no. 1),³ the 'Hammerklavier' Sonata,⁴ and the Ninth Symphony.⁵

While certain thematic connections are fairly obvious to the listener, many thematicist interpretations have also pointed to connections at a deeper architectural

¹ See, for instance: William Kinderman, *Beethoven*, Oxford, 1995, 30; Thomas Schmidt-Beste, *The Sonata* (Cambridge Introductions to Music), Cambridge, 2011, 118-9.

² Quoted in David Charlton, ed., E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism, Cambridge, 1989, 250.

³ See, for instance, Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, New York, 1967, 112, and Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life*, London and New York, 2003, 318.

⁴ See, for instance, Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*, London, 1971, rev. edn., London, 1976, 404-34, and Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 202.

⁵ For a summary of 'thematicist' approaches to the Ninth Symphony see Nicholas Cook, *Beethoven: Symphony No.* 9, Cambridge, 1993, 81-3.

level that are less immediately apparent. Carl Dahlhaus, for instance, coins the term 'subthematicism' to describe a feature of Beethoven's late style, where works are organised around particular notes or intervals that are not necessarily identifiable on the surface level of the music as a theme or motive. As one example of this procedure he cites the String Quartet op. 132, where the fundamental idea 'is strictly speaking less a "theme" or a "motive" ... and more an intervallic structure, independent of rhythm and metre and with variable durations and accents, which permeates the music and links its parts together within.'⁶ Deryck Cooke even extends this approach to the multi-work level by proposing that the same basic pitch pattern permeates Beethoven's last five string quartets, and that these works therefore form a homogeneous whole.⁷ Cooke's approach has been widely disputed, however, most notably by Joseph Kerman, who argues that the notion of the late quartets forming a self-contained unity is 'anachronistic and dangerously mistaken'.⁸

In its most extreme form, thematicist analysis seeks to demonstrate that all movements of a work are 'organically' generated from the same motivic cells. The most prominent figure in this branch of analysis is the mid-20th-century theorist Rudolph Reti, who refers to this principle as the 'thematic process'.⁹ Reti views this process as fundamental to Beethoven's music, and even devotes an entire study to demonstrating the thematic unity within Beethoven's piano sonatas.¹⁰ While certain thematic connections in Beethoven's works are clearly apparent and have never been disputed (such as the recurrence of the 'fate motif' in various parts of the Fifth Symphony), Reti's approach seeks to demonstrate that the various themes in a work are related even where such relationships appear to be very remote or somewhat tenuous. As with Cooke's analysis of the late quartets, Reti's analytical method has been much maligned by subsequent critics for being too rigid in its application.¹¹

Tonal relationships across the different movements of a work have also featured prominently in interpretations of Beethoven's multi-movement structures. The Fifth Symphony has again invited this approach, with critics frequently pointing to the importance of the opposition between C minor and C major, which plays out

⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, 'Subthematicism', in: *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music*, trans. Mary Whittall, Oxford, 1997, pp. 202-18; here, 205.

⁷ Deryck Cooke, 'The Unity of Beethoven's Late Quartets', *Music Review* xxiv (1963), 30-49.

⁸ Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 226.

⁹ Rudolph Reti, *The Thematic Process in Music*, London, 1961.

¹⁰ Rudolph Reti, *Thematic Patterns in Sonatas of Beethoven*, ed. Deryck Cooke, London, 1967.

¹¹ See, for instance, Nicholas Cook, A Guide to Musical Analysis, Oxford, 1994, 89-115.

throughout the course of the work as a whole.¹² Other works in which long-range tonal connections are viewed as an important aspect of overall design include the 'Emperor' Concerto in E flat major: here the key of C flat major appears in the transition to the second subject of the first movement (from bar 133) before reappearing, spelled enharmonically as B major, as the key of the slow movement.¹³ Similarly, in the Seventh Symphony in A major, the third-related keys of F major and C major feature prominently across different parts of the work (C major, for instance, appears in the slow introduction to the first movement as well as an extended passage in the finale). This type of long-range remote-key relationship is present even in Beethoven's earliest Viennese works: in the Piano Sonata in C major op. 2 no. 3, for instance, the E major slow movement features a fortissimo statement of the main theme in C major at bar 53, thereby recalling the tonality of the sonata as a whole (and furthermore, as Barry Cooper points out, emphasising the thematic resemblance between the first and second movements).¹⁴

Many other features (besides thematic and tonal connections) can also be observed as linking together the different movements of a work. The most obvious is the joining together of movements, as occurs in the scherzo and finale of the Fifth Symphony (and throughout the whole of the Quartet op. 131). Other integrative aspects include texture, register, instrumentation, rhythm, figuration, gesture, and phrase structure.¹⁵ For instance, Maynard Solomon's interpretation of the Ninth Symphony takes into account a number of elements that bind together the different movements (besides the conflict between D minor and D major and 'subliminal foreshadowings' of the 'Freude' theme in the first three movements), outlining 'a multiplicity of drives' that converge in the symphony's finale.

¹² E. T. A. Hoffmann was again the first to highlight this aspect of the Fifth Symphony: he describes the modulations in the second movement (including the recurring appearance of C major) 'establish the Andante as part of the whole'. Quoted in Michael Broyles, *The Emergence and Evolution of Beethoven's Heroic Style*, New York, 1987, 186.

¹³ See, for instance, Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, Princeton, 1995, 57, and Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 135.

¹⁴ Barry Cooper, *Beethoven*, Oxford, 2000, rev. edn., New York, 2008, 58.

¹⁵ A summary of the different ways in which 'Beethoven sought consciously to make the various parts of a multi-movement work fit together' is provided in William Drabkin, 'Musical Form: Innovations', in: Barry Cooper, ed., *The Beethoven Compendium*, London, 1991, 2nd edn, 1996, pp. 204-8; here, 205.

The work as 'emotional journey'

The second strand in interpretations of multi-movement structure, which emphasises the sense of an 'emotional journey', is clearly rooted in the aesthetics of Romanticism. The Romantics placed great value on the emotions aroused by instrumental music, since within Romantic aesthetics the esoteric and non-representative nature of instrumental music was perceived as being able to provide access to the metaphysical world.¹⁶ Consequently, the perceived sequence of emotions throughout the course of a work became an important aspect in the interpretation of the work as a whole. Hoffmann was again one of the first to apply this to Beethoven's music in his iconic review of the Fifth Symphony, where he describes 'an enduring feeling ... of foreboding, indescribable longing – which remains until the final chord'.¹⁷

The 19th-century theorist A. B. Marx explains multi-movement structures in similar terms, describing a work's overall form as a process of 'psychological evolution'.¹⁸ Marx explores this concept in far greater depth than Hoffmann, and argues that the emotional journey of a multi-movement work largely reflects the emotions of the composer during the creative process:

The artist approaches his new construction (*Bildung*) with freshly gathered power, kindled and elevated by a newly awakened creative urge. This he pours forth in his first movement, which is thus brought to an animated and richly wrought completion. – Yet through this access of creativity and its elevating power, the artist's own interior has been as if newly revealed; he looks into himself, submerges himself in this new world that he has found within himself: this is the thoughtful, quiet adagio. And only now does he return, freshly rejuvenated, to life and productive activity in the finale, cheerfully at peace or with renewed power for struggle and victory, or with whatever the newly experienced day may bring.

If the artist has experienced a deeper transformation within himself and then turns his gaze from his interior submersion back into the world, then even the world itself will seem foreign and alienating to him. He knew it before and recognizes it again – and it appears as an Other to him, for he has become other. This schism, softened by the feeling of his own elevation and

¹⁶ See, for instance, Nicholas Marston, 'Intellectual Currents: Philosophy and Aesthetics', in: Barry Cooper, ed., *The Beethoven Compendium*, London, 1991, 2nd edn., 1996, 62-5.

¹⁷ Quoted in James Webster, *Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style*, Cambridge, 1991, 180.

¹⁸ Adolf Bernard Marx, 'Form in Music', in: *Musical Form in the Age of Beethoven: Selected Writings on Theory and Method*, trans. and ed. Scott Burnham, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 55-90; here, 86.

ascendancy over that which has become alien, finds its expression in the humor of the scherzo. 19

Thus Marx accounts for the design of a multi-movement work in terms of the composer's urge to express his own feelings, which naturally develop in the course of a work's composition. The idea of the nature of the creative artist is therefore inextricably linked to Marx's understanding of a complete work. The view of the artist as creative genius, or as a prophet of higher truths, is also a fundamentally Romantic notion,²⁰ and Marx's interpretation of the multi-movement design is therefore typically Romantic in its emphasis on the composer's creative urge.

Beethoven's music is central to Marx's conception of the 'psychological evolution' of a multi-movement work. He elsewhere credits Beethoven with having 'discovered' this design as early as his sonata op. 2 no. 2^{21} (whereas previous sonata cycles were presumably understood to be merely following conventional patterns). He also argues that the addition of a minuet movement 'is primarily done – e.g. in Haydn and Mozart – only for the sake of greater variety',²² but that in Beethoven's symphonies the minuet or scherzo 'was elevated to an essential part of the entire piece'.²³

Although Marx's interpretation of the instrumental cycle in terms of the creative process is a particularly Romantic notion, the 'psychological' understanding of the overall forms of Beethoven's instrumental works remained important into the 20th century. For instance, it underpins Donald Francis Tovey's interpretation of the overall structure of Beethoven's 'Appassionata' Sonata:

The first movement ... whirls us through an immense tragedy in eight minutes. The movement is irrevocably completed; but our emotional reactions have not more than begun. We need the unutterable calm of the slow movement with its theme rooted to its tonic chord, and its simple and solemn variations in the ancient form of *doubles*. A foreign chord replaces that of its cadence; the vision is broken and the finale rushes headlong to the end of a tragic fate.²⁴

¹⁹ Ibid., 87.

²⁰ Nicholas Marston, 'Patronage and the Place of the Artist in Society', in: Barry Cooper, ed., *The Beethoven Compendium*, London, 1991, 2nd edn., 1996, 65-8.

²¹ See Wilhelm Seidel, 'Schnell-Langsam-Schnell: Zur "klassischen" Theorie des instrumentalen Zyklus', *Musiktheorie*, i (1986), 205-16, 211.

²² Marx, 'Form in Music', 87.

²³ A. B. Marx, 'A Few Words on the Symphony and Beethoven's Achievements in This Field' (1824), quoted in Wayne M. Senner, ed., *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions by his German Contemporaries*, 2 vols., Lincoln, NE, and London, 1999 and 2001, Vol. 1, 64.

²⁴Donald Francis Tovey, *The Forms of Music*, London, 1957, 1972.

Although this type of interpretation might now appear to be somewhat dated, being rooted in 19th century thought, to some extent the notion of a multi-movement work representing an emotional journey is still present in modern scholarly thought. Hepokoski and Darcy have proposed that a sense of narrative is an important aspect of the way listeners respond to a work as a whole. Referring to the literary critic Wolfgang Iser's theory that the reading of a literary text is a 'synthesising process' that incorporates the memory of what has come before with the expectation of what is to follow, they suggest that in a similar way listeners also perceive narrative structures in multi-movement musical works:

Throughout all phases of the work, we can trace an ongoing conceptual narrative – a master thread – not so much in what we literally hear as in our reconstructions of the work's ongoing dialogue, moment by moment, with a pre-existing, flexible, and constellated network of generic norms – norms not only for individual zones and individual movements, but for multimovement works as a whole.²⁵

Thus, without making any actual claims that any sort of coherent narrative forms an inherent part of a multi-movement work, Hepokoski and Darcy suggest that a 'conceptual narrative' is perceived during the listening process, which is not so far removed from the idea of a work taking the listener on an emotional journey. This type of interpretation relies on metaphorical language, and is necessarily subjective as it expresses the listener's response to the music. Nevertheless, this approach is clearly suited to the interpretation of Beethoven's multi-movement structures; at least, it has been adopted in Beethoven criticism at various points throughout the past two centuries.

In a detailed essay on the issue of Classical multi-movement cycles (which he terms the '*Zyklustheorie*'), Wilhelm Seidel argues that in recent years discussions of multi-movement structures, where they do not focus on inter-movement connections, have often focused on the issue of the weighting of the different movements, in particular the relative weighting of the first and last movements.²⁶ This can be viewed as a similar (but more abstract) version of the notion of an emotional journey or conceptual narrative, since these are similarly concerned with the general outline of the work as a whole. As will be outlined in Chapter 2, finales in the High

²⁵ James A. Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and*

Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata, Oxford, 2006, 342.

²⁶ Seidel, 'Schnell-langsam-schnell', 214.

Classical period tend to be lighter than the first movements, whereas in a number of Beethoven's works the finale marks the peak of the cycle, resulting in an end-weighted work. The end-weighted cycle, as Seidel points out, tends now to be regarded as the 'paradigm of the large-scale instrumental work'.²⁷ Scott Burnham attributes the attachment to the 'end-orientation' model within music criticism to the lasting influence of a number of Beethoven's multi-movement works, the Fifth Symphony in particular, where the finale 'resolves' the entire work.²⁸

Summary

As outlined above, a variety of analytical frameworks have been proposed for understanding Beethoven's multi-movement structures. A fundamental principle that underpins both of the predominant strands (i.e. analyses of multi-movement integration and interpretations of an 'emotional journey') is the principle of unity: these approaches all seek to demonstrate how the different movements of a work combine to form a coherent whole. The importance of this principle within interpretations of Beethoven's whole-work structures reflects what is generally perceived as the emergence of the 'work concept' around 1800.²⁹ Within this mode of thought, greater emphasis is placed on music as text, and of musical works as autonomous, self-justifying objects of art (like paintings and sculptures). Beethoven is often considered a key figure in the emergence of the work concept.³⁰ Lydia Goehr refers to the 'Beethoven paradigm' in conceptions of the musical work after 1800,³¹ whereas according Carl Dahlhaus the idea that the musical work harbours a meaning independent of its performance was 'a new insight that Beethoven thrust upon the aesthetic consciousness of his age'.³²

The recurrence of the themes of unity, multi-movement integration and emotional narratives in Beethoven criticism indicates that they are fundamental to the ways in which his music has been understood. But how far can they be seen to reflect particular compositional aims? As observed in the above discussion of

²⁷ 'Damit ... wird der finalgerichtete Zyklus zum Paradigma der instrumentalen Grossform'; ibid.,
215.

²⁸ Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, 56-60.

²⁹ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, Oxford, 1992.

³⁰ For a further discussion of this issue see Erica Buurman, 'Beethoven and the "Work-Concept", *Beethoven Journal*, xxvi (2011), 4-9.

³¹ Goehr, The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works, 205-42.

³² Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson, Berkeley, 1989, 10.

'thematicist' analysis, certain interpretations of Beethoven's works have been disputed, particularly those which argue for very specific compositional procedures (such as Reti's notion of the 'thematic process'). It therefore becomes problematic in these cases to ascribe observed thematic resemblances to the composer's intentions.

In recent years a number of theorists have also posited that the concept of unity within music analysis is an ideological one, and analyses which seek to demonstrate unifying features have come under attack for seemingly perpetuating this ideology.³³ A new approach to the analysis of Beethoven has been to focus on the disunity within the work. Daniel Chua, for instance, views the first movement of the Quartet op. 132 as containing not only unifying features, but also contradictory elements that 'cannot fully be grasped within a unified framework'.³⁴ His own approach is to demonstrate where the work is resistant to traditional analysis, thereby highlighting the characteristics which result in a high degree of disunity.

Chua's 'anti-unitarian' approach (to borrow a term from Robert P. Morgan)³⁵ is typical of the so-called new musicology that emerged at the end of the 20th century in reaction to what was perceived as excessive formalism in music analysis.³⁶ While a number of prominent scholars have adopted similar analytical standpoints from which to discuss Beethoven's formal structures, the 'anti-unity' approach has also met with strong opposition and has by no means become standard practice in music analysis. Morgan, for instance, argues that the purpose of music analysis is to demonstrate how music 'makes sense', and that 'Simply to claim that a composition lacks unity ... is only to say that it fails, leaving it indistinguishable from any others that fail'.³⁷ In defending the 'pro-unitarian' approach, however, Morgan refers only to analyses that function on the single-movement level. Applied to the level of a complete multi-movement work it becomes more problematic to associate disunity with 'failure', since any multi-movement work has an inherent degree of disunity in that there are separate, self-contained movements. Morgan's analytical standpoint is therefore less easily applied to multi-movement structures than to single-movement

³³ See, for instance, Robert P. Morgan, 'The Concept of Unity and Musical Analysis', *Music Analysis*, xxii (2003), 7-50.

 ³⁴ Daniel Chua, 'Unity and Disunity: The First Movement of the Quartet in A Minor, Op. 132', in: *The 'Galitzin' Quartets of Beethoven: Opp. 127, 132, 130*, Princeton, 1995, pp. 54-106; here, 106.
 ³⁵ Morgan, 'The Concept of Unity and Musical Analysis', 8.

³⁶ See Kofi Agawu, 'Analysing Music under the New Musicological Regime', *The Journal of Musicology*, xv (1997), 297-307; here, 299-300.

³⁷ Morgan, 'The Concept of Unity and Music Analysis', 27.

structures such as sonata form. Evidently both a 'pro-unitarian' and an 'antiunitarian' approach can be challenged when applied to multi-movement structures, which suggests that music analysis cannot fully elucidate even the most general aesthetic framework within Beethoven was working when he made compositional decisions relating to the overall structures of his instrumental works.

Evidence of the Compositional Process

Since Beethoven did not write a theoretical treatise outlining his view of musical form, any biographical evidence of his compositional aims regarding this issue must be gleaned from other sources. Possible sources include the composer's letters, his diary, the conversation books, reports by his contemporaries, and of course his sketches. Barry Cooper has summarised the type of information these sources can provide about Beethoven's compositional aims, as well as their 'limitations and pitfalls'.³⁸ Since the present study focuses on one particular compositional issue (namely multi-movement structures), it will be useful to extract references to this from each of the available sources.

Of writings that stem directly from the composer, Beethoven's diary (the socalled *Tagebuch* of 1812-18) and conversation books tell us virtually nothing about his specific approach to multi-movement structure. The *Tagebuch* contains some general references to artistic ambition, though nothing specific regarding musical form.³⁹ The conversation books normally preserve only the remarks of Beethoven's friends, to which he would respond orally;⁴⁰ thus they are a limited source of evidence of Beethoven's musical ideas, and indeed tell us nothing about his approach to multi-movement structures.

The letters, on the other hand, contain a handful of references to this issue. In 1802 Beethoven was evidently asked to compose a sonata following a specific plan and tonal scheme and he replied as follows:

The lady can have a sonata from me, and, moreover, from an *aesthetic* point of view I will in general adopt her plan – but without adopting – her keys.⁴¹

Beethoven's remark is revealing as it indicates that he was willing to compose according to a pre-existing 'plan' (presumably indicating a proposed sequence of

³⁸ Cooper, *Creative*, 1-16; here 2.

³⁹ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ A-57; BB-84.

movements), but that that he was not willing to compromise on the issue of the tonal design. This might suggest that tonal design was an aspect of multi-movement structure in which Beethoven had particularly firm compositional aims, whereas in the actual sequence of movement-types he was willing to be more flexible.

In another letter, dating from 1816, which was similarly written in response to a commission (in this case for an oratorio for the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde that never reached completion), Beethoven indicates a specific desire to be original with regard to form:

In regard to the *artistic means* of the performance, I shall give due consideration to these, of course; but I hope that I shall not be forbidden to deviate from *the forms which have been introduced until now into this type of composition* – I trust that I have expressed myself intelligibly on this subject.⁴²

In contrast with the 1802 letter, Beethoven here outlines that he wishes to have complete freedom with regard to the 'forms' of the oratorio, and that he did not want to be restricted by existing musical conventions. It is curious that he evidently felt the need to state this in his initial response to the Gesellschaft, as if he were asking permission to approach the commission in an original manner. This indicates that existing musical conventions were very much expected to govern the 'forms' of large-scale works, which might suggest that Beethoven had limited artistic freedom in this aspect of his compositional approach (at least in commissions).

A letter regarding the composition of the Violin Sonata op. 96 supports the notion that his artistic freedom in terms of multi-movement structures was occasionally limited. Op. 96 was composed in a short space of time for the violinist Pierre Rode, who visited Vienna in 1812, and in a letter to the Archduke Rudolph Beethoven wrote:

I did not make great haste in the last movement for the sake of mere punctuality, the more because I had, in writing it, to consider the playing of Rode. In our finales we like rushing and resounding passages, but this does not please R and – this hindered me somewhat -. For the rest all is likely to go well on Tuesday.⁴³

This indicates that his approach to the relative weighting of the finale—which is an aspect in which Beethoven is credited with being particularly original (see pages 23-

⁴² A-608; BB-898.

⁴³ Thayer-Forbes, 546.

4 above)—was here constrained by the aesthetic preferences of the intended performer. Again, this suggests that his artistic freedom with regard to the issue of multi-movement structures was somewhat limited by the circumstances of the composition.

Beethoven specifically described his working methods with regard to structuring his works on two occasions in his letters. The first stems from a letter of 1814 concerning the revision of *Fidelio* in which he wrote that 'my custom when I am composing even instrumental music is always to keep the whole in view'.⁴⁴ The second appears in a letter written during work on the Sonata op. 109, in which he writes that his normal method of composing is to 'jot down certain ideas ... and when I have completed the whole in my head, everything is written down, but only once.'⁴⁵ These comments are particularly interesting in that they suggest that a work's overall structure was an important consideration throughout the compositional process, and consequently that Beethoven had specific aims and ambitions regarding this aspect of his finished works.

A similar account of his approach to overall structure comes from the Darmstadt Kapellmeister Louis Schlösser, who met the composer in 1823, and quotes what he claims to be a verbatim report from Beethoven himself:

The working-out in breadth, length, height and depth begins in my head, and since I am conscious of what I want, the basic idea never leaves me. It rises, grows upward, and I hear and see the picture as a whole take shape and stand forth before me as though cast in a single piece, so that all that is left is the work of writing it down.⁴⁶

Maynard Solomon has shown that this account is almost certainly Schlösser's own invention.⁴⁷ Yet it does closely echo Beethoven's own statement that it was his custom 'always to keep the whole in view'.

A problem with the accounts from both Schlösser and Beethoven himself, however, is that they presented an image of the composer's creative process that runs contrary to the evidence of the composer's sketches. These accounts suggest that the shape of the whole was largely worked out in the composer's head before being written down; Beethoven's sketches, however, indicate that he habitually went

⁴⁴ A-479; BB-707.

⁴⁵ A-1060; BB-1446.

⁴⁶ Quoted in Maynard Solomon, 'On Beethoven's Creative Process: a Two-Part Invention', *Music and Letters*, lxi (1980), 272-83; here, 273-4.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

through a painstaking process of drafting and redrafting before the work as a whole took shape. Thus the above descriptions of his approach to the overall structures of his works are not necessarily objective accounts of what actually took place during the compositional process.

Beethoven's sketches are undoubtedly the most important source of evidence for the specific compositional procedures that took place during the composition of particular works. What can they tell us about the specific issue of multi-movement structure? For much of the 19th and 20th centuries the image of Beethoven's compositional process, as provided by Nottebohm and the early biographers, was of a two-stage process, wherein Beethoven first sketched down snippets of thematic ideas (often in one of the small sketchbooks he carried in his pocket during his habitual long walks), and then proceeded to form these into compositions during the course of a difficult and laborious struggle. This image of Beethoven the composer is apparent in Nottebohm's description of the general contents of the sketchbooks, which was quoted extensively by Beethoven's early biographer Alexander Wheelock Thayer, and subsequently became the standard account of Beethoven's working methods. Nottebohm describes two main types of sketches. In the first type,

... the thematic style dominates; the first sketch breaks off abruptly with the principal subject and the work that follows is confined to transforming and reshaping the thematic kernel at first thrown on the paper until it appears to be fitted for development.⁴⁸

This describes the fragmentary ideas for themes which represent the first stage of the twofold process described above; this type of sketch is now generally referred to as a 'concept sketch', a term coined by Alan Tyson.⁴⁹ The sketches in the second group described by Nottebohm are concerned with working out large sections of music. In Nottebohm's description:

the very first one gives the complete outline for a section of a movement; those that follow are then complete reshapings of the first, as other readings directed towards a change in the summary character, or a reformation of the whole, an extension of the middle sections, etc.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Quoted in Thayer-Forbes, 250; original text in N 1865, 6.

⁴⁹ Alan Tyson, 'The 1803 Version of Beethoven's *Christus am Oelberge*', *The Musical Quarterly*, lvi (1970), 551-84; here, 570-1.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Thayer-Forbes, 250; original text in N 1865, 6.

This type of sketch is known to modern scholars as a 'continuity draft'.⁵¹

While these two types of sketch indeed form the majority of the sketches transcribed and commented upon by Nottebohm, more recent sketch scholarship (in the form of the many sketchbook transcriptions and studies of the sketches for individual works that have emerged especially since the 1970s) has outlined further categories.⁵² Lewis Lockwood identifies four major types of 'sketch item'; besides concept sketches and continuity drafts, he also identifies 'sketches of intermediate length' (that might supplement continuity drafts or address isolated compositional problems) and 'movement plans' in which Beethoven sketched overviews 'of entire works or movements, in outline.'⁵³ This latter type of sketch suggests direct evidence of Beethoven's approach to multi-movement structure, which is of direct relevance to the present study.

A small number of 'movement plans' are in fact referred to by Nottebohm. In his detailed discussion of the Ninth Symphony sketches, for instance, he points to several sketches made at an early stage in the compositional process that show a proposed outline of the complete symphony, including a brief plan consisting of a thematic incipit for each of the projected movements (see Chapter 6, Ex. 6.15).⁵⁴ While Nottebohm describes these sketches as 'noteworthy' ('bemerkenswerth'), he does not, as Robert Winter points out, 'attempt to assess their impact on the evolution of the work as a whole'.⁵⁵ He furthermore makes no comment on the significance of this type of sketch within Beethoven's working methods in general.

Winter was the first scholar to devote detailed attention to this type of sketching within Beethoven's compositional process. In his study of the sketches for the Quartet op. 131, Winter outlines that Beethoven made five separate plans for the work as a whole.⁵⁶ These plans show a series of thematic incipits or verbal descriptions for the individual movements, and were evidently made at a relatively

⁵¹ This term stems from Joshua Rifkin, and was first applied to Beethoven's sketches by Lewis Lockwood ('On Beethoven's Sketches and Autographs: Some Problems of Definition and Interpretation, *Acta Musicologica*, xlii [1970], 32-47; here, 42).

⁵² For a survey of this branch of Beethoven research see Lewis Lockwood, 'The State of Sketch Research', in: William Kinderman, ed., *Beethoven's Compositional Process*, Lincoln, NE, 1991, pp. 6-13.

⁵³ Ibid., 8.

⁵⁴ N II, 166-7.

⁵⁵ Winter, Origins, 113.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 113-34.

early stage. Winter suggests that the primary purpose of the op. 131 plans relates not to thematic or motivic content, but rather with long-range tonal planning:

Viewed as a sequence of themes the draft is perfunctory; it is the outlining of pivotal tonal areas of Op. 131 well in advance of extensive sketching for any single movement that raises this series of entries to a level of structural importance and prompts the expression "tonal overview".⁵⁷

Winter's account supports the idea that tonal design was an important factor in Beethoven's conception of multi-movement structures (as was also suggested in his letter concerning a sonata to be composed according to a certain 'plan'; see pages 26-7). However, scholars have since identified similar types of sketch that are less obviously concerned with tonal design. Lockwood, for instance, provides a detailed discussion of what appears to be an early outline of the *Eroica* symphony.⁵⁸ This sketch spans two pages and consists of ideas for the symphony's first three movements, including thematic incipits as well as some more extended drafts for inner sections of the movements.⁵⁹ Lockwood suggests that there is no finale sketch because Beethoven had by this point already decided to use the 'Prometheus' Variations, op. 35, as the basis for this movement (as will be further discussed in Chapter 4.4). According to Lockwood, the focus of this plan is not tonal direction as Winter argues in the case of the op. 131 sketches; rather, here the focus is on 'the sequence of movements or principal sections and above all on the concatenation of movements planned for the larger compositional totality'.⁶⁰

While he concedes that there is as yet little scholarly knowledge about sketches of this type, Lockwood suggests that they appear most frequently in the sketchbooks between the years 1800 and 1804. He argues that 'it is hardly surprising to find Beethoven recording such plans for large works during these years of innovation and of expansion of his compositional aims',⁶¹ and cites similar sketches for three other works that fall within this period: the Piano Sonata op. 26, the Violin Sonata op. 30 no. 1, and the Variations op. 34.⁶² The plan for op. 34 is particularly interesting, since it does not contain very much musical material, but includes an

⁵⁷ Ibid., 115.

⁵⁸ Lockwood, 'Earliest', 457-78.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 462-3.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 460-1.

⁶¹ Ibid., 461.

⁶² Ibid., 477. All three of these examples were first transcribed by Nottebohm: N II, 237-8 (op. 26); N 1865, 19 (op. 30 no. 1) and 32-3 (op. 34).

incipit of the main theme along with a comment that every variation is to be in a different metre, as is indeed the case in the finished version. This suggests that Beethoven expressed his conception of overall structure in a variety of ways, using verbal descriptions as well as musical incipits.

Barry Cooper also devotes some attention to this type of sketch, providing a brief outline of the existing scholarly knowledge of them and suggesting their purpose within Beethoven's sketching process. Cooper adopts the term 'synopsis sketch' in favour of Lockwood's 'movement plans' and a number of other terms that have been suggested (including Winter's 'tonal overviews').⁶³ In Cooper's definition, a synopsis sketch is something that

[looks] simultaneously at a large portion of a work, whether it was a substantial section of a movement, a whole movement, several movements, or an entire work to see the overall shape.⁶⁴

Cooper therefore suggests a fairly general purpose for this type of sketch, which is largely in line with Lockwood's definition of 'movement plans'.

The cases where Beethoven sketched the sequence of movements in a work would appear to be the most direct evidence of his compositional approach to multimovement structure. This type of sketch will be referred to as a 'multi-movement plan' in order to distinguish it from plans for individual movements. While such plans are now habitually referred to in studies of the genesis of particular Beethoven works, there has never yet been a study that seeks to assess what they can tell us about his compositional aims with regard to the issue of multi-movement structure in general. Lockwood's hypothesis that they appear most frequently in the years 1800-04 has also never been tested. A detailed study of the role of Beethoven's multimovement plans within his sketching process might, therefore, cast new light on his approach to multi-movement structure.

There has been some methodological angst surrounding the issue of sketch study, particularly since the publication in 1978 of Douglas Johnson's 'Beethoven Sketches and Beethoven Scholars'.⁶⁵ In this provocative article he posited that, while sketches are of biographical interest, they can contribute nothing to the analysis of a finished work. From this perspective, a study of Beethoven's multi-movement planning can

⁶³ Cooper, Creative, 106-7.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 107.

⁶⁵ Douglas Johnson, 'Beethoven Sketches and Beethoven Scholars', *19th-Century Music*, ii (1978-9), 3-17.

provide no insight into his musical structures that cannot already be gained from analyses (such as those outlined above). Johnson's pessimistic viewpoint has since been widely disputed, however, notably by Sieghard Brandenburg and William Drabkin.⁶⁶ Furthermore, certain analyses depend upon the notion that the work was composed in a certain way, or reflects some element of the composer's consciousness. Both Reti's 'thematic process' and Marx's account of the 'psychological evolution' of multi-movement structures, for instance, involve a particular notion of the compositional process. These analytical approaches could surely be informed by a greater understanding of Beethoven's compositional approach to multi-movement structures, and thus a study of this issue could to some degree inform both the fields of sketch study and analysis.

1.3—Methodology

This study will focus primarily on examining Beethoven's multi-movement plans for his instrumental works. This will provide a greater understanding of this aspect of his sketching process, and will help to determine what the sketches can reveal about his compositional aims with regard to multi-movement structures. While Beethoven may have sketched similar plans for vocal or dramatic works, the present study will not seek to address these, since the structures of texted works will to an extent be governed by extra-musical factors that do not apply to instrumental works. The existence of a plan for the Variations op. 34 (as described above) also indicates that multi-movement plans were a feature of his approach to variations as well as multimovement works. The compositional issues surrounding the structuring of variations, however, can be seen as belonging more to the realm of individualmovement rather than multi-movement structures, especially since variations often form a single movement within a larger multi-movement structure. This study will therefore focus only on complete instrumental works formed of discrete movements, such as symphonies, sonatas and other chamber works.

In order to provide a context for Beethoven's multi-movement structures, the musical conventions and aesthetic currents of the period in which he composed will be outlined in Chapter 2. Chapters 3-7 will then focus on the multi-movement planning that can be discerned in the available evidence of his sketches from

⁶⁶ Sieghard Brandenburg, William Drabkin, and Douglas Johnson, 'On Beethoven Scholars and Beethoven's Sketches', *19th-Century Music*, ii (1978-9), 270-279.

throughout his career. A chronological approach will be adopted, which will make it possible to observe any evolution in Beethoven's approach to the issue of multimovement structure. Wherever possible, transcriptions will be provided of the relevant sketches. While the main focus in these chapters will be to identify and analyse Beethoven's multi-movement plans, other aspects of a work's genesis (such as subsequent revisions) will also be taken into consideration where these cast light on his approach to structure. Chapter 8 will then evaluate what the evidence of Beethoven's compositional process can reveal about his general compositional aims with regard to multi-movement structure.

As is always the case in studies of Beethoven's sketches, a number of caveats must be taken into consideration. Firstly, it is well known that Beethoven's sketches are notoriously difficult to read, and therefore their exact content cannot always be determined with certainty. This can be especially problematic in sketches for unfinished works, in which there is no finished product to compare with. A degree of interpretation is therefore often required in the transcription of sketches.

A further difficulty often encountered in any investigation of the sketches is that Beethoven often sketched in various formats concurrently; it is therefore sometimes difficult to determine the chronological sequence of the existing sketches. The sketches are preserved in three main types of source: 'desk' or 'standard-format' sketchbooks; 'pocket' sketchbooks (which could be carried on Beethoven's habitual walks); and loose, unbound sketchleaves and bifolios.⁶⁷ It has also been observed that during the composition of the late quartets he made a vast quantity of sketches on loose bifolios for the purpose of making 'score sketches', which can be classed as a further independent category of sketch.⁶⁸ Beethoven's surviving sketchbooks have been catalogued, dated, and (in cases where they have been dismembered) reconstructed in a major study by Douglas Johnson, Alan Tyson, and Robert Winter;⁶⁹ this now provides an indispensable tool for any study of Beethoven's sketches. However, their study does not deal with individual sketchleaves, and some of their conclusions are still open to interpretation; thus the chronological sequence of sketches for a particular work must be addressed on an individual basis, and cannot always be determined with certainty.

 ⁶⁷ See Cooper, *Creative*, 77-82.
 ⁶⁸ Ibid., 82.

⁶⁹ JTW.

Identifying exactly what classes as a multi-movement plan also presents some problems in certain cases. During the sketching process Beethoven frequently sketched a preliminary idea for one later movement while working on detail on another; thus it is very common to find two different movements sketched on the same page. These cases do not suggest structural planning on the multi-movement level so much as simply sketching preliminary ideas for the next movement. This study will therefore focus on cases where preliminary ideas for several movements are sketched together, which does suggest multi-movement planning. The boundaries will inevitably be blurred in certain cases, however, making it at times difficult to discern whether a sketch can be classed as a multi-movement plan.

Another potential problem is that multi-movement plans are unlikely to provide a full picture of Beethoven's approach to multi-movement structures. Issues of multi-movement structure may have been worked out at the keyboard, or in the composer's head, or even in different types of sketch (such as, for instance, a single concept for a possible interior movement or finale). This study will therefore take into account other aspects of a work's composition where these have an obvious bearing on multi-movement structure, though the focus will primarily be on multimovement plans.

Finally, it must be stated that there is often vast scope for the discussion of individual sketches in terms of how they relate to the finished work or what they reveal about Beethoven's thought processes. Since the present study is focused primarily on the issue of multi-movement structure, the discussions of sketch transcriptions will be necessarily selective. In many cases there will be significant and interesting features of a sketch that must remain undiscussed, or perhaps reserved for a future study.

Chapter 2—Background to Beethoven's Multimovement Structures

In examining Beethoven's approach to multi-movement structures it is essential to consider the extent to which he was following (or breaking away from) the accepted musical conventions of the period in which he composed. It is also important to view his creative approach in the context of the aesthetic currents of the age. A greater understanding of these issues will help to determine how far Beethoven's approach to structure was guided by his own individual aesthetic principles, as opposed to being shaped largely by the musical and aesthetic principles inherited from his predecessors and contemporaries. This chapter will investigate the aesthetic currents and musical conventions of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and consider how these might have had a bearing on Beethoven's multi-movement structures.

2.1—Musical Conventions

In Viennese instrumental works of the 1780s and 90s (hereafter referred to as the High Classical period) each genre had particular conventions as to the usual number and ordering of movements, and consquently there was a limited number of decisions that had to be made by the composer regarding a work's overall form. Beethoven was no exception, and from the beginning of his compositional career he set out to follow in the path of his predecessors, particularly Haydn and Mozart, as indicated by Count Waldstein's famous statement that in moving to Vienna he was to receive 'Mozart's spirit from Haydn's hands'.⁷⁰ Some of his earliest compositions are even modelled on particular Haydn and Mozart works; the first of his three WoO 36 piano quartets of 1785 is clearly modelled on Mozart's Violin Sonata K. 379, adopting the same formal scheme and a virtually identical theme at the beginning of the opening movement,⁷¹ and he copied out Mozart's Quartets K. 387 and K. 464 around the time he was composing his op. 18 quartets in the late 1790s (having

⁷⁰ Thayer-Forbes, 115.

⁷¹ Cooper, *Beethoven*, 17; Douglas Johnson has suggested that WoO 36 nos. 2 and 3 are also more subtly modelled on Mozart's K. 380 and K. 296 respectively (reported in Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven*, London, 1977, 47).

copied out Haydn's op. 20 no. 1 a few years earlier).⁷² An understanding of the musical language of his High Classical predecessors, particularly Haydn and Mozart, is therefore necessary in order to be aware of the options available to Beethoven and to be able to appreciate the formal decisions he made in his instrumental works.

Number of Movements

As Leonard Ratner outlines, the intended purpose of a musical work in the Classical period had a bearing on its number of movements. Music designed primarily for entertainment 'generally offered the listener material that was immediately accessible, well trimmed, and rather brief'; this could take the form of a two-movement work, or a work with multiple short movements. By contrast, 'Works of serious import contained three or four movements, somewhat longer than those of entertainment music'.⁷³ Within these broad categories, each genre had particular conventions regarding the number of movements, although these were more rigid in some genres than in others.

Symphony

The models of the High Classical symphony are those of Haydn, who is familiarly known as the 'father of the symphony',⁷⁴ and whose symphonies were amongst the most performed in Vienna in Beethoven's first decade in the city.⁷⁵ Although many of Haydn's earliest symphonies are in three movements, all of his symphonies from the High Classical period adopt a four-movement structure, consisting of two rapid-tempo outer movements and a slow movement and a minuet as interior movements (where the minuet is normally in the third position but occasionally in the second). Towards the end of the century it was also increasingly common for a symphony to begin with a slow introduction, which is the case in all but one of Haydn's twelve 'London' Symphonies of the 1790s (the exception being no. 95 in C minor, which is also the only one of these symphonies set in a minor key).

The four-movement structure of the Classical symphony is most commonly believed to have developed from the addition of the minuet movement to the threemovement symphony of the earlier Classical period, whose movements generally

⁷² Cooper, *Beethoven*, 44 and 93.

⁷³ Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style*, New York, 1985, 323

⁷⁴ See A. Peter Brown, *The First Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert (The Symphonic Repertoire, Volume II)*, Bloomington, 2002, 301.

⁷⁵ David Wyn Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven's Vienna*, Cambridge, 2006, 51-6.

followed a fast-slow-fast pattern (or fast-slow-moderate, with a minuet finale).⁷⁶ An alternative account is outlined by James Webster, who writes that 'The development of the four-movement symphony may have entailed, not so much the insertion of a minuet into the fast-slow-fast pattern, as it is usually assumed, as the addition of a finale to the traditional three-movement pattern ending with a minuet'.⁷⁷ However, this account is contradicted by Jan LaRue and Eugene K. Wolf, who argue that 'the 'minuets' of the majority of early symphonies correspond to the faster Italian type, without trio, not the more stately French type with trio found in some of the earliest examples of Classical four-movement symphonies.⁷⁸ Furthermore, in his 1789 *Klavierschule* the theorist Daniel Gottlob Türk states that the symphony 'is an instrumental composition consisting of three movements', but that 'If the certainly quite inappropriate minuets and trios are to be included here, then the *Sinfonie* may perhaps consist of four or five movements'.⁷⁹ This implies that it is the addition of the inner minuet and trio movement that is responsible for the expansion of the three-movement scheme, rather than an addition of an extra movement after the minuet.

A common misconception of the Viennese High Classical symphony is that this four-movement structure was obligatory; Elaine Sisman, for instance, suggests that by 1780 Viennese symphonists had 'long since abandoned the three-movement format' and that 'Mozart's "Prague" Symphony, with its famously absent Minuet, remains the exception that proves the rule.⁸⁰ However, in the third volume of his *Introductory Essay on Composition* (1793), Koch describes the three-movement structure as being the standard form of the symphony, which suggests that this was still common practice towards the end of the century.⁸¹ The three-movement plan is indeed maintained in a number of Viennese symphonies from the 1780s and 1790s

⁷⁶ Webster, *Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony*, 178.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 183; cf. Jens Peter Larsen, 'Some Observations on the Development and Characteristics of Vienna Classical Instrumental Music', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, ix (1967), 115-39, 136.

⁷⁸ Jan LaRue et al., 'Symphony', Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online,

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27254>, accessed 14 September 2013.

⁷⁹ Türk, *School of Clavier Playing*, 384 and 531.

⁸⁰ Elaine Sisman, Mozart: The Jupiter Symphony: No. 41 in C Major, K. 551, Cambridge, 1993, 7.

⁸¹ Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1793, repr. Hildesheim, 2004, 301-2.

by composers such as Adalbert Gyrowetz and Johann Baptist Vanhal, and even appears as late as 1804/1805 in Anton Eberl's Symphony op. 34.⁸²

Although Türk states that a symphony may have as many as five movements (the implication being that this involves the addition of two minuet movements to the three-movement scheme), five-movement symphonies are in fact extremely rare in the Viennese High Classical period. Türk is likely to be referring here to orchestral works in lighter genres such as serenades and divertimentos which occasionally also used the title 'symphony' (such as Gyrowetz's 5-movement Symphony or Serenade in F, published in Paris around 1791 as *13te Sinfonie périodique, Sérénade en sinfonie*).⁸³

The number of movements in a symphony could, however, be freely extended in the sub-genre of the 'characteristic symphony'. Works in this genre (of which, according to Richard Will, there are over 225 from the 18th and early 19th centuries) had a programmatic content, with popular themes including pastoral, military, hunt, and storms.⁸⁴ A typical work in this genre is Paul Wranitzky's *Grande Sinfonie caractéristique pour la paix avec la République françoise* (1797). This work is ostensibly divided into four large 'movements', although in reality there are many more as each is multi-sectional, with the music providing a narrative of events indicated by the various headings, such as: 'The Revolution. English March. March of the Austrians and Prussians.' (1st movement), and 'The Destiny and Death of Louis XVI. Funeral March.' (2nd movement).⁸⁵

Although Beethoven's symphonies involve many formal innovations within individual movements, such as greatly expanding their size (notably in the *Eroica*) and creating hybrid formal designs (such as in the choral finale of the Ninth), he adopted Haydn's four-movement model from the outset. Not only do Symphonies 1 and 2 both follow the four-movement pattern, they each also include a slow introduction to the first movement, which was a characteristic feature of Haydn's 'London' Symphonies, suggesting that these works were a particular influence. The Sixth (the *Pastoral*) is the only one of Beethoven's symphonies to exceed four

⁸² See Barry S. Brook, *The Symphony*, 1720-1840: A Comprehensive Collection of Full Scores in Sixty Volumes, Reference Volume: Contents of the Set and Collected Thematic Indexes, New York, 1986, 207, 284-90, and 540-55.

⁸³ Ibid., 289.

⁸⁴ Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven*, Cambridge, 2002, 1.

⁸⁵ Ibid,, 205-9.

movements, but again he can be seen to follow Haydn's model. Just as the fifth 'movement' of Haydn's programmatic 'Farewell' Symphony (1772), the Adagio in 3/8, can be viewed as an extended coda to the fourth movement (especially as the Adagio continues straight on from the Presto after a close on the dominant), so the fourth movement of the *Pastoral* Symphony (the 'Storm') can be seen more as an introduction to the finale, which follows on without a break, rather than a complete independent movement. In this way both the 'Farewell' and the *Pastoral* remain close to the four-movement structure, rather than liberally exceeding the standard number of movements, as was the case in characteristic symphonies by contemporary Viennese composers such as Paul Wranitzky. The fact that Beethoven followed Haydn's model, despite the fact that other symphonic models also existed, highlights the fact that he consciously strove to emulate his first Viennese teacher in the overall structuring of his symphonies.

The String Quartet and Quintet

Roger C. Hickman has outlined three different strands within the quartet genre in Vienna in the 1780s and 1790s.⁸⁶ Two of these, the *quator concertant* and the *quator brilliant*, emanated from Paris. The former appealed to amateur players and was characterised by melodious themes which were often played by each instrument in turn,⁸⁷ whereas works in the latter category were 'essentially mini concertos' for the first violin, with a greater focus on virtuosity.⁸⁸ Both of these genres had a standard three-movement (fast-slow-fast) structure.

The third strand was the 'Viennese Classical' quartet, of which the most prolific and influential early exponent was Haydn, who, it has been argued, could be viewed as the 'father of the string quartet' as well as that of the symphony.⁸⁹ The standard design of this type of quartet is very similar to that of the four-movement symphony (i.e. two fast movements encompassing a slow movement and a minuet movement). Although Haydn's earliest works for quartet, opp. 1 and 2, adopt a five-movement design, all of his completed quartets from op. 9 (1769-70) onwards follow a four-movement scheme (with the obvious exception of his 1787 arrangement of *The Seven Last Words*). This design had a major influence on Mozart; although

⁸⁶ Roger C. Hickman, 'The Flowering of the Viennese String Quartet in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Music Review* 1 (1989), 157-80, 158.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 158-65.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 165.

⁸⁹ See Brown, The First Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony, 301.

Mozart's earliest quartets (including the six quartets K. 155-160) are in three movements, all of his Viennese quartets adopt the four-movement plan, and he also extended this to his string quintets of the 1780s (which subsequently became standard practice in this genre).

Even within the standard four-movement structure, there could be a degree of variety in the practices of different composers. For instance, beginning with his op. 33 of 1781, Haydn introduced movements with the heading Scherzo or Scherzando as an alternative to Menuetto in a number of his string quartets. Before Beethoven, this practice was generally unique to Haydn, with other composers generally maintaining the traditional minuet movement rather than the scherzo.

As with his earliest symphonies, Beethoven's earliest quartets adopt the Haydn four-movement model. Since other genres of string quartet were also being composed in Vienna in this period, Beethoven's use of the four-movement design in his op. 18 set (published 1801) in effect makes a statement that he is following in the footsteps of Haydn and Mozart. In expanding the number of movements in his late quartets (five in op. 132, six in op. 130, seven in op. 131), however, he clearly moved away from the model inherited from his predecessors. This suggests that in his chamber music Beethoven was less bound by conventional structures than in his symphonies, where he never exceeded the number of movements of Haydn's models. Had Beethoven lived longer, of course, he may have eventually extended this formal experimentation to the symphony as well.

The Sonata and Related Genres

The design of the classical sonata (solo or accompanied) was somewhat flexible, both in terms of its form and its instrumentation. The most common types of sonata were for solo keyboard or for keyboard and another instrument (usually violin). However, the genre also encompassed duo combinations, including a pair of stringed instruments or four hands at one keyboard.⁹⁰ The piano trio was also technically classed as a sonata; Haydn usually referred to his own piano trios as 'sonata for piano with accompaniments for a violin and a cello', or even simply 'sonata'.⁹¹ In the third volume of his Introductory Essay on Composition, Koch also classes the

 ⁹⁰ See Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era*, 105-11.
 ⁹¹ Ibid., 470.

quartet as a 'sonata',⁹² although in practice composers in this period treated the quartet as a fully independent genre with its own particular set of conventions.

The sonata is described in Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste (General Theory of the Fine Arts*, 1771-4) as 'consisting of two, three, or four consecutive movements of different character'.⁹³ Of these, the three-movement design was by far the most common; Koch cites this as being the standard form of the sonata.⁹⁴ All of Mozart's keyboard sonatas, for instance, adopt the three-movement form, as do all of his piano trios. Two-movement sonatas were also relatively common. According to William S. Newman, 'enough pre-Classic Italian composers ... wrote enough two-movement sonatas to give rise today to the term "Italian sonata" for this type,' and in Italy, France and England two-movement sonatas were often lighter in character.⁹⁵ In the High Classical period, however, a two-movement structure was not necessarily associated with lighter works and was simply an alternative to the three-movement plan; Haydn's two-movement sonatas (including Hob. XVI: 48 in C major and Hob. XVI:51 in D major) are not perceptibly lighter than his works in three movements.

Despite the description given in Sulzer's *General Theory of the Fine Arts*, sonatas in four movements were extremely rare before the mid-1790s.⁹⁶ Only three of Haydn's solo keyboard works (Hob. XVI nos. 4, 6 and 8, all of which date before 1766) are in four movements. However, although these are now generally classed as sonatas, Haydn actually used the title 'Divertimento'.⁹⁷ Furthermore, the layout of these works does not necessarily expand on the standard fast-slow-fast structure of the three-movement sonata; the Sonata Hob. XVI:4, for instance, consists of an Allegro followed by three minuet movements. None of Haydn's or Mozart's works in any of the sonata genres after 1780 is in four movements, which highlights that this was not a standard structure in the High Classical period.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Beethoven's use of the four-movement symphonic design in the Trios op. 1 and the Sonatas op. 2 is generally interpreted as demonstrating his ambition to elevate the sonata genre to the level of the symphony

⁹² Koch, Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition, Vol. 3, 315.

⁹³ Baker-Christensen, 103.

⁹⁴ Koch, Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition, Vol. 3, 315-9.

⁹⁵ William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era*, New York, 1972, 134.

⁹⁶ Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, 320.

⁹⁷ Anthony von Hoboken, *Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis: Bd. 1, Instrumentalwerke*, Mainz, 1957, 737, 738 and 740-1.

and string quartet. The two- and three-movement patterns did not disappear, however. Three-movement sonatas are common throughout Beethoven's career from op. 10 onwards (nos. 1 and 2 are in three movements, though no. 3 has four movements), and he adopted the two-movement pattern from as early as the Cello Sonatas op. 5 and as late as the Piano Sonata op. 111.

Beethoven's use of two- and three-movement patterns is sometimes viewed as his 'reverting' to a style that he himself had rendered old-fashioned. Thomas Schmidt-Beste, for instance, credits Beethoven with establishing 'a specific number and sequence of movements in the sonata [i.e. the 'symphonic' pattern] – which, unsurprisingly, he proceeded to demolish in his own late works.⁹⁸ This might suggest a certain ambivalence on the composer's part about transferring the symphonic design to the sonata genre. A curious report regarding this issue comes from Anton Schindler, Beethoven's friend and famously unreliable biographer. It was apparently proposed in the 1810s that a complete edition of Beethoven's works be published, and according to Schindler:

Beethoven said that he was wondering whether this edition might achieve a greater unity if some of the four-movement sonatas from an earlier time ... should be reworked to a three-movement form. He definitely wished to delete the Scherzo allegro from the highly emotional sonata in C minor for violin and piano, opus 30, because of its incompatibility with the character of the work as a whole. He was always unhappy with this movement and wanted to do away with it.⁹⁹

Schindler's assertion is not generally taken seriously in modern scholarship, as is the case with many of his reports that are not backed up with further evidence. Yet it reflects the fact that the appropriation of the symphonic design in the sonata genre may have been considered aesthetically problematic to Beethoven's contemporaries (as it evidently was to Schindler).

Other Instrumental Genres

The instrumental concerto invariably had three movements (as described by Koch in 1793).¹⁰⁰ This applied to both the solo concerto and the *sinfonia concertante* which featured more than one soloist, such as Mozart's *Sinfonia Concertante* for violin and viola, K. 364, and Haydn's *Sinfonia Concertante* with solo violin, cello, oboe and

⁹⁸ See, for instance, Schmidt-Beste, *The Sonata*, 119.

⁹⁹ Anton Schindler, *Beethoven as I Knew Him*, ed. Donald W. Macardle, trans. Constance S. Jolly, London, 1966 (originally published as *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, 1860), 402-3.

¹⁰⁰ Koch, Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition, Vol. 3, 327.

bassoon, Hob. I:105. This was one genre in which Beethoven made no formal innovations in terms of the overall design, as all of his concertos adopt the three-movement plan.

Lighter genres such as serenades and divertimentos were flexible in the number of movements, often consisting of five or more. Mozart's divertimentos, for instance, range from three movements (such as the 'Musical Joke', K. 522) to six movements (in his Divertimento K. 563 for string trio), while his serenades contain as many as eight (such as the 'Haffner' Serenade, K. 250). Following in this tradition, Beethoven composed a number of early works in this genre that exceed four movements, including his Septet op. 20 (6 movements) and his Serenade op. 25 (7 movements). His String Trio op. 3 even appears to be modelled specifically on Mozart's Divertimento K. 563, as both works have the same instrumentation, key, and multi-movement design. Beethoven's works in the lighter serenade or divertimento genres feature only in his early career, however, as he did not compose any more works in these genres after op. 25.

Movement-Types

In the Classical instrumental cycle, successive movements tend to be contrasting in a number of ways, including tempo, metre, tonality, and formal design. The different movement-types that normally occupy particular positions within the cycle have been outlined by a number of scholars,¹⁰¹ and a brief summary will suffice here.

Opening movements

Rapid-tempo opening movements were almost always in what is now known as sonata form (or sonata-allegro form),¹⁰² although this terminology seems not to have been used until the 1820s.¹⁰³ Symphonies from the High Classical period invariably begin with a sonata-allegro movement, which is highlighted by the fact that in Koch's 1793 description of sonata form he referred to it as 'the first allegro of the symphony'.¹⁰⁴ However, in other genres, particularly the sonata, the first movement is occasionally in a different form, in which case it is generally in a slower tempo. For example, Haydn's Sonata Hob. XVI:40 and Mozart's Sonata K. 331 both begin

¹⁰¹ See, for instance, Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era*, 143-66; Webster, *Haydn's 'Farewell'* Symphony, 176-8; Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, 321-36.

¹⁰² Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, 321.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 14.

¹⁰⁴ Koch, Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition, Vol. 3, 304.

with slower-tempo variation movements (marked Allegretto innocente and Andante grazioso respectively), and Haydn's Quartet op. 76 no. 6 begins with an Allegretto variation movement. These are relatively rare exceptions, however, and sonata form remained the most common form of the first movement in the instrumental cycles of the 1780s and 90s.

Throughout his career, sonata form remained the most common firstmovement form in Beethoven's instrumental cycles; sonata-form first movements feature in all of the symphonies as well as the vast majority of sonatas, trios, and quartets. The exceptions to this rule (as is also the case in the works of Haydn and Mozart) are in a slower tempo, such as the Andante con variazioni that opens the Piano Sonata op. 26 and the fugal Adagio ma non troppo e molto espressivo that opens the String Quartet op. 131. Although Beethoven made many formal innovations within his sonata forms, including greatly expanding their size, and occasionally modifying the normal sequences of events (such as in the first movement of the String Quartet op. 132, which can be seen as having two expositions), he never fully broke away from following the basic design of the sonata-allegro movements of his High Classical predecessors.

Interior Slow Movements

Slow interior movements (in either second or third position) could be in one of a number of forms. Koch (1793) gives three possible options: sonata form (either with or without development), rondo form, and variation form.¹⁰⁵ Other formal types besides those mentioned by Koch were also used, including ternary (ABA) and alternating variations.¹⁰⁶ A similar variety is found in the formal types of Beethoven's slow movements throughout his lifetime as in those of his predecessors; in his late works, for instance, there are slow movements in sonata form (as in the 'Hammerklavier' Sonata, op. 106), alternating variation form (as in the Ninth Symphony), and ternary form (in the Cavatina of the String Quartet op. 130). Some of Beethoven's three-movement works, such as the Piano Sonata op. 14 no. 1, have only a minuet or scherzo as interior movement, and thus have no slow movement, but there are precedents for this in Haydn (such as in the Piano Sonata Hob.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 311-4.

¹⁰⁶ See Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, 322-3; William Caplin, *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven*, New York and Oxford, 1998, 209.

XVI:43). Where Beethoven does move away from the procedure of his predecessors is that he occasionally adopts the four-movement symphonic plan where neither interior movement is a slow movement (such as the Eighth Symphony, whose interior movements are an Allegretto scherzando and Tempo di menuetto).

Interior Minuet/Scherzo Movements

The interior minuet/scherzo movement is the only movement in the classical cycle whose form is obligatory. Its form (as found in minuet movements of the early classical period) is basic ternary (ABA), which consists of two outer minuet sections and a contrasting trio, where the individual sections typically each have a binary structure.¹⁰⁷ The trio could be in a different mode or key from the minuet, although it is most common for the trio to continue in the minuet's tonic.¹⁰⁸ Variants of the basic ternary structure include a scheme that employs more than one trio section (resulting in a rondo-like structure), commonly used in lighter works such as divertimentos and serenades, and the addition of a coda after the final repetition of the minuet; both of these appear in the second minuet movement of Mozart's Divertimento K. 563 for string trio.

Although Haydn was the first composer to adopt the heading 'scherzo', his scherzos are in reality not much different from his minuets, and it was Beethoven who was responsible for introducing the boisterous, rapid-tempo scherzos such as that found in the *Eroica* Symphony as a regular alternative to the minuet; before the *Eroica*, writes George Grove, 'the *Scherzo*, in its full sense, was unknown to music'.¹⁰⁹ However, Beethoven's scherzo movements generally maintain the same formal design as the minuets of his predecessors, including a contrasting trio section. His innovations in this movement therefore have more to do with tempo and character than form. In one or two scherzos he expands on the ABA form by including another repetition of the trio and the minuet, resulting in and ABABA structure (such as in the Allegretto third movement of the String Quartet op. 59 no. 2). In later works he also occasionally includes movements that are scherzo-like in their character and position within the cycle but are in duple rather than the conventional triple metre (such as the alla breve Presto second movement of the

¹⁰⁷ Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms*, revised edn., New York, 1988, 18.

¹⁰⁸ Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, 332.

¹⁰⁹ George Grove, *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies*, 2nd ed., London, 1896, 78.

String Quartet op. 130); even in these movements, however, Beethoven maintains the standard ABA design of the High Classical minuet/scherzo movement.

Finales

As with slow movements, finales could adopt a number of different movementtypes, the most common of which include sonata form, rondo, sonata-rondo, theme and variations, and minuet. The latter category refers only to the general character of a movement, since minuet finales were not restricted in the form that could be adopted (and are generally longer and more complex than interior-movement minuets); the Tempo di minuetto finale of Haydn's Sonata in E flat Hob. XVI:49, for instance, has two trio sections in contrasting modalities, with a curtailed version of the minuet theme in the middle acting as a bridge between them, while the Tempo di menuetto that ends Mozart's A major Violin Concerto K. 219 follows a rondo structure that includes a contrasting Turkish-march episode.

There was no strict convention regarding which movement-type to adopt in finales, and this was therefore left to the choice of the composer; all of the finale types listed above are used by both Haydn and Mozart. However, the minuet finale tends not to be found in four-movement cycles, as these already contain a minuet interior movement. Thus, while minuet finales appear relatively frequently in the three-movement symphonies of the early Classical period, they are no longer common in the symphonies of the 1780s and 1790s, generally appearing only in instrumental genres that adopt two- or three-movement cycles.

Finales in the High Classical period are generally lighter in style than first movements, often adopting rustic or dance-like characteristics in their choices of tempo and metre.¹¹⁰ However, in three of his Quartets op. 20 (1772) Haydn composed strict fugal finales (nos. 2, 5 and 6), resulting in unusually 'learned' and weighty final movements in the cycle. While strictly fugal finales remained rare, in some of Mozart's and Haydn's works of the 1780s and 1790s extended fugato passages are incorporated into finales, which adds weight to the movement. The paradigmatic example is the finale of Mozart's 'Jupiter' Symphony, with its famous contrapuntal passage in the coda that combines the movement's five main themes.

¹¹⁰ Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, 334. See also Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance, Practice, Reception*, Oxford, 1989, 417.

Even finales incorporating counterpoint, however, tend to retain the lighter character that was typical in High Classical finales; the 'Jupiter' finale is no exception.

Although the majority of Beethoven's finales adopt the same movementtypes that are found in the works of his predecessors (such as sonata or sonata-rondo forms), a number of his finales are more formally innovative than the other movements in his instrumental cycles. Several of his finales involve a slow introduction of the type more commonly found in opening movements, as is in the case even in early works such as the String Quartet op. 18 no. 6 and the First Symphony. Although this was an unusual procedure, there are precedents for this in Mozart's G minor String Quintet K. 516 and Haydn's C major String Quartet op. 54 no. 2, both of which include an Adagio introduction to the finale (and the latter work, even more unusually, also concludes with an Adagio using the same material as in the introduction). A number of Beethoven's finales also adopt innovative 'hybrid' forms; examples are the finales of the Third and Ninth Symphonies, both of which employ the principles of theme and variations within a larger formal structure. This reflects one of the most important ways in which a number of his instrumental cycles differ from the model of the High Classical period; Beethoven's cycles are often end-weighted, with complex and serious finales that function as a climax of the entire work, rather than being a lighter movement as is usually the case in Haydn and Mozart. Even in this procedure, however, his approach owes much to Haydn and Mozart as he generally employs passages of counterpoint to add to the weightiness of the movement; both the Third and Ninth Symphony finales, for instance, feature an extensive fugal passage.

Choices of Key (Complete Movements)

One principle which invariably underpins every High Classical instrumental work is that the first and last movements must be in the tonic. It is possible, however, for there to be a change in mode, typically from minor to major (as in Mozart's String Quintet in G Minor K. 516). In rare cases, such as Haydn's 'Emperor' Quartet op. 76 no. 3, the finale of a major-key work begins in the minor but ultimately ends in the tonic major.

Interior slow movements were usually in a key other than the tonic. Typical keys for this movement are the subdominant (in a major-key work) or the tonic

major (in a minor-key work), although more distant keys are not uncommon.¹¹¹ Haydn was particularly fond of using remote keys for his slow movements, especially from the 1790s onwards;¹¹² examples include the mediant major (in the Quartet in D, op. 76 no. 5), the flattened submediant (in the Quartet in G, op. 77 no. 1), and the more unusual flattened supertonic (in the Piano Sonata in E flat, Hob. XVI:52).

The interior minuet movement was always cast in the tonic major or minor, although, as outlined above, the trio could be in a different key. Here, as well as with slow movements, Haydn in his late works often adopts remote keys, creating a sharp tonal juxtaposition within the movement; an example of this is his use of the flattened submediant (E flat) for the trio of the G major minuet in the Quartet op. 77 no. 1.¹¹³

Unusual tonal contrasts often feature within Beethoven's instrumental works, and in this way he is considered to have been strongly influenced by Haydn.¹¹⁴ In his later works especially, Beethoven often moves away from the conventional keychoices in his instrumental cycles. As early as his Piano Trio op. 70 no. 2 in E flat, Beethoven adopts a non-tonic key for the minuet/scherzo movement (in this case the subdominant, A flat), and in the extreme case of the String Quartet op. 131 he adopts a highly unusual tonal scheme across the seven movements of the work; only the first and last movements are in the tonic, and the transitions between movements often involve sharp tonal juxtapositions (the second movement, for instance, is in D major, the flattened supertonic). This can be seen as an extension of some of Haydn's more unusual procedures, such as that in op. 77 no. 1.

Multi-Movement Integration

Aspects of multi-movement integration have featured prominently in analyses of the multi-movement structures of Beethoven and his High Classical predecessors. Analysts have outlined a wide variety of ways in which a multi-movement work can be integrated, including musical features that are common to the different movements of the work, as well as the listener's perception of a journey or narrative

¹¹¹ See Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, 323-9.

¹¹² Webster, Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony, 212.

¹¹³ See Ethan Haimo, 'Remote Keys and Multi-Movement Unity', *The Musical Quarterly*, lxxiv (1990), 242-68; here, 252-4.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 267.

throughout the course of a work, all of which can be viewed unifying the work as a whole.

Thematic and Motivic Connections

Aspects of thematic and motivic unity between the main themes of the different movements of a work can be discerned in many works of the High Classical period. Examples include the main themes of the first and second movements of Haydn's Symphony no. 104 (the 'London'), which both begin with a similar figure starting on the third degree of the scale (Exx. 2.1a-b):

Ex. 2.1a—Haydn, Symphony no. 104/i, Allegro, violin 1, bars1-4



Ex. 2.1b—Haydn, Symphony no. 104/ii, violin 1, bars 1-2



Similarly, in Mozart's Clarinet Quintet K. 581, the themes of the first, third and last movements each begin with a falling fifth figure from E to A (Exx. 2.2a-c):

Ex. 2.2a—Mozart, K. 581/i, violin 1, bars 1-4



Ex. 2.2b—Mozart, K. 581/iii, clarinet, bars 1-4



Ex. 2.2c—Mozart, K. 581/iv, violin 1, bars 1-4



These types of thematic resemblance can also be discerned in Beethoven's instrumental works throughout his career; examples include the emphasis on the interval G to B flat in the first and last movements of the Piano Trio op. 1 no. 1, and the prominent rising third in the openings of the first three movements of the 'Hammerklavier Sonata, op. 106 as well as at the beginning of the fugue subject of the finale.

Many more complex motivic resemblances have also been observed between the movements of Classical works, particularly those of Haydn. For instance, in his analysis of Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony, James Webster identifies 'three complexes of motives' (namely triadic figures, descending stepwise progressions, and repetitions) that govern the material of the entire work.¹¹⁵ In the final movement, he argues, 'motives from the first three movements assume new guises appropriate to the changed context and the progress towards resolution,'¹¹⁶ thus contributing to the culminating effect of the finale in the context of the work as a whole. Similarly complex motivic relationships have been identified in many of Beethoven's works; Dahlhaus, for instance, recognises a process of 'subthematicism' in the Quartet op. 132 (see Chapter 1.2).

It is often difficult to determine how far these motivic resemblances were consciously intended by the composer, or whether they are merely coincidental. Furthermore, as Jan LaRue cautions, 'Similarities between themes can never be determined as a matter of absolute right or wrong, since personal opinion based on individual experience and perception necessarily plays a vital part in all such discriminations.'¹¹⁷ However, Ludwig Berger explicitly employs thematic unity in his *Sonata on the Figure C-B-C-E-D-E*, op. 18 (c. 1800), in which all three

¹¹⁵ Webster, *Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony*, 24.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 29.

¹¹⁷ Jan LaRue, 'Significant and Coincidental Resemblances between Classical Themes', *The Journal of Musicology*, xviii (2001), 268-82, reprinted from *The Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xiv (1961), 224-34.

movements are pervaded with the same six-note figure.¹¹⁸ Berger's experiment indicates that thematic unity was a recognised musical device, even if it was not generally exploited to the extent as in Berger's op. 18.

Tonal Connections

Although the principal keys of the individual movements of a Classical work are largely governed by particular conventions (as outlined above), there is more scope for variety in the choice of secondary key areas, such as the second subject of a sonata-form movement, the trio within a minuet movement, or even prominent keys within a development section. The use of particular secondary keys across different movements can also act as a unifying device in a multi-movement work.

Remote-key relationships that span across the different movements of a work appear in a number of late works by Haydn. A prominent example is his last piano sonata, Hob. XVI:52 in E flat, which features an abrupt and unexpected modulation to E major (which functions as the flattened supertonic, a very unusual secondary key in a High Classical work) at the end of the development section of the first movement (bar 68). E major then returns as the key of the slow movement, clearly recalling its use in the opening movement and thus creating an audible link between the two movements. Ethan Haimo suggests that tonal relationships of this type are characteristic of Haydn's multi-movement works of the 1790s, providing analyses of three works to illustrate this (the Piano Trio Hob. XV:27, the String Quartet op. 77 no. 1, and the Symphony no. 99).¹¹⁹

To a certain extent, tonal relationships of this type can also be found in Mozart's instrumental works; Webster cites as an example the A major Piano Concerto K. 488, where the key of the slow movement (F sharp minor) also appears towards the end of the ritornellos in both outer movements.¹²⁰ However, although F sharp minor is an unusual choice of key for a slow movement (K. 488/ii being, as Webster points out, Mozart's only movement in this key),¹²¹ it is not a 'remote' key within A major, where it functions as the relative minor; Mozart's procedure in this

¹¹⁸ Schmidt-Beste, *The Sonata*, 126; Richard Kershaw and Michael Musgrave, 'Berger, Ludwig', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*,

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02783, accessed 10 September 2013.

¹¹⁹ Haimo, 'Remote Keys and Multi-Movement Unity'.

¹²⁰ Webster, Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony, 204.

¹²¹ Ibid., 204.

way does not approach Haydn's as he does not tend to employ such unusual tonal juxtapositions.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, remote-key relationships occur been the movements of a number of Beethoven's works, including the 'Emperor' Concerto and the Seventh Symphony. Since several of Haydn's works also feature long-range relationships of this kind, it is generally accepted that this feature of Beethoven's style was influenced by Haydn.¹²² However, since this principle emerges in the works of both composers roughly simultaneously (the three Haydn works analysed by Haimo for their remote-key relationships all stem from after Beethoven's arrival in Vienna), an interesting and hitherto unexplored question is which of the two composers actually employed adopted this principle first, and whether or not Haydn was in fact influenced in some way by his pupil. This clearly invites further investigation, but is outside the scope of the present study.

Other Connections

As outlined in Chapter 1, there are many features besides thematic and tonal connections that can serve to integrate the different movements of a work. One obvious way in which the different movements of a work to be closely integrated is for them to be linked together, with the next movement commencing immediately without a break after the previous movement. Although this device does not generally feature in Mozart's instrumental works, Webster has identified what he terms 'run-on movement pairs' in a large number of Haydn's sonatas, symphonies, and string quartets (and he also points out that links between movements are common in the works of C. P. E. Bach).¹²³

'Run-on pairs' are also particularly prevalent in Beethoven's works, suggesting that this may have been a technique he adopted from Haydn. One of the most obvious examples of this is the transition between the scherzo and the finale of the Fifth Symphony. More unusually, in a small number works all of the movements follow on continuously from one another (notably the Sonata op. 27 no. 1, *Quasi una fantasia*, and the Quartet op. 131), although even this has a precedent in Haydn, whose Sonata in A major Hob. XVI:30 is entirely through-composed.¹²⁴

¹²² See, for instance, Haimo, 'Remote Keys and Multi-Movement Unity', 267.

¹²³ Webster, *Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony*, 186-94.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 288-94.

A device that creates perhaps the most obvious sense of integration within a multi-movement work is the recalling of material from earlier movements. This famously occurs in several of Beethoven's works, notably the Fifth Symphony (where the Scherzo is recalled within the finale) and the Sonata op. 101 (where the first movement is recalled at the transition to the finale), and even occurs as early as his Serenade op. 8 for string trio, where the march theme of the opening movement reappears as the final 'variation' in the theme and variations finale, thereby explicitly highlighting the thematic links between these two movements. In this respect, as Webster points out, Haydn again anticipates him; in the Symphony no. 46, for instance, 'the Presto finale is interrupted near the end for a reprise of the minuet, after which it resumes and concludes.¹²⁵ Haydn's use of this device was very unusual in the context of 18th-century instrumental music (Webster identifies no other 18th century symphony whose procedure is in this way so close to that of Beethoven's Fifth),¹²⁶ and hence Beethoven's use of recalls of earlier movements, as with 'run-on pairs', is most likely to have been a technique with which he deliberately emulated Haydn.

2.2—Contemporary Aesthetic Currents

In the aesthetics of the late 18th century, the primary purpose of art was generally considered to be the imitation of nature, which, in the case of instrumental music, entailed an imitation of human passions.¹²⁷ Given the abstract nature of music, it is not immediately clear how this general principle can be related to the issue of musical structure. However, one of the most important aesthetic principles in all art forms was that of unity, which was related to the concept of art as imitation of nature. This principle is explained in Sulzer's *General Theory of the Fine Arts* as '[arising] from a connection between parts that dissuades us from seeing anything other than a single entity'.¹²⁸ Unity is described as being a natural phenomenon, since 'the nature of a thing is the cause of its unity'.¹²⁹ According to this aesthetic principle, a work of art must therefore be unified, since something that has no unity

¹²⁵ Ibid., 186.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Many contemporary aesthetic writings that reflect this viewpoint are presented in Peter Le Huray and James Day, eds., *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1981.

¹²⁸ Baker-Christensen, 43.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

is unnatural and therefore displeasing. Sulzer further explains this concept by way of analogy:

Drinking glasses that are placed upon a table close to one another have no real connection; one can consider each as a single entity. On the other hand, springs and other parts of a clock have such a connection to one another that any one of them separated from the others can never constitute a whole, rather only a part. Thus there is unity in a clock, but not in a collection of drinking glasses on a table.¹³⁰

For an artwork to have unity, therefore, its constituent parts must be in some way interrelated, and each of them must be necessary in terms of the work as whole (as with the parts of the clock).

While this concept is relatively straightforward in an artwork that forms a single entity, such as a painting or a sculpture, it becomes somewhat problematic in the case of multi-movement instrumental works where each movement is complete within itself and there tends to be a high degree of contrast within successive movements. This basic structure appears to be at odds with the ideal of unity, and many writers on aesthetics from this period specifically denigrate instrumental works whose movements are overtly contrasting in character. For instance, in his Hamburgische Dramaturgie (1767-69), Gotthold Ephraim Lessing considers that the variety of passions represented by a multi-movement work could be confusing, and he argues that 'a symphony which in its different movements expresses various, selfcontradictory emotions is a musical monstrosity.¹³¹ This view was evidently shared by the music theorist Heinrich Christoph Koch, who argues in the second volume of his Introductory Essay on Composition that 'custom show[s] herself a tyrant' in demanding that the different movements of a three-movement symphony or concerto be contrasting in character.¹³² Koch attempts to demonstrate the absurdity of this construction:

In the performance of a symphony, for example, the first Allegro will lift us to a noble emotion. Hardly has this feeling taken possession of us, than in the Adagio it gives way to sadness; in order, as it were, to compensate for this sad feeling, which came suddenly and without apparent reason, we jump just as quickly thence to even greater joy in the last Allegro. Does this treatment

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ 'Eine Symphonie, die in ihren verschiedenen Sätzen verschiedene, sich widersprechende Leidenschaften ausdrückt, ist ein musikalsiches Ungeheuer', quoted in Seidel, 'Schnell-Langsam-Schnell', 206. ¹³² Baker-Christensen, 156.

correspond to the nature of our souls, is it appropriate to the nature of the succession of feelings? Is it just as easy for the listeners to proceed from sorrow into joy as it is easy for the musician to turn the page and begin the last Allegro after the Adagio?¹³³

The principle of contrast between movements, which was evidently so problematic for theorists such as Lessing and Koch, nevertheless underpinned the majority of instrumental works of the period, suggesting that the procedures of composers and the views in contemporary aesthetics were not very closely linked in this period.

Towards the end of the 18th century, theorists increasingly found ways to justify the concept of the multi-movement work within the aesthetic currents of the age. Türk, for instance, suggests that while the different movements of a sonata have diverse characters, 'nevertheless, for the whole there should be a *predominant* emotion'.¹³⁴ However, this provides little theoretical basis for the understanding of the increasingly dramatic juxtapositions that occur, for instance, between movements (and occasionally within movements) in the mature works of Haydn.

According to James Webster, the only 18th-century theorist who attempted to justify 'the succession of different feelings awakened by a multimovement work' was Johann Nikolaus Forkel, who viewed this 'as a reflection of the natural process of the soul's changing passions'.¹³⁵ Forkel described three possible processes within a sonata. In the first, a pleasant feeling underpins the whole work (with diversions in the middle). In the second, an unpleasant feeling at the beginning is transformed into a pleasant feeling by the end. In the third, a pleasant feeling is transformed into an unpleasant one, although Forkel argues that this third case is not common since it is at odds with music's main function, which, he believes, is to entertain.¹³⁶ This view allows for the contrasting characters within an instrumental work to be understood as imitating nature in line with the broader aesthetic currents of the period.

The article on 'Variety' within Sulzer's *General Theory of the Fine Arts* could also be seen to provide aesthetic justification for the contrasts within a multimovement work, albeit in more general terms. Sulzer argues that 'During the evolution of man's faculty of reason, there seems to have arisen a natural need for

¹³³ Quoted in ibid., 156-157.

¹³⁴ Daniel Gottlob Türk, School of Clavier Playing, or Instructions in Playing the Clavier for Teachers and Students, trans. Raymond H. Haggh, Lincoln, NE, 1982, 383.

¹³⁵ Webster, *Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony*, 179.

¹³⁶ Seidel, 'Schnell-Langsam-Schnell', 207.

diversity in our ideas and sentiments';¹³⁷ thus the variety and contrast within an instrumental work can be understood to be 'natural'. However, Sulzer also cautions against 'an inappropriate piling up of ideas', which, he argues, occurs in the works of some composers who 'write a series of individual musical ideas totally unrelated to one another'.¹³⁸ As with his contemporary theorists, Sulzer promotes above all the notion that an artwork should be essentially unified, since 'The closer things cohere in their variety, the more delicate will be the enjoyment they provide'.¹³⁹ Multimovement works which contain a great degree of contrast, but also a high level of integration (as has often been observed in the works of Haydn and Beethoven), would therefore appear to have an aesthetic foundation within Sulzer's theory.

On the whole, however, aesthetic writings from this period provide little technical basis for the understanding of how such coherence and integration might be achieved in a multi-movement instrumental work. Within late 18th-century aesthetics music tends to be discussed in terms of general notions of 'expression' and 'character', rather than specific technical procedures such as thematic integration and tonal design. Thus, while composers of the late 18th century may have subscribed to the notion of unity, contemporary aesthetic writings are on the whole too general to be able to provide an understanding of the multi-movement structures of the period.

Summary

From the above survey, it is clear that the vast majority of Beethoven's procedures in the structuring of his multi-movement works have precedents in the works of his Viennese predecessors. Throughout his career, Beethoven's multi-movement structures remain indebted to the three- and four-movement models of Haydn and Mozart; even some of his more unconventional works, such as the programmatic Pastoral Symphony and the Ninth Symphony with its monumental choral finale, can be seen as adaptations of the basic models of the High Classical style, rather than complete departures from earlier conventions. Some of Beethoven's structural devices that involve a closer degree of multi-movement integration, such as the recalling of earlier movements and the use of 'run-on pairs', have clear precedents in Haydn, suggesting that he was particularly influenced by Haydn in his approach to multi-movement structures. Only in a small number of works, such as the String

¹³⁷ Baker-Christensen, 46.¹³⁸ Ibid., 48.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 47.

Quartet op. 131, does Beethoven clearly distance himself from the procedures of his predecessors in terms of structural organisation.

The question of how far Beethoven's approach to multi-movement structures reflects the views of contemporary aesthetic currents, particularly the 18th-century ideal of 'unity', is somewhat problematic. 18th-century aesthetic discussions of music are on the whole too vague to contribute to the understanding of the multi-movement structures of the High Classical period. Yet since the early 19th century, critics have found numerous analytical viewpoints from which to interpret Beethoven's multi-movement works as unified structures. Many of the perceived unifying features, such as obvious thematic or tonal links between movements, are also present in other works of the High Classical period, suggesting that they were accepted musical conventions that Beethoven may have absorbed from the practices of his contemporaries. However, various analytical approaches to Beethoven that adopt unity as a basic premise have been highly controversial, including Reti's theory of thematic processes, and Deryck Cooke's analysis of the thematic unity of the late quartets (see Chapter 1).

Chapter 3—Multi-Movement Planning in the Sketches up to 1800

Beethoven did not begin to use bound sketchbooks until work on the Quartets op. 18 from 1798. Until this point he sketched primarily on loose leaves and bifolios, which are now mainly preserved in two large miscellanies (the Kafka and the Fischhof).¹⁴⁰ Far fewer sketches survive from the early period than from when he began to use sketchbooks; it is rare to find more than four sides of sketches devoted to a single work before 1798, and sketches for some works have not survived at all (including the Violin Sonata op. 12 no. 1 and the Piano Sonata op. 14 no. 2).¹⁴¹ It is therefore not possible to gain a full picture of his approach to sketches within the early leaves and bifolios do provide some insight into his compositional approach to this issue in certain works.

3.1—Sketches for Multi-Movement Works in the Early Leaves and Bifolios

It is relatively common in the early leaves to find sketches for the different movements of a work (or even different works) sketched in close proximity, either on the same page, the reverse sides of a leaf, or within several adjacent pages. One bifolio in the Kafka Miscellany (folios 121-2) presents one such example, as it contains sketches for all three movements of the Sonata op. 14 no. 1. At first glance, this might suggest multi-movement planning of the kind outlined in Chapter 1, resembling (for instance) the plans for the Quartet op. 131.

With the exception of brief sketches on staves 1-4 of folio 121r, however, the sketches in this bifolio take the form of fairly advanced drafts rather than early ideas. Folio 121v has sketches for all three movements, all of which appear to stem from an advanced stage of composition. The first movement is represented by a draft of the recapitulation and coda on staves 1-7. Sketches for the Allegretto second movement

¹⁴⁰ Joseph Kerman, ed., *Ludwig van Beethoven: Autograph Miscellany from circa 1786 to 1799*, 2 vols., London, 1970; Douglas Johnson, *Beethoven's Early Sketches in the "Fischhof miscellany," Berlin Autograph 28*, Ann Arbor, 1980.

¹⁴¹ Cooper, *Creative*, 77.

take the form of a draft of the entire movement (excluding the coda) on staves 9-15. The finale sketches on staves 8-9 and 15-18 similarly take the form of drafts that include the rondo and first episode of the finished version. This suggests that Beethoven was beyond the stage of planning the basic outline of the sonata when he sketched each of the three movements on folio 121v. Several similar cases can be found within the early leaves, including sketches for all three movements of the Sonata op. 10 no. 2 (Kafka folio 101r-v) and sketches for the first and last movements of the String Trio op. 9 no. 1 (Fischhof folios 41-2); in all of these cases the sketches are too advanced to indicate preliminary planning for the overall multi-movement structure.

In a small number of cases in the early leaves, however, Beethoven occasionally notated what are evidently preliminary ideas for several movements of a work. One case is that of the Violin Sonata in E flat, op. 12 no. 3. As Douglas Johnson indicates, both sides of Fischhof folio 46 are filled with a variety of sketches, many of which seem to be ideas for the different movements of the sonata.¹⁴² At the top of folio 46v is a short sketch with the theme of the first episode of the Rondo finale of the finished work, which probably stems from a relatively advanced stage of composition of that movement. On the recto of the leaf, however, Beethoven sketched various preliminary ideas for all three movements. Several sketches in E flat major, 3/4 point forward to the first movement of the finished work in terms of key and metre, though the thematic material is different (Ex. 3.1a). Two different sketches for an 'andante', one in C major and one in E flat minor, suggest ideas for a slow interior movement (E. 3.1b-c). The Adagio con molt' espressione of the finished work can be seen to be foreshadowed in both of these preliminary ideas: its C major tonality is foreshadowed in Ex. 3.1b, whereas Ex. 3.1c has a triadic left hand figure that point forward to the pulsing offbeat accompaniment chords in the finished version. The 'Rondo' sketch (Ex. 3.1d) is notated with erroneous rhythms, though a 2/4 metre appears to be intended. Thus in terms of its metre and general character it resembles the Rondo of the finished work, though the theme itself is not yet present.

¹⁴² Johnson, *Fischhof*, Vol. 2, 343.



Johnson interprets the sketches on this leaf as 'one or more attempts by Beethoven to organize his ideas for a violin sonata into some sort of coherent outline of the work as a whole', and he points to the sketches shown in Ex. 3.1 as one such outline.¹⁴³ However, the interpretation of these sketches as a plan for the work is problematic, since they appear haphazardly across the page and are interspersed with other preliminary sketches (not transcribed by Johnson) that do not belong within the same plan. There appear to be further ideas for the respective movements than those outlined in Ex. 3.1, including another 'andante', also in 6/8, possibly in B flat major, on staves 1/2, and a 'presto' in C major on staves 3/4. The former could be a further idea for an interior movement, though the 'presto' has no obvious connection with a sonata in E flat major. Since all of the ideas represented on folio 46r are rather diverse, and appear in no particular order on the page, they seem to represent more

¹⁴³ Johnson, Fischhof, Vol. 1, 343.

of a brainstorming session where Beethoven notated a large number of ideas for different movements, and perhaps even different works, rather than necessarily demonstrating large-scale structural planning for a single work.

Four other cases represent a far more systematic outline of a complete work than that of op. 12 no. 3 (see Table 3.1). All of these plans are clearly laid out, with sketches (or brief incipits) for different movements following directly after one another, and evidently represent plans for the sequence of movements as a whole.

Work	Location	Date
Unfinished symphony in C	Fischhof f. 16v, staves 3-5	1796
Unfinished sonata in E flat	Fischhof f. 42v, staves 1-5	c. late 1797-early 1798
Unfinished string quartet in D (prototype of op. 18 no. 3?)	Landsberg 7, p. 65	Early 1798?
Unfinished work in E flat	Bonn NE 100, f. 1r, staves 1-9	Summer or autumn 1798?

 Table 3.1—Multi-movement plans amongst the early sketchleaves

3.2—Unfinished Symphony in C

The first of these plans, shown in Ex. 3.2, relates to an unfinished symphony in C major, which was sketched fairly extensively in 1795-7 and can be viewed as a forerunner to the First Symphony (1799-1800).¹⁴⁴ As Nottebohm first observed, the symphony's first movement was to be based on a theme that was later used in the finale of the First Symphony.¹⁴⁵ The plan appears on a leaf that also contains relatively advanced sketches for the first movement (folio 16v, stave 6ff.), and outlines ideas for an adagio in F, a minuet in C major, and a presto finale (Ex. 3.2). The plan dates from around May-June 1796, when Beethoven visited Berlin, since it appears on a leaf obtained in Berlin.¹⁴⁶

 $^{^{144}}$ For a detailed chronology of the sketches for this symphony, see ibid., 461-9. 145 N II, 228-9.

¹⁴⁶ Johnson, Fischhof, Vol. 1, 164-5.



By the time he sketched this plan Beethoven had already made a number of drafts of the exposition of the first movement, as well as further first-movement sketches and preliminary ideas for the other three movements. In several sources, ideas for different movements appear in close proximity; Kafka folio 158v, for instance, contains a draft of the introduction to the first movement on staves 6-7 and 9-11, as well as two different ideas for an 'adagio' on staves 5 and 16, and a minuet and trio in C on staves 13-16. Brief sketches in C major, 6/8 metre, on staves 1, 3 and 5 of this page could also represent ideas for a possible finale.¹⁴⁷ However, the symphony sketches on Fischhof 16v, staves 3-5, are the only case where the different movements are laid out systematically in the correct order, representing a clear plan for the last three movements.

The surviving sketches for the symphony suggest that Beethoven had struggled to establish the basic material of the later movements, sketching numerous possibilities before abandoning them. The slow movement in particular appears to have caused him problems, since he had already sketched at least four different ideas for this movement, including one in E major for which there is a virtually complete draft on Kafka folio 81v (see Ex. 3.3).¹⁴⁸ He evidently changed his mind about the

¹⁴⁷ Transcriptions in Kerman, *Kafka*, Vol. 2, 167 and 269-70.

¹⁴⁸ Transcription in ibid., 176. This sketch was made on paper that Beethoven obtained during his trip to Berlin, and therefore stems from around the same time as the multi-movement plan on Fischhof 16v. The precise sequence of these sketches is difficult to determine, but it seems likely that the multimovement plan on Fischhof folio 16v was sketched after the slow-movement sketch on Kafka folio

use of E major (the mediant) as the key of the interior movement, since the comment 'in f' above the second bar suggests that he wished to transpose the movement into the more conventional subdominant key of F major. A short sketch in F major on the facing page (folio 82r) may represent another new idea for a slow movement as an alternative to the transposed E major movement (Ex. 3.4a). This F major sketch was also immediately abandoned, perhaps because Beethoven realised that it was virtually identical to the theme of the slow movement of Haydn's Symphony no. 82 in C major (Ex. 3.4b).¹⁴⁹

Ex. 3.3—Kafka, f. 81v







Ex. 3.4b—Haydn, Symphony no. 82/ii, violin 1, bars 1-8



Despite the large number of ideas Beethoven had already sketched for the different movements, the plan on Fischhof 16v shows three entirely new movements. The systematic layout of the sketches, as well as the fact that Beethoven had apparently abandoned his earlier ideas for these movements, suggests that this plan represents something of a fresh start to work on the later movements of the symphony. Perhaps after all of the earlier abortive attempts he decided that making a plan of the last three movements in sequence, including only the basic elements such

⁸¹v, since he seems to have settled on the key of F major for this movement (as appears in the multimovement plan) only after sketching the E major draft.

¹⁴⁹ This appears to be one of a number of cases of 'accidental plagiarism' amongst Beethoven's sketches; another case is the appearance of a theme very similar to the main theme in the finale of Mozart's Piano Concerto in B flat, K. 595 amongst sketches for the *Eroica* Symphony (see Rachel Wade, 'Beethoven's *Eroica* Sketchbook', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, xxiv [1977], 254-89, 272).

as key, metre, and an idea for a main theme, would be a better starting-point than trying to develop ideas for one movement at a time.

Ultimately, however, the multi-movement plan on Fischhof 16v did little to aid progress on the symphony. Although the minuet represented in the plan was further developed on Kafka folio 59r, where there is a complete draft of the minuet section with a nearly-complete draft of a new trio in A minor,¹⁵⁰ the other two movements were evidently abandoned almost immediately. No further sketches for the F major adagio have survived, and the finale theme in the Fischhof 16v plan appears to have been recycled (in an adapted version) in the finale of the Piano Sonata op. 49 no. 1 (see Ex. 3.5), which was composed around 1797.¹⁵¹ At least one further idea for a finale appears to have been sketched in 1797, but this was not developed beyond the preliminary stage.¹⁵²

Ex. 3.5-Op. 49 no. 1/ii



Barry Cooper has proposed that the main stumbling-block to completing the work was that Beethoven could not devise a suitable finale, since he had sketched a number of possible themes but had not developed any of them.¹⁵³ The plan on Fischhof 16v, however, suggests that he was also dissatisfied with his previous ideas for the last three movements, and had abandoned even the extensive E major draft of the slow movement. It is of course possible that Beethoven made further progress on the later movements than indicated in the surviving sketches, perhaps having made further sketches or drafts on leaves that have now been lost. Yet the fact that the first movement is relatively well represented in the sketches, whereas the later movements are represented mainly by fragmentary ideas (including those in the plan

¹⁵⁰ Transcription in Kerman, Kakfa, Vol. 2, 174.

¹⁵¹ The precise date of the composition of op. 49 no. 1 is hard to determine as there are no known sketches. However, for the string Trio op. 9 no. 1 (c. late 1797-early 1798) appear on a leaf that contains an aborted autograph of op. 49 no. 1, (Johnson, Fischhof, Vol. 2, 183) so the sonata was probably composed shortly before this. ¹⁵² Kafka f. 43r; see Cooper, *Beethoven*, 75.

¹⁵³ Cooper, *Beethoven*, 75.

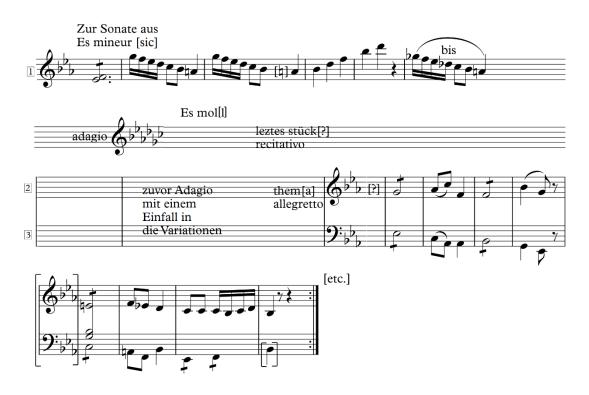
on Fischhof 16v), suggests that he had not got very far with the later parts of the symphony.

Thus Beethoven seems to have struggled with the general outline of the symphony as a whole, the first movement being the only one whose basic content had been firmly established by the time he sketched the multi-movement plan on Fischhof 16v. The multi-movement plan may therefore have been sketched as a problem-solving measure, in order to overcome his indecisiveness over the later movements by establishing their basic outlines in sequence. Thus the idea of sketching such a plan (Fischhof 16v is the earliest plan that has been identified) may have stemmed from a response to a particular compositional problem.

3.3—Unfinished Sonata in E flat

The second multi-movement plan to be listed in Table 3.1 relates to an unfinished sonata in E flat major (Ex. 3.6). This plan is one of only three known attempts at sketching this work: besides this plan there are also sketches for the first movement on Kafka 149v and for the finale on Bonn NE 91, folio 1r.¹⁵⁴

Ex. 3.6—Fischhof, f. 42v¹⁵⁵



¹⁵⁴ Johnson, Fischhof, Vol. 2, 454-7.

¹⁵⁵ Transcription in ibid., 154.

The plan indicates a sonata with a first movement in 3/4, E flat major, an interior adagio in E flat minor, and a variations finale. Johnson points out that this plan was sketched in the same period that Beethoven was working on the Sonatas op. 10, though he suggests that it 'differs too sharply from those of Op. 10 to have been considered for that set'.¹⁵⁶ The projected sonata indeed has some unusual features, notably the use of the very dark key of E flat minor in the interior movement, and a 'recitativo' preceding the finale. The comment 'zuvor Adagio mit einem Einfall in die Variationen' ('first [an] Adagio with lead-in to the variations') is likely to refer to the same event indicated as 'recitativo', since both are clearly indicated as belonging with the last movement. These features are more suggestive of a fantasia-like sonata (such as the Sonatas 'Quasi una fantasia' op. 27) than with the op. 10 set.

The absence of any thematic material for the projected adagio movement suggests that Beethoven was more concerned with establishing the tonal centres than with melodic content at this stage. This recalls Robert Winter's characterisation of the plans for op. 131 as 'tonal overviews' (see Chapter 1), and supports the idea that key centres were a fundamental aspect of Beethoven's initial conception of a multi-movement work as a whole. The indication that there is to be a recitative introduction to the finale also indicates that Beethoven was concerned not just with the general outline of each of the individual movements, but also with the continuity between them. Since no thematic material is indicated for the preceding adagio, he was evidently less concerned with the actual thematic material forming the basis of the link than he was with the basic notion that such a link was to occur. Again, this demonstrates that melodic content was less important to his conception of the work at this stage than the other basic cornerstones such as key centres and links between movements.

A recitative leading into the finale, as indicated in the plan, is a device that occurs in several of Beethoven's late works including the Sonata op. 110, the Quartet op. 132, and (perhaps most notably) the Ninth Symphony. This device would be highly unusual in a sonata from the 1790s, however, which suggests that he had ambitions for an innovative multi-movement structure in the projected sonata. Since multi-movement plans were evidently not a regular feature of his sketching process

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 456.

at this point, the plan may have been sketched with the particular purpose of visualising the somewhat unconventional design of the projected work.

3.4—Unfinished String Quartet in D

The next plan in Table 3.1 apparently outlines the last three movements of a work in D major (see Ex. 3.7). The plan, which is sketched on page 65 of the home-made sketchbook Landsberg 7, shows a minuet and trio in D major, a 9/8 movement in D minor, and a D major rondo movement ('presto'). Further sketches for the D minor movement are found on pages 58 and 64 of Landsberg 7, while an 'allegro' in D major, 2/4 on page 59 appears to be an alternative version of the rondo on page 65. Various comments relating to instrumentation, including 'viola vclo' on stave 9, and 's[econ]do vla' on a brief sketch on page 64 opposite that appears to relate to the rondo finale, indicate that this is a plan for a string quartet.

Ex. 3.7—Landsberg 7, p. 65



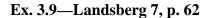




Pages 60-62 of Landsberg 7 are entirely filled with fugal sketches in common time (or alla breve), which may well relate to the first movement of the work outlined on page 65. Although no instrumentation is indicated, some of the music is in four parts which would be awkward to play on a keyboard but suitable for a string quartet (see Ex. 3.8). The main thematic material of this fugal section is based around octave leaps followed by semitone steps, and is evidently based in the key of D minor (see Ex. 3.9). The thematic material is fragmented and developed within these sketches, and several passages pass through remote keys (including F sharp major on page 60 staves 1-2). Thus these sketches have the character of a developmental section, and could well be intended for a fugato development of a first movement of a quartet in D major.









Although these sketches are found in the sketchbook Landsberg 7, whose main period of use was summer or autumn 1800-March 1801,¹⁵⁷ the melody of the D

¹⁵⁷ JTW, 101.

minor movement in the plan is strikingly similar to the slow movement of the F major quartet op. 18 no. 1, which was mainly composed in 1799 (see Ex. 3.10).¹⁵⁸

Ex. 3.10-Op. 18 no. 1/ii

Adagio affettuoso ed appassionato



It is unlikely that Beethoven would intend to compose another movement so similar to one from a recent work. There is in fact evidence that page 65 and some of the surrounding leaves had already been filled before being bound into the sketchbook. Page 65 is part of two complete gatherings (pages 57-72) that are almost entirely filled with sketches that have been unidentified in previous accounts of Landsberg 7.¹⁵⁹ These gatherings use paper ruled with 10 staves in piano score, which Johnson suggests was left over from the sonata autographs of 1798-1800, especially since a fragment of an apparently abandoned autograph score of op. 13 (published 1799) appears at the top of page 49, which uses the same paper type.¹⁶⁰ Since there is continuity between the unidentified sketches in the two gatherings comprising pages 57-72, but not with the sketches immediately before and after in Landsberg 7 (with the exception of page 57, which contains sketches for op. 26 directly following from page 56 opposite), it appears that these two gatherings were used together before being bound into the sketchbook. Presumably they were recycled because of the empty spaces on many of the pages (pages 68-72 are entirely blank, and page 57 was evidently filled after the sketchbook had been bound).

The plan on page 65 therefore probably predates the composition of op. 18 no. 1, and the Adagio affettuoso of the latter work recalls the material previously

¹⁵⁸ Beethoven made revisions to op. 18 no. 1 in 1800; see Sieghard Brandenburg, 'The First Version of Beethoven's G Major String Quartet, Op. 18 No. 2', *Music and Letters*, lviii (1977), 127-52; here, 142-3.

¹⁵⁹ Karl Lothar Mikulicz, ed., *Ein Notierungsbuch aus dem Besitze der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* [transcription of Landsberg 7], Leipzig, 1927, repr. Hildesheim and New York, 1972; JTW, 108.

¹⁶⁰ JTW, 103.

sketched in Landsberg 7 (rather than vice-versa). This leads to the possibility that the plan represents an early conception of the D major quartet op. 18 no. 3 (which was the first of the set to be composed).¹⁶¹ It is highly unlikely that Beethoven would have sketched another D major work for a set of quartets which already contains a quartet in that key. The plan in Landsberg 7 may therefore date from shortly before the main period of work on the D major quartet (i.e. mid-1798).

Although there is virtually no thematic material in these sketches that can be directly linked with the Quartet op. 18 no. 3, there are nevertheless some features in the Landsberg 7 sketches that point forward to the finished work, particularly in the fugato sketches on the pages directly preceding the plan on page 65. The fugato sketches suggest a first movement in common time or alla breve with a theme beginning with a leap of an octave; op. 18 no. 3 similarly opens with a theme in alla breve that begins with a large leap (though of a 7th rather than an octave; Ex. 3.11). The texture in some of the fugato sketches is also reminiscent of the first movement of op. 18 no. 3; the sketch shown in Ex. 3.8, for example, resembles similar passagework in the quartet in terms of having sequential quaver motion in thirds against minims and semibreves (see Ex. 3.12). Thus the sketches in Landsberg 7 are likely to represent some of Beethoven's earliest ideas for a work that eventually became op. 18 no. 3, which sheds new light on these hitherto unidentified sketches.

Ex. 3.11—Op. 18 no. 3/i, violin 1, bars 1-6



Ex. 3.12-Op. 18 no. 3/i, bars 178-81



¹⁶¹ The op. 18 quartets were composed in the following order: 3, 1, 2, 5, 4, 6. Revisions were made to nos. 1 and 2 in 1800 after the set had been completed. See Brandenburg, 'The First Version of Beethoven's G Major String Quartet, Op. 18 No. 2', 142-3.

3.5—Unfinished Work in E flat

The final multi-movement plan shown in Table 3.1 (on Bonn NE 100) is the only one of the four that seems to have been made within a bound sketchbook, rather than a loose leaf or gathering (Ex. 3.13). Bonn NE 100 is a fragment; the sketches shown in Ex. 3.13 fill what was originally the top left-hand corner of a larger leaf. Douglas Johnson outlines various pieces of evidence (including its rastrology and paper type) that suggest it was originally part of a leaf belonging to the Grasnick 1, perhaps as part of an entire gathering that was removed from the beginning of the sketchbook.¹⁶² Thus this plan stems from the around mid-1798, roughly the same time as early work on op. 18 no. 3.

As Johnson observes, the plan outlines four movements of a work in E flat.¹⁶³ If the order of the 'presto' and 'Men[ue]t' sketches are reversed, the movements can be seen to outline a standard four-movement symphonic structure. After a commontime first movement (presumably in sonata form) is a slow movement in the tonic minor ('adagio'), followed by a minuet and a 'presto' finale. Since no instrumentation is indicated, it is not clear what type of work is outlined. In some places the texture is suggestive of an ensemble rather than solo piano, particularly the presentation of the melody in octaves at the beginning of the minuet. The position of the minuet after the presto might also that this movement was added as an afterthought (otherwise it would probably have been positioned before the presto movement). This could suggest a genre where the minuet is an optional interior movement, such as a sonata or piano trio.

On the other hand, some of the material in the plan appears to share some similarities with the Septet op. 20, which is also in E flat major and which was composed the following year.¹⁶⁴ The rhythm and metre of the first movement in the plan resembles the septet's Allegro con brio first movement, while the melody of the second movement shares the characteristic turn figure that appears in the Adagio cantabile of the septet, which is similarly in compound time (Ex. 3.14).

¹⁶² JTW, 78-9. ¹⁶³ Ibid., 79.

¹⁶⁴ Kinsky-Halm, 49.

Ex. 3.13—Bonn NE 100



Ex. 3.14—Op. 20/ii, clarinet



Since the Septet has six movements, the plan may represent an incomplete version of Beethoven's conception of the work; further movements may have been sketched on the remainder of the leaf before it was cut to its present size. Thus this plan may represent some of Beethoven's earliest ideas for op. 20, which maps out ideas for the projected individual movements.

3.6—Further Multi-Movement Planning Amongst the Sketches Before 1800

Besides the four plans listed in Table 3.1, no further multi-movement plans have been identified amongst Beethoven's sketches before 1800. The sketches for the Quartets op. 18 in the sketchbooks Grasnick 1, Grasnick 2, and Summer 1800 include many places where preliminary ideas for later movements are sketched alongside advanced work on an earlier movement. In general, however, these tend to suggest only that Beethoven was thinking ahead to ideas for a later movement, rather than contemplating the outline of the work as a whole. Some of the op. 18 sketches in fact suggest that the large-scale structures of these works emerged in a somewhat haphazard way, with Beethoven sketching (and rejecting) numerous different ideas for later movements throughout the sketching process. For instance, the scherzo of op. 18 no. 2 was composed only after Beethoven had sketched a different scherzo between pages 35 and 44 of Grasnick 2.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, he also made extensive sketches for a different finale in 6/8 metre before rejecting this in favour of the 2/4 finale of the finished work.¹⁶⁶ The only clear example of multi-movement planning that can be associated with the Quartets op. 18 is therefore the prototype D major quartet that appears within Landsberg 7.

A number of sketches relating to the Sonata op. 10 no. 1 in C minor, however, indicate that Beethoven vacillated until a late stage of composition over whether to adopt a three- or a four-movement structure. Although the finished work has three movements, it was first pointed out by Nottebohm that during work on these movements Beethoven also sketched two different movements in C minor, 3/4 (WoO 52 and WoO 53, both published posthumously), that were evidently being considered as possible scherzo movements for the sonata, though ultimately rejected from that work.¹⁶⁷

Amongst the op. 10 sketches are several comments relating to minuet movements, which provide further evidence of Beethoven's vacillations over whether to include such a movement in op. 10 no. 1. On Kafka folio 102r (which also includes sketches for op. 10 no. 3), for instance, Beethoven wrote: 'Die Menuetten zu den Sonaten inskünftige nicht länger als von höch[stens] 16 bis 24 T[äkte]' ('the minuets in the sonatas in future not longer than at the most 16 to 24 bars').¹⁶⁸ This comment presumably refers to the opening section of the minuet (i.e.

¹⁶⁵ Brandenburg, 'Beethoven's G Major String Quartet, Op. 18 No. 2', 148-9.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 150.

¹⁶⁷ N II, 31-3.

¹⁶⁸ Beethoven used the terms 'scherzo' and 'minuet/menuetto' interchangeably in the sketches (the *Eroica* scherzo, for instance, appears under the title 'menuetto' in some of the early sketches; see Lockwood, 'Earliest', 472). The present study will therefore make no distinction between these terms when referring to the minuet/scherzo movement within an instrumental cycle. This study will also adopt the term 'scherzo' when referring to fast-tempo movements in ternary form that clearly function as the minuet or scherzo within instrumental cycles even where Beethoven did not use this title (e.g. the Molto vivace second movement of the Ninth Symphony).

until the first repeat sign). The comment may explain the presence of two different possible scherzo movements for op. 10 no. 1: Beethoven's first attempt (WoO 52) has an opening section of 32 bars, which he may have rejected when deciding that he wanted shorter minuets. The second attempt (WoO 53) has only an eight-bar opening.

A similar comment appears on Kafka folio 82r, where Beethoven wrote: 'Zu den neuen Sonaten ganz kurze Menuetten. Zu der aus dem c moll bleibt das presto auch'.¹⁶⁹ ('In the new sonatas very short minuets. In the one in C minor the presto also stays'). The reference to the C minor sonata indicates that he had decided to keep the 'presto', here presumably referring to his second, shorter attempt at a scherzo (though the published version of WoO 53 is in fact headed Allegretto). Since Beethoven refers to the sonatas as a group, it seems likely that he had already completed op. 10 no. 1 (including a scherzo movement) by this stage and was working on the later works in the set. Thus, when he ultimately abandoned the scherzo movement in op. 10 no. 1 he had vacillated several times not only over the substance of the movement itself, but also whether he wanted to include it in the sonata. The op. 10 set is the first instance in which Beethoven returned to the threemovement model in his piano sonatas since op. 2, and the sketches suggest that this was not a straightforward decision. His decision to remove the scherzo from op. 10 no. 1 indicates that issues relating to multi-movement structure were not only considered in the early stages of composition; important structural decisions could also be made at a late stage, or even as a subsequent revision.

Summary

Only four multi-movement plans have been identified from the period up until 1800 that clearly outline the intended sequence of movements of the work as a whole. Thus multi-movement planning appears not to have played a large part in Beethoven's sketching process in the early years. Different purposes are suggested by the four surviving plans. The plan for the unfinished symphony seems to have been made in response to a particular compositional problem, since he obviously struggled with his ideas for the later movements of this work. The plan for the unfinished sonata in E flat, however, indicates that he had ambitions for the work to have an unconventional or fantasia-like overall structure, which suggests that the

¹⁶⁹ N II, 32.

plan may have been sketched as a means of visualising the innovative aspects of the multi-movement design. The other two plans (for the quartet in D major and the work in E flat major) seem simply to outline preliminary ideas for the different movements of potential future projects, perhaps in order to determine whether the movements would fit together in a satisfactory whole.

Chapter 4—Multi-Movement Plans from 1800 to 1807

The period from 1800 to the completion of the Fifth Symphony towards the end of 1807 encompasses what is perhaps Beethoven's most important stylistic development: the onset of his 'second period', when he is considered to have first moved away from the legacy of Haydn and Mozart and forged a new style of his own.¹⁷⁰ Many of Beethoven's most paradigmatic 'heroic' works stem from this period, with the *Eroica* traditionally being considered as a watershed work that marks the inauguration of the so-called heroic style.¹⁷¹ Landmarks that are often considered to have influenced Beethoven's stylistic development at this time are the onset of his deafness, the personal and artistic crisis that came to a head in the so-called Heiligenstadt Testament of 6 October 1802,¹⁷² and his statement to his friend Krumpholz shortly before the publication of the Sonatas op. 31 that 'I am not satisfied with the work I have done so far. From now on I intend to take a new way.'¹⁷³

Whatever factors may have triggered the evolution in Beethoven's style, some of the most characteristic features of his second-period works relate to issues of large-scale form; many of his works after 1800 are longer, more integrated, and have more unconventional structures than their late 18th-century equivalents. It might therefore be expected that multi-movement planning played a bigger role in Beethoven's compositional process in his second period than in the period up to 1800. Indeed, many of the multi-movement plans that have been hitherto identified appear amongst Beethoven's sketches from this period, particularly, as Lockwood observed, from 1800 to 1804.¹⁷⁴ This chapter will trace Beethoven's use of

¹⁷⁰ For a summary of the concept of Beethoven's 'three periods', see Maynard Solomon, 'The Creative Periods of Beethoven', *Music Review*, xxxiv (1973), 30-8, and James Webster, 'The Concept of Beethoven's 'Early' Period in the Context of Periodizations in General', *Beethoven Forum*, iii (1994), 1-27.

¹⁷¹ See Webster, 'The Concept of Beethoven's "Early" Period', 2, and Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 86. ¹⁷² Translation given in Cooper, *Compendium*, 170.

¹⁷³ As reported by Carl Czerny: see Carl Czerny, *On the Proper Performance of all Beethoven's Works for the Piano*, ed. Paul Badura-Skoda, Vienna, 1970, 13, and Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, *Beethoven: Impressions of his Contemporaries*, New York, 1926, repr. 1967, 31. In Sonneck, *Impressions*, Czerny dates this comment to 1800, whereas in *Proper Performance* it is given as 1803.

¹⁷⁴ Lockwood, 'Earliest', 460-1 (see Chapter 1).

movement-plans from the Sonata op. 22 to the Fifth Symphony, and will investigate how they reflect the change in his compositional aims within this period.

Since only one or two isolated sketches have survived for the Septet, the First Symphony, and the Third Piano Concerto, it is now thought that a sketchbook from late 1799-early 1800, when these works were composed, has been lost.¹⁷⁵ Similarly, the sketchbook used by Beethoven from c. April to November 1801 (the Sauer Sketchbook) has not survived in its entirety; it was dismantled and its leaves sold off individually by the Viennese music dealer Ignaz Sauer shortly after Beethoven's death.¹⁷⁶ Only fragmentary sketches have survived for some of the multi-movement works that were presumably sketched in the Sauer Sketchbook, including the Serenade op. 25, the two Sonatas op. 27, and the Quintet op. 29.¹⁷⁷ It is therefore not possible to determine the multi-movement planning that may have been involved in the sketching of these works.

The surviving sketches immediately following the completion of the Quartets op. 18 in 1800 are mainly for keyboard-based works: the Piano Sonatas op. 22, the Violin Sonatas opp. 23 and 24, and the Piano Sonatas opp. 26, 27 no. 1 and 28. A number of sketches for these works have the appearance of a multi-movement plan; these are listed in Table 4.1. Strikingly, every multi-movement work from this period for which the majority of sketches have survived (with the exception of op. 24) involved a plan at an early stage in the compositional process.

Work	Location	Description
Piano Sonata	Summer 1800	Incipits of op. 22/ii and iv on f. 19r;
op. 22	Sketchbook, ff. 18v-	incipits of 2 movements of a D major
	19r	sonata on 18v possibly related
Violin Sonata	Summer 1800	Preliminary sketches for all three
op. 23	Sketchbook, ff. 19v-	movements
	20r	
Piano Sonata	Landsberg 7, p. 56	Plan for the whole work (three movements
op. 26		planned at this point)
Piano Sonata	Landsberg 7, pp. 137-	Sketches for i, ii and iv (three-movement

Table 4.1—Multi-movement plans amongst sketches for works from op. 22 to op. 28

¹⁷⁵ Douglas Johnson and Alan Tyson, 'Reconstructing Beethoven's Sketchbooks', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxv (1972), 137-56, 150.

¹⁷⁶ JTW, 113-4.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 116-8.

op. 27 no. 1	8	work planned at this point?)
Piano Sonata	Bonn HCB BSk 10/58	Sketches for all four movements
op. 28	(single leaf)	

4.1—Opp. 22, 23 and 24

The multi-movement plans for opp. 22, 23 and 24 warrant discussion together, as they appear within three folios that contain early sketches for the sonatas opp. 22, 23 and an idea for the first movement of an F major sonata that can be considered to be the first sketch for op. 24 (folios 18-20 of Richard Kramer's reconstruction of the home-made sketchbook Summer 1800).¹⁷⁸ The proximity of the early sketches for all three of these works, and the inscription 'Sonata 3^{za}' above the F major incipit, suggests that they may initially have been conceived as a set of three.¹⁷⁹ Ultimately, of course, opp. 23 and 24 became violin sonatas which would not be grouped with a piano sonata such as op. 22. Opp. 23 and 24 were, however, originally going to be published together under a single opus number, which supports the idea that Beethoven was planning a set of works when he made the preliminary sonata sketches in Summer 1800.¹⁸⁰

Op. 22

The earliest of the sonata sketches on folios 18-20 of Summer 1800 appear to be the incipits for two movements of a sonata in D major on folio 18v (Ex. 4.1). Although none of the Sonatas opp. 22, 23 and 24 are in D major (their keys are B flat, A minor and F respectively), the D major sketches foreshadow elements of op. 22. Kramer points out that the first D major sketch 'prefigures the quality of idea with which Op. 22 will open';¹⁸¹ the latter work similarly has a prominent rising figure in semiquavers beginning in bar 2. There is an even stronger resemblance, however, with a figure from the first movement of the Sonata op. 2 no. 3 in C major (Ex. 4.2); this resemblance perhaps led Beethoven to reject the theme shown in Ex. 4.1 in favour of a more original one. The 'ad[a]gio' sketched on folio 18v (Ex. 4.1b) similarly prefigures the slow movement of op. 22; both movements are in 9/8 metre and are in the subdominant key of the sonata.

¹⁷⁸ Richard Kramer, ed., Ludwig van Beethoven: A Sketchbook from the Summer of 1800, 2 vols., Bonn, 1996.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., Vol. 2 (Transcription and Commentary), 21-2.
¹⁸⁰ Kinsky-Halm, 57.

¹⁸¹ Kramer, *Summer 1800*, Vol. 2, 21.





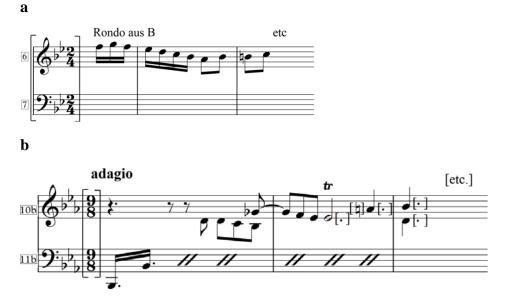
Ex. 4.2—Op. 2 no. 3/i, bars 13-15



Two incipits on the facing page in Kramer's reconstruction, folio 19r, relate unambiguously to the second and fourth movements of op. 22. A sketch beginning on stave 6 inscribed 'Rondo aus B' presents the rondo theme of op. 22/iv cut off with the word 'etc' (Ex. 4.3a), while an 'adagio' sketch beginning on staves 10-11 prefigures the key and metre of the 9/8, E flat Adagio con molt' espressione of op. 22 (Ex. 4.3b). These two incipits in fact draw on material initially sketched elsewhere. The rondo theme had initially been sketched as a possible finale to op. 18 no. 6,¹⁸² and was also later sketched in A major (possibly in connection with an early conception of the Sonata op. 23 in A minor).¹⁸³ The adagio movement shares the tempo and metre of the G major incipit sketched on the opposite page, folio 18v (Ex. 4.1b), and can be viewed as a reworking of the general character of that movement

¹⁸² Sketches for this theme in connection with op. 18 no. 6 are found in Summer 1800, ff. 9v and 11v.
¹⁸³ This theme appears in A major on f. 34v of Summer 1800 and on Paris Beethoven MS 71, f. 1r (given as an Appendix in Kramer's reconstruction of Summer 1800). For a discussion of these A major sketches, see Kramer, *Summer 1800*, Vol. 2, 21.

within the context of a B flat major sonata. Beethoven may, therefore, have sketched the incipits of these movements in order to visualise how they would fit together in a single sonata.



Ex. 4.3—Summer 1800, f. 19r

Classing the sketches on folios 18v-19r as a single plan for op. 22 is problematic given that a D major work is sketched on 18v and a B flat major work is sketched on 19r. While all of the sketches can be related to the finished version of op. 22, Beethoven may have originally intended two separate sonatas based on the material sketched on these pages. A further problem arises in that folios 18 and 19 of Summer 1800 may not have appeared in this sequence when he filled the sketchbook.¹⁸⁴ While these leaves undoubtedly belonged to the original sketchbook (as evidenced by the stitch holes and pencil annotations by the Artaria scribe Anton Gräffer), they are placed adjacent to each other in Kramer's reconstruction on the basis of their musical content only.¹⁸⁵ Both leaves contain sketches for the First Piano Concerto, op. 15 (which Kramer suggests were made in preparation for publication, since the autograph score was sent to the publisher Mollo around autumn 1800),¹⁸⁶ as well as the sonata incipits discussed above. However, two pages that would have directly preceded folio 19 may at some point have been torn out of

¹⁸⁴ Folio 18 is preserved only as a photocopy (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Archiv für Photogramme musikalischer Meisterhandschriften, PhA 230); the location of the original leaf is unknown. Folio 19 is the first of two leaves in the collection of J. W. R. Dreesmann (SV 359). ¹⁸⁵ Kramer, *Summer 1800*, Vol. 2, 14. See also JTW, 93-6.

¹⁸⁶ Kramer, Summer 1800, Vol. 2, 14. See also J

¹⁸⁶ Kramer, *Summer 1800*, Vol. 2, 18.

the sketchbook, as evidenced by inner stubs of paper; thus folios 18v and 19r may not have originally been facing each other.

Nevertheless, the preliminary sketches in D and B flat indicate that the sequence of movements in op. 22 emerged in part from the drawing-together of abandoned ideas from previous sketches: the two D major sketches on folio 18v, and the rondo finale originally intended for op. 18 no. 6. Significantly, there is no sign of a projected minuet movement amongst these preliminary sketches; in fact, no sketches survive for the third-movement Menuetto of op. 22. Beethoven's earliest conception of the sonata therefore seems to have been for a three-movement work (without a minuet movement), with the four-movement structure emerging at a later stage of composition.

Op. 23

The multi-movement plan for op. 23, which appears across folios 19-20 of Summer 1800, demonstrates a far clearer initial conception of the whole sonata than the disparate sketches that prefigure op. 22. Early drafts for the expositions of the first and second movements are found at the tops of folios 20r and 19v respectively, where the theme in each case is very close to that in the finished version (Ex. 4.4a-b). A brief 'presto' sketch in A minor on stave 10 of folio 20r is evidently an early (unused) idea for a finale (Ex. 4.4c).

Ex. 4.4—Summer 1800, ff. 19v-20r





The first- and second- movement sketches within the plan are sufficiently advanced to suggest that they had already been tried out at the piano. In any case, Beethoven appears to have briefly set this plan—and the preliminary sketches for op. 22—aside before beginning detailed work on the sonatas. The subsequent pages of Summer 1800 (at least in Kramer's reconstruction) involve revisions to the first and second of the op. 18 quartets, whereas further sketches for opp. 22 and 23 appear at the end of the sketchbook, and the main body of sketches for all three movements of op. 23 is found in Beethoven's next sketchbook, Landsberg 7. Thus one purpose of the multi-movement plans for opp. 22 and 23 may have been to preserve ideas for new sonatas that Beethoven intended to return to later, once the task of revising the op. 18 quartets was out of the way.

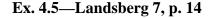
Op. 24

Although Beethoven appears not to have sketched a preliminary multi-movement plan for op. 24, aspects of the op. 24 sketches warrant discussion in terms of his compositional approach to multi-movement structure. Carl Schachter points out that within the main body of sketches for this sonata in Landsberg 7 'Sketches for all four movements occur in close proximity, sometimes cheek by jowl'.¹⁸⁷ For instance: sketches for the second and third movements appear on page 14, with the first movement sketched opposite on page 15; sketches for the second and third movements appear across pages 24-25, and the second and fourth movements are sketched across pages 178-9. Thus Beethoven seems to have worked on different

¹⁸⁷ Carl Schachter, 'The Sketches for the Sonata for Piano and Violin, Opus 24', *Beethoven Forum*, iii (1994), 107-25, 108.

movements simultaneously, rather than focusing primarily on one movement at a time (as he generally did throughout the composition of the Quartets op. 18).

However, the sonata sketches have a somewhat different appearance from the op. 18 sketches, and consequently seem to represent a different compositional approach. Whereas the quartet sketches largely consist of lengthy drafts, with multiple pages devoted to the sketching of individual movements, the op. 24 sketches (and indeed the later opp. 22 and 23 sketches) are more fragmentary.¹⁸⁸ The sonata sketches are also generally closer to the finished version of the work than the quartet sketches, and contain far fewer corrections. The very first sketches for the two interior movements of op. 24, for instance, are already fairly advanced, with at least the main thematic content already being established (Ex. 4.5). This marks a contrast with the op. 18 sketches, where numerous alternatives for the later movements (see Chapter 3.6).





¹⁸⁸ For instance, around 30 pages of Grasnick 2 are devoted to the Quartet op. 18 no. 2, where the 16stave manuscript paper is generally densely filled with sketches. For op. 24, on the other hand, there are only around 22 pages of sketches on primarily 8- and 10-stave manuscript paper. (For line-by-line surveys of Grasnick 2 and Landsberg 7 see Hans-Günter Klein, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Autographe und Abschrifte*, Berlin, 1975, 146-54 and 118-130).

Furthermore, the sonata sketches are often notated in piano figuration, including material for both the left and right hands (as in Ex. 4.5), whereas the quartet sketches often appear as single-line drafts. On the whole, the sonata sketches give the impression of being notations of material already tried out at the piano, whereas many of the quartet drafts (especially the lengthier and heavily corrected drafts) seem to have been worked out during the actual process of sketching. It is perhaps unsurprising that Beethoven would have worked on op. 24 at the piano to a greater extent than the op. 18 quartets, since keyboard-based material could be worked out through improvisation whereas quartet part-writing is perhaps better suited to working out on paper. In general, the op. 24 sketches indicate that he worked out the finer details of the different movements simultaneously, perhaps after having already established their general character and thematic material while improvising at the keyboard.

4.2—Opp. 26, 27 no. 1, and 28

As with op. 24, the surviving sketches for the Piano Sonatas op. 26, op. 27 no. 1 and op. 28 frequently give the impression of being notations of material already tried out at the keyboard. This applies to the multi-movement plans (as listed in Table 4.1) as well as to many of the more advanced sketches.

Op. 26

The multi-movement plan for op. 26, which has been well known to Beethoven scholars since Nottebohm,¹⁸⁹ includes the entire variation theme of the first movement in a form virtually identical to that in the finished version, as well as a brief draft of a finale notated in piano score that has the appearance of having already been tested under the fingers (abbreviated transcription given in Ex. 4.6). Although sketches for two A flat major movements appear on page 33, suggesting that Beethoven was already considering a new sonata in this key, the plan on page 56 is the earliest sketch that clearly relates to the finished version of op. 26. There are no preliminary sketches for the first movement elsewhere, and the finale sketches on

¹⁸⁹ N II, 237-8.

pages 21 and 54 probably post-date the multi-movement plan (despite appearing earlier in the sketchbook).¹⁹⁰



Ex. 4.6—Landsberg 7, p. 56

At this stage op. 26 was evidently planned as a three-movement work; the four-movement structure emerged later, with the first sketch for the scherzo appearing on page 158. With the exception of the scherzo, however, Beethoven seems to have had a relatively clear vision of the basic outline of the sonata from the outset. The first movement in the plan already shows an advanced conception of the theme and variations movement in the finished work, and the 'Marcia funebre' third movement is clearly foreshadowed by the comment 'Menuetto or some other character piece such as a march in A flat minor'. The finale of the finished work similarly has a theme in constant running semiquavers (though a different theme from the one shown in the plan was ultimately used). The scherzo movement appears

¹⁹⁰ Transcription in N II, 237. The sketch shows the beginning of the finale in a version very close to that of the finished work, and appears at the bottom of a page that has only a brief sketch for op. 24 on staves 1-3.

to be the only aspect of the sonata's plan that Beethoven vacillated over; it was evidently added at a later stage, and sketches on page 183 for the Bagatelle op. 33 no. 7 (an A flat major Presto in 3/4) suggest that this was being considered as an alternative scherzo for op. 26.

Since the interior movement is indicated in the plan only by a verbal notation ('Menuetto or some other character piece such as a march in A flat minor') Beethoven had perhaps not yet managed to devise any satisfactory musical material for this movement. At the top of the opposite page (page 57), however, Beethoven sketched the beginning of the A flat minor march that eventually became the third movement of the finished sonata. This sketch appears in different ink from the multi-movement plan on page 56, and therefore clearly stems from a later period of sketching. It also represents a fairly advanced conception of the movement, in which the chords fall under the hand in an almost identical way to the finished version; this suggests that it had previously been worked out to some degree at the keyboard. Thus the 'Marcia' sketch on page 57 may represent Beethoven's subsequent 'completion' of the plan on page 56 by filling out the missing material for the interior movement.

Later sketches for op. 26 in Landsberg 7 occasionally include more than one movement sketched within two facing pages. For instance, sketches for the second and fourth movements appear across pages 158-9, while sketches for the first and second movements appear on pages 180-1. As with op. 24, this suggests that Beethoven worked on the different movements simultaneously rather than focusing on one movement at a time. Furthermore, the fact that sketches for the different movements do not always appear in the correct sequence—sketches for the first movement continue to appear after those for the other three movements, for example—suggests that Beethoven may have first worked on all four movements together at the piano before working out certain details in the sketchbook.

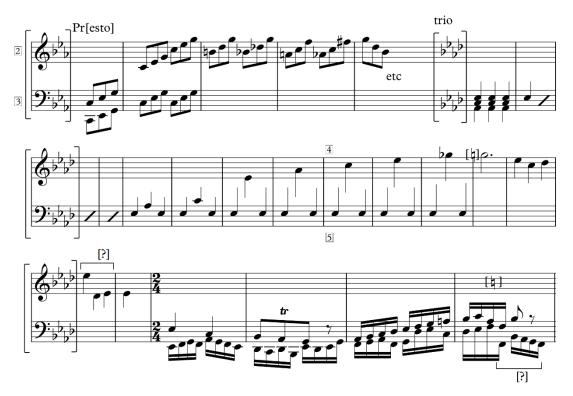
The preliminary multi-movement plan on Landsberg 7 page 56 indicates that the work's overall structure was a primary concern from the first stage of sketching this work. Beethoven clearly intended from the outset that the sonata was to have an unusual structure; the first movement was to be a theme and variations rather than a sonata allegro, and the interior movement was to be some sort of character piece. Thus Beethoven may have felt the need to visualise the work's overall structure from an early stage in order to ensure that the succession of movements would work well together. In a sonata such as op. 26 that consists of unconventional movement-types, it would take a greater degree of planning to ensure there was sufficient contrast between successive movements than in a sonata that follows the more standard pattern of fast-slow-fast (or fast-slow-minuet-fast).

Op. 27 no. 1

The majority of sketches for op. 27 no. 1 have not survived, since only three pages of sketches for this sonata are known (Landsberg 7 pages 103, 137 and 138). Although Douglas Johnson describes these as 'a few preliminary sketches', ¹⁹¹ the sketches on pages 137-8 seem to represent a relatively advanced conception of three of the four movements of op. 27 no. 1. The first movement is sketched on page 137, and page 138 includes a synopsis of the main material of the second and fourth movements (Ex. 4.7). Although the 'Pr[esto]' sketch on staves 2/3 begins in 6/8 and continues with a 'trio' notated in 3/4, it seems unlikely that Beethoven would have intended a change of metre within the same movement. The two metres in the sketch may suggest a vacillation over which one to adopt. The finished Allegro molto e vivace could plausibly be felt as being in 6/8, especially as the bars are grouped in twos, and Beethoven similarly vacillated between 3/4 and 6/8 in the sketches for the scherzo of the Trio op. 9 no. 3 and for the Bagatelle WoO 52.¹⁹² Despite a number of differences from the finished version (including the metre of the scherzo sketch), the sketches on pages 137-8 are sufficiently advanced to suggest that Beethoven had a relatively clear idea of the content of these three movements of op. 27 no. 1. Thus Beethoven may have worked fairly extensively at the keyboard before sketching the multi-movement plan shown in Ex. 4.7.

¹⁹¹ JTW, 117.

¹⁹² Johnson, *Fischhof*, Vol. 1, 330 and 422-4.



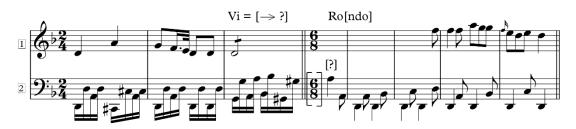
Curiously, as with op. 22 and op. 26, only three movements are represented in this early plan, suggesting that the four-movement structure emerged later in the compositional process. In this case, however, the slow movement (rather than the scherzo) is missing from the initial plan. Of course, a slow movement may have been planned at this point and was perhaps sketched on contemporaneous leaves that are now lost. However, the layout of the second- and fourth-movement sketches shown in Ex. 4.7 suggests that the finale was to follow directly after the scherzo. Thus the slow movement may have been inserted in between the scherzo and finale at a later stage. It is therefore possible that Beethoven originally planned a three-movement structure with the scherzo as the interior movement, which was the structure he ultimately adopted in the next sonata, op. 27 no. 2 (for which most sketches have not survived).

Op. 28

The multi-movement plan for op. 28 on the leaf Bonn HCB BSk 10/58 (formerly part of the Sauer Sketchbook)¹⁹³ resembles the plan for op. 27 no. 1 in that the first movement is sketched on the recto, while the sketches for the later movement are found on the verso. The second and fourth movements are represented by brief

¹⁹³ JTW, 120.

incipits at that top of folio 1v (Ex. 4.8). The third movement is represented only by a brief sketch for an unused 'trio' at the bottom of this page.



Ex. 4.8—Bonn HCB BSk 10/58, f. 1v

The second- and fourth-movement incipits are almost identical to the beginning of these movements in the finished version, which suggests that these movements had already been largely worked out by this stage. Their layout suggests that the finale is to follow directly after the slow movement, whereas in the finished work the scherzo is positioned between the slow movement and finale. Beethoven may in fact have been considering a three-movement work with no scherzo movement at the point when he made the sketches shown in Ex. 4.8. This suggestion is supported by the fact that the 'trio' sketch is inserted at the bottom of the page (following further sketches for the second and fourth movements), as though Beethoven decided only as an afterthought to add this movement. Furthermore, the fact that the material in the trio sketch was not adopted in the finished version indicates that he had a clear idea of the first three movements before establishing the material of the scherzo movement. As with opp. 22 and 26, therefore, Beethoven may have initially conceived a three-movement structure and added a scherzo at a later stage.

The juxtaposition of the opening of the second and fourth movements at the top of folio 1v draws attention to the emphasis on the octave range D to D in the left hand, particularly on the lower D which is repeatedly emphasised on strong beats (see Ex. 4.8). This same pitch appears at the very beginning of the first movement and acts as a tonic pedal throughout the opening phrase (Ex. 4.9). The only movement in the finished work where this pitch does not feature in the opening phrase is the scherzo, which begins with octave F sharps (Ex. 4.10).

Ex. 4.9—Op. 28/i



Ex. 4.10-Op. 28/iii



Thus the recurring pitches that unify the first, second and fourth movements is more immediately apparent in the plan shown in Ex. 4.8 than in the finished work, where the second and fourth movements are separated by the scherzo. This could support the suggestion that the scherzo was added as an afterthought, since it does not share the element that appears to unify the other movements of the sonata. Or perhaps the absence of this pitch at the beginning of the scherzo was meant humorously, since the very pitch is missing that not only established the key of the movement, but also links that movement with the rest of the work.

4.3—Opp. 30 and 31

As can be seen in Table 4.2, multi-movement plans have survived for most of the Violin Sonatas op. 30 and the Piano Sonatas op. 31; op. 30 no. 3 is the only work for which no such plan seems to have been sketched. The surviving plans for these works are all contained within the Kessler Sketchbook of winter 1801 to summer 1802.¹⁹⁴ Since Kessler is one of the sketchbooks that has been most studied,¹⁹⁵ many of the multi-movement plans are already known to the Beethoven literature, though

¹⁹⁴ JTW, 124-9.

¹⁹⁵ Nottebohm devoted an entire monograph to Kessler (N 1865), and it has also been published in facsimile and transcription Sieghard Brandenburg, ed., *Ludwig van Beethoven: Kesslerisches Skizzenbuch*, 2 vols., Bonn, 1976-8. The contents of Kessler are also discussed in detail in Richard Kramer, 'The Sketches for Beethoven's Violin Sonatas, Opus 30: History, Transcription, Analysis', Ph.D. diss., 3 vols., Princeton University, 1973.

their full significance to his conception of multi-movement structures in this period has not yet been assessed. Only one of the plans in Table 4.2 is for a work that did not reach completion (the A minor work sketched on folio 3r). As Barry Cooper points out, the A minor sketches represent some of the preliminary ideas for piano sonatas that appear intermittently throughout Kessler ahead of the sketching of the Piano Sonatas op. 31,¹⁹⁶ though they are the only such sketches that form a multimovement plan. There is nothing structurally unusual about the sequence of movements suggested by the A minor plan, and since there is no finished work with which to compare them they tell us very little besides that Beethoven was considering a sonata in this key, which was to presumably have three movements (with an interior movement in the tonic major).

Work	Location	Description
Sonata in A	Kessler f. 3r	Sketches for three movements ('Presto' in
minor		A minor, 'all[egr]o' in A minor, and a
(unfinished)		movement in A major)
Violin Sonata	Kessler f. 37v	Concept sketches for all three movements
op. 30 no. 1		
Violin Sonata	Kessler f. 51r	Sketches for three movements (three-
op. 30 no. 2		movement work planned at this point)
Piano Sonata	Kessler ff. 65v-66r	Preliminary sketches for all movements
op. 31 no. 2		(four-movement work planned at this
		point?)
Piano Sonata	Kessler ff. 92r-v	Sketches for all three movements
op. 31 no. 1		
Piano Sonata	Kessler f. 93r	Preliminary ideas for the first and last
op. 31 no. 3		movements of an E flat major sonata (here
		labelled 'Sonata II')

Table 4.2—Multi-movement plans amongst sketches for op. 30 and op. 31

Op. 30 no. 1

The first sketches for the Violin Sonatas op. 30 to appear in Kessler are represented by a multi-movement plan for op. 30 no. 1 at the top of folio 37v (Ex. 4.11). This is one of Beethoven's better-known multi-movement plans, having been partially transcribed by Nottebohm.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ Cooper, *Creative*, 178-9.
¹⁹⁷ N 1865, 19-20.



The first movement clearly foreshadows the beginning of the first movement of op. 30 no. 1, and this movement is further sketched across the rest of folios 37v-38r. The other two movements, however, are far removed from the finished version of the work. The slow movement is an F sharp minor Andante (whose theme was recycled almost 20 years later in the first movement of the Piano Sonata op. 111) rather than the D major Adagio molto espressivo of the finished sonata. This movement was to have a contrasting 6/8 interior section in D major before returning to the opening theme (indicated by the 'd. c.' ['da capo'] in the sketch).

It was first reported by Ferdinand Ries that the finale of the 'Kreutzer' Sonata op. 47 was originally composed as the finale to op. 30 no. 1, but was replaced with the Allegretto con variazioni of the finished work shortly before the publication of all three of the op. 30 sonatas (apparently because the other movement was 'too brilliant for this sonata').¹⁹⁸ In this plan, however, the finale incipit clearly shows a very different movement from the 6/8 Presto of op. 47. In terms of its rhythm and metre, the finale sketch is closer to the Allegretto con variazioni that eventually

¹⁹⁸ Wegeler-Ries, 72.

replaced the Presto, particularly in the quaver turn figure that features both in the sketch and in the finished movement (Ex. 4.12). As Richard Kramer points out, this suggests that in replacing the finale at a late stage Beethoven actually returned to his initial conception of the finale's main theme (though not its rondo structure, opting instead for theme and variations).¹⁹⁹ Beethoven's first plan for op. 30 no. 1 therefore seem to have played an important role in shaping the sonata, even after he had diverged from this by composing a very different finale from the one initially sketched.

Ex. 4.12—Op. 30 no. 1/iii, bars 1-4



In his discussion of the multi-movement plan on folio 37v, Kramer suggests that the division of the theme of the first movement at bar three, where the F sharp and A sound simultaneously, foreshadows a number of events based around these pitches in the first and second movements, as well as in the original Presto finale. He furthermore points out that the second-movement incipit was significantly in F sharp minor, and that its first two pitches outline the interval F sharp to A.²⁰⁰ Thus a basic inter-movement motivic relationship can be observed in the initial multi-movement plan, which suggests that this integrative aspect was important to Beethoven's initial conception of the work. A similar case was observed in op. 28, where the similarities in the left hand accompanying figure in the second and fourth movements was clearly apparent in the multi-movement plan.

The curious structure of the slow movement in the multi-movement plan has not been discussed in previous accounts of the sketches for op. 30 no. 1. This is perhaps partially due to the fact that Nottebohm's original transcription included

¹⁹⁹ Kramer, 'The Sketches for Beethoven's Violin Sonatas, Opus 30', Vol. 2, 497. Nottebohm pointed out that Beethoven initially had a rondo form in mind when he first began to sketch the replacement finale for op. 30 no. 1 (on Kessler f. 62v), and that the variations form emerged later (N 1865, 31-2). ²⁰⁰ Kramer, 'The Sketches for Beethoven's Violin Sonatas, Opus 30', Vol. 2, 254-7.

only the opening bars of the Andante sketch and omitted the contrasting D major section.²⁰¹ The D major section similarly begins with the pitches F sharp and A, which supports Kramer's suggestion that these pitches were important to Beethoven's conception of the sonata as a whole even from an early stage. The idea of a strongly contrasting interior section (which also features in the slow movement of the Quartet op. 18 no. 2) was evidently abandoned immediately, however. All subsequent slow-movement sketches, the first of which appear on folio 44r, indicate a movement in D major, 2/4 metre (as in the finished version) with no hint of a contrasting 6/8 section. The slow movement sketched in the plan on folio 37v therefore seems to represent a fleeting idea, unlike the first- and last- movement sketches which can be shown to relate to the finished version of the work. The fact that Beethoven later recycled its theme in the Piano Sonata op. 111 suggests that it was rejected here not on the basis of a perceived weakness in thematic material; instead he may simply have felt that the F sharp minor tonality and the projected unusual structure were too strongly contrasting with the character of the outer movements (just as the Presto finale was judged to be too brilliant for the finished work).

The next ten pages after the op. 30 no. 1 sketches on folios 37v-38r are mostly devoted to an unfinished concertante for violin, cello, piano and orchestra, and sketches for op. 30 no. 1 resume on folio 43v. When he sketched the plan at the top of folio 37v, therefore, Beethoven may have been deliberately recording ideas that he intended to return to later, perhaps once he had fully committed to the idea of composing a set of sonatas rather than a concertante or some other work. A similar purpose was suggested in the case of the preliminary sketches for the Sonatas opp. 22 and 23, as outlined above.

Op. 30 no. 2

On folio 51r, in the midst of work on the original finale for op. 30 no. 1, Beethoven sketched a plan for the next sonata in the set (explicitly labelled 'Sonata 2da'). The plan includes a relatively lengthy sketch for the first movement from the beginning of staves 3-4, a similarly lengthy sketch for the finale ('l'ultimo pezzo') from the beginning of staves 9-10, and a 12-bar sketch for a 'Menuett[o] con Var[iazioni]' on staves 15-16 (Ex. 4.13).

²⁰¹ N 1865, 19.



The plan covers most of the page (the sketches for the original finale of op. 30 no. 1 on staves 1-2 and 5-6 evidently having been notated in empty spaces after the page had been filled), and is therefore much longer and more detailed than any of his previous multi-movement plans. This suggests a high degree of assuredness in Beethoven's conception of the new sonata, which is further reflected in the fact that the first and last movements in the plan already clearly point forward to the finished version of the work. The last-movement sketch shows the beginning of the movement almost exactly as it appears in the score, and the first-movement sketch diverges from the finished version only from the fifth bar.

Only the projected 'Menuett[o] con Var[iazioni]', evidently intended as an interior slow movement in the relative major, did not make its way into op. 30 no. 2. Nottebohm's transcription of the op. 30 no. 2 sketches on this page omits this

movement, perhaps because he did not recognise it as belonging with the sonata.²⁰² Kramer suggests that the Menuetto 'may have been part of the plan', though he misreads 'con Var' as 'con Vln', and consequently interprets this as a projected minuet movement rather than an interior variation movement.²⁰³ In the context of the other op. 30 no. 2 sketches on folio 51r, however, the Menuetto sketch clearly indicates an interior variations movement in a projected three-movement work (since an additional minuet could hardly be placed next to a menuetto slow movement). The sonata's four-movement structure seemingly emerged at a later stage, as had also been the case with opp. 22, 26 and 28 (and perhaps also op. 27 no. 1).

The multi-movement plan for op. 30 no. 2 shares a number of features in common with previous plans. Firstly, as with opp. 26 and 30 no. 1, the plan was evidently the first sketch that Beethoven notated for the work (no sketches for a C minor sonata appear before folio 51r in Kessler). Secondly, it was apparently sketched as a means of preserving ideas to be returned to later, as the next sketches for the sonata appear six pages later on folio 54v after further work on the original finale of op. 30 no. 1. Thirdly, as with the previous sonata, it shows that Beethoven's first ideas for the outer movements found their way into the finished version, whereas his first idea for the slow movement was markedly different from the final product. This suggests that by this point Beethoven had established a fairly systematic approach to beginning a new multi-movement work.

Op. 31 nos. 1 and 3

Beethoven turned his full attention to composing the Sonatas op. 31 after receiving a commission of Nägeli of Zurich for three new piano sonatas, which caused him to interrupt work on the variations opp. 34 and 35 in order to compose the sonata set.²⁰⁴ In the early stages of work on op. 31 no. 1, he outlined not only a multi-movement plan for this sonata, but also preliminary ideas for the projected second sonata in the set; the first sketches for op. 31 no. 1 appear on Kessler folios 91v-92v, and ideas for a projected 'Sonata II' appear on folio 93r. From the initial period of work on the first sonata in the set he was therefore already thinking ahead to the later sonatas, as

²⁰² N 1865, 22-3.

²⁰³ Kramer, 'The Sketches for Beethoven's Violin Sonatas, Opus 30', Vol. 2, 335, and Vol. 3, Appendix IV, transcription of f. 51r. ²⁰⁴ See JTW, 126-8.

he had similarly done in the preliminary sketches for opp. 22, 23 and 24 (as outlined above).

The first sketch for op. 31 no. 1 appears on folio 91v, with a plan for the last two movements appearing at the top of folio 92v (Ex. 4.14). The plan shows an early version of the C major Adagio grazioso of the finished sonata, followed by a 'polonai[se]' that was evidently an early (unused) idea for a finale.



Ex. 4.14—Kessler, f. 92v

Beethoven's conception of the finale was therefore the least advanced of the three movements in the preliminary compositional stage, in contrast with plans for some of his previous works (including opp. 26 and op. 30 no. 1) where his conception of the first and last movements were more advanced than that of the interior movements. Although the finale of the finished work is a Rondo in alla breve metre, and thus very different in character from the projected 'polonai[se]', the basic three-movement fast-slow-fast design of op. 31 no. 1 is represented in this initial plan. There is no indication amongst the sketches that Beethoven ever intended a four-movement structure with the inclusion of a minuet.

Opposite this plan, on folio 93r, Beethoven sketched preliminary ideas for two movements (presumably the first and last) of a sonata in E flat major, here planned as 'Sonata II' (Ex. 4.15). Although this plan only outlines two movements, the fact that the outer pillars of the work (i.e. the first and last movements) are represented suggests that Beethoven was thinking in terms of the work as a whole, in an equivalent manner to plans that outline each of the projected movements. This latter plan can be considered as a forerunner of op. 31 no. 3 in E flat major; although its first movement bears no resemblance to the 3/4 Allegro of the finished version, the Presto sketch foreshadows the 6/8 Presto con fuoco finale in terms of its fast left-hand figuration (Ex. 4.16); the sketch furthermore continues with falling melodic contours in the right hand which similarly point to the finished version.









After a further brief sketch for a projected 'Sonata 2' in E flat on folio 95v (outlining different material in 3/4), Beethoven temporarily abandoned this idea in favour of the D minor sonata op. 31 no. 2. The main body of surviving sketches for op. 31 no. 3 appears at the beginning Beethoven's next sketchbook, the Wielhorsky (pages 1-11). The Wielhorsky sketches evidently resume work on the sonata that was begun elsewhere, since the very first two pages contain sketches that show fairly advanced versions of the first, second and last movements. Significantly, no sketches survive for the Menuetto third movement of op. 31 no. 3, either in Wielhorsky or elsewhere. This suggests that Beethoven did not work on this movement at the same time that he worked on the other three, which might indicate that it was added later, once the sonata was otherwise complete. Op. 31 no. 3 may, therefore, be another work in which the four-movement symphonic structure emerged at a late compositional stage.

Op. 31 no. 2

The multi-movement plan for op. 31 no. 2 (the 'Tempest') in fact appears before any of the other op. 31 sketches in the Kessler Sketchbook (see Table 4.2). The plan appears across folios 65v-66r, in the midst of work on the C minor Violin Sonata op. 30 no. 2. As Barry Cooper has demonstrated, however, there are reasons to believe that the op. 31 no. 2 sketches on folios 65v-66r were added in the available empty space on these pages after the sketchbook had otherwise been filled.²⁰⁵ Not least is the fact that Beethoven labelled the work 'Sonate 2da' (see Ex. 4.17). As outlined above, Beethoven sketched two ideas for a Sonata no. 2 in E flat on Kessler folios 93r and 95v around the time he began work on op. 31 no. 1; a different sketch in A minor on folio 95r is also labelled 'Sonat[e] 2da'. As Cooper points out, it is unlikely that Beethoven would have sketched ideas for a different 'Sonata no. 2' when he had already sketched a 'much more promising second sonata'; thus the op. 31 no. 2 sketches on folios 65v-66r probably postdate the preliminary ideas for a the sonatas in A minor and E flat at the end of Kessler.²⁰⁶

Almost all of folio 65v (staves 3-16) is devoted to a telescoped draft of the first movement of op. 31 no. 2 (see Ex. 4.17). This draft is well known to the literature, having been transcribed in full by Nottebohm.²⁰⁷

 ²⁰⁵ Barry Cooper, 'The Origins of Beethoven's D Minor Sonata Op. 31 No. 2', *Music and Letters*, lxii (1981), 261-80; here, 261-3.
 ²⁰⁶ Ibid., 262.

²⁰⁷ N 1865, 27-8.





Several sketches on folio 66r opposite (not transcribed by Nottebohm) probably outline preliminary ideas for later movements. Three different sketches in B flat major are perhaps ideas for a slow movement, though these are all very different in character. The first is a 3/4 movement beginning on staves 3-4 with the comment 'alla menuetto' (Ex. 4.18a). The second is a 2-bar incipit for a 3/4 'adagio' on staves 8-9 (Ex. 4.18b). The third is a 6/8 sketch on staves 12-13 that has no tempo indication (Ex. 4.18c), but that begins with a similar melodic outline to the Adagio of the finished work (see Ex. 4.19). A D major sketch in 3/4 metre on staves 6-7 may represent an idea for a minuet movement (Ex. 4.18d). Thus at this point Beethoven may have conceived a four-movement structure, rather than three movements as appears in the finished work. As Cooper points out, the resulting four-movement structure would resemble that of the C minor Violin Sonata op. 30 no. 2, with the slow movement in the submediant (B flat) and the minuet in the tonic major.²⁰⁸ A 2/4 sketch in D minor on staves 10-11 is presumably intended as a possible finale (Ex. 4.18e), though this bears no resemblance to the 3/8 perpetuum mobile finale of op. 31 no. 2.





²⁰⁸ Cooper, Creative, 194.













It is striking how many slow-movement ideas Beethoven sketched on folio 66r (if indeed this was their intended purpose). The essential elements of the finished movement (the B flat major tonality, the 3/4 metre, and the melodic contour) are present within all three B flat major sketches (Ex. 4.18a-c), though no single sketch has all of these elements combined. Thus he seems to have struggled with

formulating his conception of the interior movement, although he evidently had some idea of the type of movement he wanted. As observed above, in the first sketches for op. 30 nos. 1 and 2 the interior movement is the least advanced of the projected movements. With op. 31 no. 2 he was similarly less successful in pinning down the material of the slow movement (compared with the outer movements), as evidenced by the different attempts sketched on Kessler 66r.

4.4—Opp. 47 and 53

Whereas multi-movement plans survive for the majority of the multi-movement sonatas from op. 22 to op. 31, no such plans have been identified for the 'Kreutzer' Sonata op. 47, the 'Waldstein' Sonata op. 53, or the Sonata op. 54. In the case of op. 54, however, the surviving sketches (on 11 pages of Mendelssohn 15) all stem from a late period of composition, since they mainly relate to the finale.²⁰⁹ Thus the crucial preliminary stages, in which such a plan may have been sketched, have not survived.

The 'Kreutzer' and 'Waldstein', by contrast, are relatively well represented in the sketches, which suggests that multi-movement plans did not feature in the sketching process for either of these works.²¹⁰ However, both of these works involved somewhat unusual compositional procedures which have a bearing on their multi-movement structure, and thus warrant brief consideration here.

As is well known, op. 47 incorporates the rejected original finale to op. 30 no. 1.²¹¹ When Beethoven was required at short notice to compose a new violin sonata to perform with the visiting virtuoso George Bridgetower, he therefore already had a finale at his disposal and needed only to compose the first two movements.²¹² As Suhnne Ahn has demonstrated, Beethoven worked on both movements simultaneously in the Wielhorsky Sketchbook, rather than composing one movement at a time.²¹³ A similar procedure was observed in the Sonata op. 24, as outlined above. As with op. 24, therefore, the preliminary work on these

²⁰⁹ For a detailed inventory of Mendelssohn 15 see Klein, Autographe und Abschriften, 231-77.

²¹⁰ For an account of the sketches for op. 47, see Suhnne Ahn, 'Genre, Style, and Compositional Procedure in Beethoven's "Kreutzer" Sonata, Opus 47', Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1997. For an account of the 'Waldstein' sketches see Barry Cooper, 'The Evolution of the First Movement of Beethoven's "Waldstein" Sonata', *Music and Letters*, Iviii (1977), 170-91.
²¹¹ Wegeler-Ries, 72.

²¹² See Thayer-Forbes, 332.

²¹³ Ahn, 'Genre, Style, and Compositional Procedure in Beethoven's "Kreutzer" Sonata, Opus 47', 61-4.

movements may have been done primarily at the keyboard, with the task of working out the finer details of the movements reserved for the sketching process. This compositional approach, in combination with the fact that the finale was already in place before work on the sonata began, no doubt partially explains why op. 47 is one of the few works composed since 1800 for which Beethoven did not sketch a preliminary outline of the projected movements.

The unusual circumstances in the composition of op. 53 relate to Beethoven's revisions at a late stage in the compositional process. As reported by Ries, in its original version the sonata had the F major 'Andante favori' (WoO 57) as its slow movement.²¹⁴ The decision to remove the Andante and replace it with the short Introduzione that now precedes the finale was apparently made on the grounds that the sonata was too long, as had first been suggested to Beethoven by a friend. The 'Waldstein' therefore represents one of the rare cases when Beethoven made subsequent revisions to a finished work that significantly alter its multi-movement structure; the only other previous cases are op. 10 no. 1 (where the scherzo was removed) and the Violin Sonata op. 30 no. 1 (where the Rondo finale was replaced with a lighter variations movement).

As Barry Cooper has indicated, a further movement that was perhaps originally intended for the 'Waldstein' was the short bagatelle in C, WoO 56, which has the ternary form and triple metre suggestive of a minuet movement.²¹⁵ This bagatelle was sketched in Landsberg 6 immediately after the finale of the 'Waldstein', but before work on the Introduzione that replaced the Andante interior movement. WoO 56 may therefore have been intended as an extra movement in the sonata. Since Beethoven usually composed movements in the order they appear in the finished work, however,²¹⁶ the fact that the bagatelle was sketched after the finale suggests that it was an afterthought in his original conception of the sonata. Scherzo movements in a number of previous sonatas similarly appear to have been absent from his initial conception of the work, as observed (for instance) in the multi-movement plans for op. 28 and op. 30 no. 1. The fact that Beethoven sketched the movement but ultimately did not include it in the 'Waldstein' furthermore

²¹⁴ Wegeler-Ries, 89.

²¹⁵ Cooper, *Beethoven*, 146.

²¹⁶ See Cooper, *Creative*, 114.

suggests the same vacillation over the scherzo movement that was observed in the sketches for the Sonatas op. 10 (see Chapter 1).

4.5—The Eroica and Fifth Symphonies

Although the *Eroica* and Fifth Symphonies were completed in 1803 and 1807 respectively, preliminary multi-movement plans were made for each symphony in advance of the main period of sketching (see Table 4.3). The first plan for the Fifth Symphony was in fact made not long after the *Eroica* was completed, appearing in the same sketchbook that contains the majority of the *Eroica* sketches (Landsberg 6).

Work	Location	Description
Eroica	Wielhorsky Sketchbook, pp. 44-	Sketches for the first three
Symphony	5	movements
Fifth Symphony	Landsberg 6, p. 158	Sketches for three
		movements (first movement,
		slow movement and finale)
	Autograph 19e, ff. 32v and 33r	Sketches for three
		movements (first movement,
		slow movement and finale)

Table 4.3—Multi-movement plans for the *Eroica* and Fifth Symphonies

Eroica Symphony

The *Eroica* multi-movement plan appears across two inner pages of the Wielhorsky Sketchbook of 1802-3,²¹⁷ and predates the main period of work on the symphony by around six months.²¹⁸ The plan shows the first three movements of an instrumental work in E flat major (see Ex. 4.20). Staves 3-5 show sketches for triadic material in common time followed by material in 3/4, which appears to indicate a slow introduction followed by a triple-time allegro.²¹⁹ From stave 6 there is a sketch for a slow movement headed 'adagio C dur', and on stave 9 there are sketches for a 'Menuetto serioso' in E flat. Staves 10-14, and much of page 45 opposite, are filled with further sketches for the main portion of the first movement in 3/4.

²¹⁷ Facsimile edition published as Natan L'vovich Fishman, ed., *Kniga eskizov Betkhovena za 1802-1803 gody, issledovanie i rasshifrovka* [Wielhorsky Sketchbook], 3 vols., Moscow, 1962.

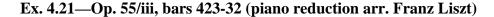
²¹⁸ For the dating of Landsberg 6 see Rachel Wade, 'Beethoven's *Eroica* Sketchbook', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, xxiv (1977), 254-89; here, 265-73.

²¹⁹ See Lockwood, 'Earliest', 465.

Ex. 4.20—Wielhorsky, p. 44²²⁰



While the Adagio and the Menuetto sketches on page 44 have little obvious connection with the *Eroica* Symphony, some of the first-movement sketches clearly point forward to the finished work. For instance, the linear ascent from D flat to D which appears at the very end of the slow introduction to the first movement (Ex. 4.20a) also appears prominently in in various parts of the symphony, most notably in the opening phrase of the first movement (where the D flat is respelled as C sharp), and in the coda of the Scherzo (see Ex. 4.21).²²¹





The Wielhorsky multi-movement plan appears directly after the last sketches for the Prometheus Variations, op. 35. It was therefore first proposed by Natan

²²⁰ Transcribed in full in Fishman, Kniga eskizov Betkhovena za 1802-1803 gody, Vol. 1, 52.

²²¹ See Lockwood, 'Earliest', 465-6.

Fishman that at this stage Beethoven had already decided that the symphony's finale was to be based on the Prometheus Variations.²²² This would account for the lack of a finale sketch within the plan for the symphony, since there would be no need to notate an idea for the finale if the main content of that movement had already been decided. As has already been outlined, Beethoven usually sketched movements in the order that they appear in the finished work (page 104 above); the *Eroica* therefore stands as a special case in that the finale was apparently established before any of the other movements had taken shape. Only two previous works are known to have been similarly composed 'backwards' from the finale: namely, the First Symphony (whose finale incorporates material from his earlier unfinished symphony in C, as outlined in Chapter 2) and the 'Kreutzer' Sonata.

The *Eroica* is a unique case, however, in that its finale is not based on previously rejected material (as is the case in the First Symphony and the 'Kreutzer' Sonata), but rather incorporates material that was already familiar to the Viennese musical public.²²³ The main theme of the *Eroica* finale appeared in print in 1801 in the finale to Beethoven's popular ballet *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*. This same theme was then published the following year as no. 7 of his Twelve Contrendanses, WoO 14. Then, in 1803, it appeared as the basis of the Prometheus Variations, op. 35. By the time of the symphony's semi-public premiere at the Lobkowitz palace in 1804, the theme was well known to Viennese audience, having been used in virtually every aspect of Viennese musical life: as stage music (in *Prometheus*), as social dance music (in WoO 14), and as domestic music (in the op. 35 piano variations, a genre usually aimed for enjoyment in the home or at social gatherings rather than public performance),²²⁴ finally appearing as serious concert music in the *Eroica* Symphony. No other theme by Beethoven appeared across such a wide range of musical genres.

²²² See Natan Fishman, 'Das Skizzenbuch Beethovens aus den Jahren 1802-1803 aus dem Familienarchiv Wielhorski und die ersten Skizzen zur "Eroica", in: Carl Dahlhaus, Hans Joachim Marx, Magda Marx-Weber, and Günther Massenkeil, eds., *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn 1970*, Kassel, 1971, pp. 104-7.

²²³ In only one of Beethoven's other multi-movement works (the Clarinet Trio op. 11) is the finale based on a popular pre-existing theme (in this case the aria 'Pria ch'io l'impegno' from Joseph Weigl's opera *L'amor marinaro*). According to Czerny, however, he only adopted this theme at the request of the clarinettist for whom the trio was written, and later regretted the decision. (See Czerny, *On the Proper Performance of all Beethoven's Works for the Piano*, 9).

²²⁴ For a discussion of the role of keyboard music in Viennese amateur music-making see Robert Nosow, 'Beethoven's Popular Keyboard Variations', *Music and Letters*, lxxviii (1997), 56-76.

This extraordinary aspect of the *Eroica* Symphony achieves even greater significance in light of the fact that Beethoven intended from the outset to have a finale based on op. 35 (as implied by the Wielhorsky multi-movement plan). This aspect of the symphony's composition has informed several different interpretations of the work as a whole. In light of its compositional process, Constantin Floros interprets the symphony as having a programmatic content that relates to *Die* Geschöpfe des Prometheus, where the finale theme first originated. His interpretation places the figure of Prometheus as the 'hero', with the symphony's four movements representing his life, death, rebirth, and final ascent to the company of the gods.²²⁵ The funeral-march second movement, however, is not part of the Wielhorsky plan, which suggests that a specific long-range programme of this type was not part of Beethoven's initial conception of the symphony. Nevertheless, the finale theme would have had clear associations for Viennese audiences, particularly from its use in *Prometheus*. The fact that this theme apparently formed part of Beethoven's first conception of the work as a whole supports the suggestion that he intended from the outset for the symphony to have an extra layer of meaning through the incorporation of a familiar melody.

Other scholars have drawn on the Wielhorsky plan as evidence that the themes of the earlier movements were derived from the material of the finale. Lockwood, for instance, demonstrates that the first-movement theme shown in the multi-movement plan is derived from the *Basso del Tema* (see Ex. 4.22a-b).

Ex. 4.22a—Wielhorsky, p. 44



Ex. 4.22b—Basso del Tema (op. 35)



He then shows that a second first-movement draft on page 44 of the Wielhorsky Sketchbook is a variant of the *Basso del Tema* derivation (Ex. 4.23):

²²⁵ Constantin Floros, *Beethovens Eroica und Prometheus Musik*, Wilhelmshaven, 1978.

Ex. 4.23—Wielhorsky, p. 44



The finished version of the theme, Lockwood observes, retains the 'the absolute boundaries of 5 above and 5 below 1', and furthermore introduces the members of the tonic triad in order (as does the sketch shown in Ex. 4.23). He interprets Beethoven's process of sketching the first-movement theme as follows:

At this primitive stage of projecting the idea of the symphony, Beethoven temporarily considered the possibility of an exact motivic correspondence between the opening of the first-movement Allegro and the *Basso del Tema*; he then sought to elaborate and disguise this relationship for the sake of obtaining a thematic idea both more complex and more susceptible to elaboration.²²⁶

Fishman similarly observes organic relations in the Wielhorsky plan. He suggests that the sketches in the plan essentially verify analyses, such as those by Richard Wagner and Alexander Serov, that show the symphony to be unified by thematic relationships between the earlier movements and the theme of the finale; in Fishman's words, 'Wagner and Serov brilliantly ascertained Beethoven's thought process [even] without having known of the sketches'.²²⁷ Peter Schleuning, on the other hand, cites the apparent derivation of the *Eroica*'s first movement from the *Basso del Tema* as evidence that Beethoven's compositional process here resembles Schoenberg's principle of 'developing variation', whereby a *Grundgestalt* undergoes various transformations to form the basis of further material.²²⁸

These interpretations by Lockwood, Fishman and Schleuning identify a process in Beethoven's sketches that resembles the 'thematic process' Reti observes in the finished works (see Chapter 1). The fact that the former scholars draw on the sketches might suggest that their analyses of thematic relations in the *Eroica* reflect the composer's working methods to a greater extent than Reti's, which generally draw from the finished works alone. Ultimately, however, observations of organic relations in the sketches require a degree of subjective interpretation that is also

²²⁶ Lockwood, 'Earliest', 469.

²²⁷ 'Wagner und Serow stellten genial den Gang der Gedanken Beethovens fest, ohne seine Skizzen gekannt zu haben', Fishman, 'Das Skizzenbuch Beethovens aus den Jahren 1802-1803', 105.
²²⁸ Peter Schleuning, 'Beethoven in alter Deutung: Der "neue Weg" mit der "Sinfonia eroica", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, xliv (1987), 165-94; here, 167. Schleuning does not reference Lockwood's

necessary in analyses of finished works. Only one case has thus far been observed in which Beethoven explicitly alludes to thematic relationships within a multimovement plan: namely, the plan for an unfinished piano sonata in E flat, where he describes an introduction to the finale that incorporates an 'idea or motif' from the finale (Chapter 3, Ex. 3.6). Thus, while interpretations of organic relations in the Wielhorsky multi-movement plan can inform 'thematicist' analyses of the *Eroica*, they do not remove the subjective element involved in similar interpretations of the finished works.

Fifth Symphony

The sketches generally held to be the earliest that can be associated with the Fifth Symphony relate to the first movement and the scherzo, and appear on pages 155-7 of the desk sketchbook Landsberg 6 (Ex. 4.24a-b).²²⁹ These appear amongst early sketches for *Leonore*, which date from early 1804 (when Beethoven began his first period of work on the opera), around three years before he began detailed work on the Fifth Symphony in 1807.²³⁰

A number of features of these sketches suggest, however, that they may stem from a later date than the surrounding *Leonore* sketches. Lewis Lockwood has already raised the possibility that at least the draft of the first movement may have been added to the book after it had otherwise been filled, especially given the fact that the handwriting and ink colour is different from the surrounding sketches in Landsberg 6.²³¹ The sketches for both the first and third movements appear across the lower staves of the three pages in Landsberg 6, which are otherwise mostly filled with sketches for the first three numbers of *Leonore*;²³² they may, therefore, have been sketched in the available empty space after the pages had otherwise been filled. Lockwood suggests that this interpretation of the Fifth Symphony sketches must

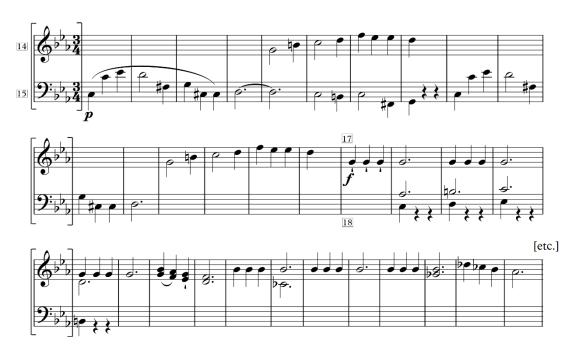
²²⁹ These sketches were first transcribed by Nottebohm in N 1880, 70-1. They have since been referred to in numerous accounts of the Fifth Symphony's genesis, including: Elliot Forbes, ed., *Beethoven: Symphony No. 5 in C Minor* (Norton Critical Score), London, 1971; Alan Tyson, 'The Problems of Beethoven's "First" *Leonore* Overture', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xviii (1975), 292-334; Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life*, 218.

²³⁰ The main composition of the Fifth Symphony took place in the Sketchbook of 1807-08 (now dispersed); JTW, 160-5.

²³¹ Lockwood, 'The State of Sketch Research', 10. At the time of writing, the critical edition of Landsberg 6 (*Beethoven's "Eroica" Sketchbook: A Critical Edition*, Urbana, 2013), with a transcription and commentary by Lewis Lockwood and Alan Gosman, is not yet available.

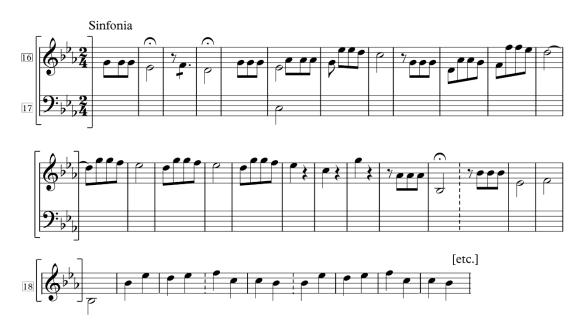
²³² For a detailed inventory of Landsberg 6 see Wade, 'Beethoven's Eroica Sketchbook', 277-89.

remain conjectural 'until we find a way to date entries, handwriting styles, and ink more precisely'.²³³









Yet the musical content of the sketches themselves clearly implies that they are not preliminary ideas, but rather date from a more advanced period of

²³³ Lockwood, 'The State of Sketch Research', 10.

composition. Firstly, the scherzo movement is the first to appear (on pages 155-6), with the first movement appearing only afterwards on page 157. Since it was not Beethoven's normal practice to begin sketching later movements of a work before sketching ideas for the first movement, this suggests that he had previously worked on at least the first movement elsewhere by the time he made the scherzo sketches on pages 155-6. It is possible that he initially added the first movement sketches on page 157 before sketching the scherzo on pages 155-6, which supports the notion that the visual appearance of the Fifth Symphony sketches on these pages does not reflect the order in which they were written. Furthermore, the Fifth Symphony sketches are much more advanced than is normally the case with Beethoven's preliminary ideas for a new work. They represent lengthy drafts rather than concept sketches, and even the later material of each movement is at a relatively advanced stage: the first movement already includes an advanced conception of the second subject in E flat major, and the scherzo sketch continues with an early version of the trio in C major. This combination of factors suggests that the Fifth Symphony sketches on pages 155-7 do not necessarily date from the main period of use of this part of the sketchbook, but rather that they were added at a later stage, perhaps after Beethoven had made preliminary sketches for the symphony elsewhere.

Several such preliminary sketches in fact appear on page 158 of Landsberg 6, directly following the draft of the first movement that was sketched along the bottom of page 157. A two-bar concept sketch for an 'andante' in F major, 3/4 at the top of the page seems to be unrelated to the other sketches on the page, but from stave 3 the page is otherwise filled with sketches for what appear to be three movements of a work in C minor (Ex. 4.25).



A sketch in C minor, 2/4 beginning on stave 3 may be intended as an opening introductory section (as suggested by the pause on the dominant) leading to the main part of the movement that begins *forte* (Ex. 4.25a.). This sketch includes a repeated-quaver motif that foreshadows that in the first movement of the Fifth Symphony, though its thematic material is otherwise different; this may, therefore, be a preliminary idea for the symphony's first movement. Sketches for this movement continue on staves 6-7, and are immediately followed by an 'adagio' in common time, apparently in C major (Ex. 4.25b), which is presumably an idea for a slow

movement. This is followed by a 'leztes Stück presto' in 6/8, which continues with the comment 'could ultimately end with a march' (Ex. 4.25c). Although no key signature is indicated for this movement, a key of C minor is more likely to be intended than C major in order to create sufficient contrast with the key of the interior movement. A C minor key signature would also place the continuation of the theme in the fifth bar in the relative major of E flat, resulting in a more likely key combination than would result with a C major key signature (i.e. C major/E minor). Although the 6/8 sketch is nothing like the finale of the Fifth Symphony, the ensuing verbal comment regarding a march foreshadows the march-like Allegro movement that ends the finished work.

The projected work has a homotonal scheme, with each movement in C minor or C major. Although the finished work has a different tonal scheme (with a slow movement in A flat major), the importance of the C minor/C major opposition in the finished work, especially in the transition from the scherzo to the finale, can be seen to be foreshadowed in the homotonal element of this plan. No scherzo movement is indicated at this point, which may suggest that the projected work was to be in three movements, though it seems unlikely that he would have departed from the strict four-movement symphonic convention which had been observed in all of his 'symphonic' works (i.e. symphonies, quartets and quintets) until this point. Thus he may simply have left the scherzo out of the plan, perhaps because he had not yet thought of a possible theme.

Nottebohm described the sketches on page 158 as 'unused sketches for a composition with strings and wind', though he did not link them with the Fifth Symphony sketches on the previous three pages.²³⁴ Alan Tyson, on the other hand, views them as a continuation of the symphony sketches on pages 155-7, indicating that page 158 includes 'further sketches for the first movement'.²³⁵ Given the rudimentary nature of the sketch shown in Ex. 4.25a , however, it is evident that this must predate the more advanced first-movement draft on page 157. Unlike the symphony sketches on pages 155-7, the sketches on page 158 appear to have been made when the page was otherwise empty (rather than being sketched in empty space below sketches for *Leonore*). Thus they are likely to stem from the period of main use of this part of the sketchbook (i.e. early 1804). Beethoven's earliest

²³⁴ 'nicht benutzte Entwürfe zu einer Composition für Streich- und Blasinstrumente', N 1880, 71.

²³⁵ Tyson, 'The Problems of Beethoven's "First" *Leonore* Overture', 330.

sketches for the Fifth Symphony therefore seem most likely to be represented by the multi-movement plan on page 158, rather than the first- and third-movement drafts on pages 155-7.

The presence of a preliminary multi-movement plan on page 158 could explain the appearance of Fifth Symphony sketches stemming from a later date on the three previous pages. During a later stage of work on the Fifth Symphony, Beethoven may well have turned back to the initial ideas he had sketched in Landsberg 6, and then used the empty space on preceding pages to make further sketches. The absence of a scherzo sketch in the plan on page 158 may also explain why only the first and third movements were sketched on pages 155-7; as well as notating a more advanced version of the first movement, Beethoven may have sketched a scherzo movement to fill this gap in his multi-movement plan.

A second preliminary plan for the Fifth Symphony that also substantially predates the main period of sketching appears across two facing pages within a group of four leaves that now form folios 32-5 of the miscellany Autograph 19e.²³⁶ These folios also contain sketches for *Christus am Oelberge*, which Beethoven revised in early 1804 for a performance on 27 March of that year;²³⁷ the Fifth Symphony sketches in Autograph 19e probably, therefore, also stem from the first few months of 1804. It is also possible, however, that the revisions to *Christus* were made after the March performance, though in any case they must have been made before August 26, 1804, when Beethoven wrote to Breitkopf & Härtel describing the revisions.²³⁸ Thus the Fifth Symphony plan in Autograph 19e could also stem from as late as the summer of 1804.

The Autograph 19e plan is well known to the literature as it was first transcribed by Nottebohm and has also been analysed in detail by William Meredith (in a study that traces the composition of the symphony's slow movement);²³⁹ only a partial transcription will be provided here. The first movement is represented by a draft that already contains the essence of the opening motif (Ex. 4.26a), though it continues with a different, unused idea for a second subject. This draft is immediately followed by an 'andante quasi Menuett' in A flat major that clearly

²³⁶ See JTW, 89-91 and 149.

²³⁷ See Tyson, 'The 1803 Version of Beethoven's *Christus am Oelberge*', 559-60.
²³⁸ Ibid., 560.

²³⁹ N I, 10-11 and 14-15; William Meredith, 'Forming the New from the Old: Beethoven's Use of Variation in the Fifth Symphony', in: William Kinderman, ed., *Beethoven's Compositional Process*, Lincoln, NE, 1991, pp. 131-59; here, 105-12.

foreshadows the Andante con moto of the finished work (Ex. 4.26b). Finally Beethoven sketched an 'ultimo pezzo' (Ex. 4.26c) with a 6/8 time signature (as also appeared in the preliminary finale idea on Landsberg 6 page 158).



Ex. 4.26—Autograph 19e, ff. 32v-33r

117

2

[f. 33r]

corni



Meredith interprets the plan as evidence 'that Beethoven had some sort of three-movement symphony in mind', with the interior movement functioning as both a slow movement and a minuet.²⁴⁰ This does appear to be corroborated by the fact that only three movements were outlined in the earlier plan (Landsberg 6 page 158). Yet both plans indicate very different slow movements, which suggests that Beethoven's conception of the interior part of the symphony was not yet established; the absence of a scherzo sketch should not, therefore, be taken as firm evidence that he was not planning to include such a movement. It is curious to observe, however, that the 'ultimo pezzo' sketch somewhat resembles the beginning of the scherzo of the finished work, particularly in terms of dynamic level and register (as Meredith points out).²⁴¹ The scherzo movement may therefore have evolved from the preliminary finale idea in the Autograph 19e plan.

Although the interior movement in the Autograph 19e plan is now in A flat major (rather than C major as before), the C minor/C major opposition is still evident in the work's outline. In the 'quasi trio' section of the 'andante quasi Menuett', the theme is presented first in A flat major, and then in C major. This key structure was retained in the finished version of the movement (although the 'quasi trio' section in fact became the second theme in a formal scheme based on alternating variations). The key of C major also appears in the continuation of the first-movement sketch in the context of a projected second subject, although as Meredith points out, this was apparently only to be a 'temporary goal' within the exposition.²⁴² Yet the appearance in the plan of C major within both the first and second movements suggests that

²⁴⁰ Meredith, 'Forming the New from the Old', 108.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 109.

²⁴² Ibid., 110.

Beethoven already envisaged this as a prominent secondary key within the symphony as a whole.

The sketches in the Autograph 19e plan appear to represent a state of development in between the preliminary plan on Landsberg 6 page 158 and the firstand third-movement drafts on Landsberg 6 pages 155-7. The first and second movement are evidently more advanced in Autograph 19e than on Landsberg 6 page 158, where Beethoven sketched a completely different idea for a slow movement and had not yet established the falling-third motif of the opening movement. Yet the first movement in Autograph 19e does not yet include the E flat major second subject, and is thus seemingly less advanced than the draft on Landsberg 6 page 157. Furthermore, the scherzo draft on Landsberg 6 pages 155-6 clearly represents a more advanced stage of composition than either of the preliminary multi-movement plans, where no scherzo movement is indicated. Thus it is most likely that the plan on Landsberg 6 page 158 was sketched first, followed by the plan in Autograph 19e, with the first- and third-movement sketches on pages 155-7 of Landsberg 6 sketched subsequently to both multi-movement plans.

There is no clear evidence to suggest when the sketches on pages 155-7 may have been added to Landsberg 6, but it cannot be ruled out that they were added after the sketchbook had otherwise been filled. It is even possible that they were sketched as late as 1807, more than three years later, when Beethoven began detailed work on the symphony. Since many of the Fifth Symphony sketches from the main period of composition (1807-8) have been lost (including most sketches for the first movement), it is unfortunately not possible to compare the stage of development represented on page 155-7 of Landsberg 6 with the early stages of detailed work in 1807. Yet it is clear that the chronology of the Fifth Symphony sketches in Landsberg 6, previously believed to stem from early 1804, now needs to be reconsidered.

Besides the sketches thus far described (those in Landsberg 6 and the Autograph 19e plan) no further sketches survive for the symphony that predate the main period of work on 1807. Meredith therefore proposes that the principal purpose of the Autograph 19e plan may have been 'to preserve Beethoven's initial thoughts in the manner of an extended mnemonic device', allowing him to continue where he

left off at a future date.²⁴³ The Landsberg 6 sketches strongly support Meredith's claim, since they indicate that Beethoven first sketched a preliminary multimovement plan on page 158, and subsequently turned back to this point in the sketchbook and made further sketches in the empty spaces on previous pages. As observed above, the preliminary plan for the *Eroica* similarly pre-dated the main period of composition of that work (though by a period of months rather than years). The *Eroica* plan may also have been sketched as a 'mnemonic device' at a point when Beethoven was about to shelve the work in favour of other projects.

Beethoven's two preliminary plans for the Fifth Symphony, which were made more than three years before he began sketching the individual movements in detail, suggest a number of things about his earliest conception of the work as a whole. As outlined above, C major appears as a prominent secondary key area in both plans, though in different places in each case; in the Landsberg 6 plan it is the key of the projected slow movement, whereas in the Autograph 19e plans it is a secondary key within the first and second movements. The opposition between C minor and C major therefore seems to have been important to Beethoven's earliest conception of the work, even before he had established the thematic material of the individual movements. Curiously, however, neither plan explicitly outlines the use of C major in the finale. Thus the narrative trajectory of in which C major emphatically triumphs over C minor, which has been recognised as an essential aspect of the work's overall unity in writers from E. T. A. Hoffmann to the present day, seems not to have been integral to Beethoven's initial plans for the work, but rather emerged later in the compositional process.²⁴⁴

Another equally essential aspect of the finished work—namely the celebrated 'fate' motif of the first movement, is present only in a primitive version in the earliest plan on Landsberg 6 page 158 (see Ex. 4.25 above). While the main rhythmic element is present (short-short-short-long), the motif does not yet include the falling third (though this was evidently established by the time Beethoven sketched the second preliminary plan in Autograph 19e). This suggests that this motif emerged primarily from a rhythmic, rather than a melodic concept. It is also significant to observe that there is little hint in the preliminary plans that this motif was to feature in the later movements, which is another aspect of the finished work

²⁴³ Ibid., 106-8.

²⁴⁴ See especially Broyles, *The Emergence and Evolution of Beethoven's Heroic Style*, 186-7.

generally viewed as contributing to its overall unity.²⁴⁵ The theme sketched as the 'quasi trio' in the Autograph 19e plan (Ex. 4.26 above), which became the second theme of the Andante movement, does feature a short-short-short-long rhythm as well as an interval of a third (in this case a rising rather than a falling third), which could suggest a connection with the first-movement motif. In the finished version of the symphony, however, this is one of the less conspicuous appearances of the motif. The more obvious motivic resemblances that have been recognised in analyses of the work, especially the repeated-note horn theme near the start of the scherzo movement, are not present in the multi-movement plan.

All in all, Beethoven's earliest conception of the Fifth Symphony (as represented by the two 1804 plans) reflects little of the multi-movement unity often recognised in the finished work beyond the importance of C major as a secondary key. There is also no suggestion of any 'heroic' trajectory in which the entire work culminates in a triumphant C major conclusion. These features evidently emerged during advanced work on the symphony, as did the idea of the idea of a transition passage linking the scherzo to the finale and the subsequent cyclical return of the scherzo. Although, as William Kinderman writes, 'In no other work did Beethoven achieve such a synthesis of successive movements', ²⁴⁶ the composer's earliest and most basic conception of the work indicates little beyond the basic compositional concerns of establishing the main thematic and tonal material of the different movements of the work.

4.6—Op. 57, op. 59, and the Violin Concerto

After sketching his initial plans for the Fifth Symphony in 1804, Beethoven composed numerous other multi-movement works before beginning detailed work on the symphony in 1807. Of these other works, multi-movement plans have been identified for the Sonata op. 57 ('Appassionata'), the 'Razumovsky' Quartets op. 59 nos. 2 and 3, and the Violin Concerto (see Table 4.4).

²⁴⁵ This aspect of the finished work was again first pointed out by E. T. A. Hoffmann, who pointed to the repeated-note horn theme in the scherzo movement as being 'just as simple, and ... just as moving as the theme of the first Allegro' (quoted in Forbes, *Beethoven: Symphony No. 5*, 160).

²⁴⁶ Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 126.

Work	Location	Description
Sonata op. 57	Mendelssohn 15, pp.	Preliminary sketches for last two
	190-1	movements
Quartet op. 59	Vienna A 36, p. 5	Preliminary ideas for first three
no. 2		movements
Quartet op. 59	Vienna A 36, p. 1	Preliminary ideas for two interior
no. 3		movements alongside advanced sketches
		for the first movement
	Vienna A 36, p. 14	Concept sketches for last two movements
Violin Concerto	Landsberg 10, p. 64	Preliminary sketches for all three
op. 61		movements

 Table 4.4—Multi-movement plans for works stemming from 1804-7

No multi-movement plans appear to have survived for the other instrumental works composed in this period: the Triple Concerto, the Fourth Piano Concerto, the Quartet op. 59 no. 1 and the Fourth Symphony. Most of the sketches for these works (with the exception of the Triple Concerto) have not survived, however;²⁴⁷ thus plans may have been sketched for these works which are now lost. Similarly, sketches for the Cello Sonata op. 69, composed in the winter of 1807-08, have not been preserved in their entirety, and are confined to leaves and bifolios that are now dispersed;²⁴⁸ if a multi-movement plan was sketched for this work, it has not survived.

Op. 57

As with several of the multi-movement plans discussed above, the plan for the last two movements of the Sonata op. 57 appears across two facing pages of the sketchbook Mendelssohn 15. On page 190, staves 1-4, there are several sketches for a variations movement in D flat major that clearly represent some of Beethoven's earliest ideas for the Andante con moto interior movement of the finished work (Ex. 4.27a). The fragmentary nature of these sketches makes it difficult to tell whether the theme of this movement had already been decided by this stage, though it seems likely that he had at least extemporised possible themes at the piano before committing sketches for individual variations onto paper. On page 191, staves 1-2, Beethoven sketched his earliest idea for the 'Ultimo pezzo' (Ex. 4.27b). As Barry

²⁴⁷ A sketchbook from the years 1806-7 containing sketches for a number of works including the Fourth Piano Concerto and the Fourth Symphony may have been lost (JTW, 161).

²⁴⁸ Surviving sketches mainly appear on leaves that originally belonged to the Sketchbook of 1807-08 (JTW, 160-5).

Cooper writes, the finale theme was 'only in a very primitive state',²⁴⁹ though it does foreshadow the final version in several ways, such as its 2/4 metre, predominant semiquaver motion, and overall descent in register.²⁵⁰ Although the rest of pages 190-1 are filled with further sketches for both movements, these two preliminary sketches appear to have been made with lighter ink than the other sketches on these pages and were therefore presumably sketched at the same time (when the pages were otherwise empty). This visual aspect of the sketches is not discussed by Frohlich in her detailed account of the sketches for op. 57, and consequently she does not connect the sketches at the top of pages 190-1 as belonging to a single plan.²⁵¹

Ex. 4.27a—Mendelssohn 15, p. 190



Ex. 4.27b—Mendelssohn 15, p. 191



The multi-movement plan on pages 190-1 was made at an early stage in the composition of op. 57, since the first sketches for the first movement appear only on parts of pages 182 and 187-9 (beneath sketches for *Leonore* on each of these

²⁴⁹ Cooper, *Beethoven*, 153.

²⁵⁰ See Martha Frohlich, *Beethoven's Appassionata Sonata*, Oxford, 1991, 121.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 116-23.

pages).²⁵² As Nottebohm points out, the main theme of the first movement, complete with its immediate restatement in the Neapolitan, appears in the very first sketches on page 182,²⁵³ as does the four-note motif (Ex. 4.28) that features prominently in the finished movement. The advanced nature of Beethoven's conception of the movement at this point suggests that some of the material had already been worked out at the piano by this point, as seems to have been the case in the earliest sketches for some of the keyboard works composed in the years after 1800, as outlined above. Many commentators have pointed to the prominence of Neapolitan relationships throughout the finished sonata, particularly in the interplay between the pitches F to G flat and C to D flat.²⁵⁴ It is therefore significant that Beethoven planned from the outset to have the interior movement in D flat major (the Neapolitan of the dominant); this suggests that long-range tonal connections based on Neapolitan relationships were present from his initial conception of the work as a whole.

Ex. 4.28-Op. 57/i, bar 10



Another long-range relationship is suggested by the fact that all three movements in Beethoven's initial conception of the sonata feature a melodic descent to a very low register. The first movement's opening upbeat figure, for instance, descends to a low F (before quickly rising two octaves in the course of two bars). Descending figures also feature in some of the figurations sketched for the second movement (Ex. 4.27a) and, most prominently, in the 'Ultimo pezzo' sketch. As with the plan for op. 28 (Ex. 4.8 above), these similarities are made more apparent by the juxtaposition of the sketches for the second and third movements in the plan across pages 190-1. This suggests that Beethoven wished to establish the idea of extreme changes in register as a common thread in all three movements even before he had begun extensive work on the later movements.

The sonata's finale theme, unlike that of the first movement, was not found immediately. However, from stave 4 of page 191, directly beneath the initial 'Ultimo pezzo' belonging to the multi-movement plan, the finale theme appears in its

²⁵² Transcribed in ibid., 148-57.

²⁵³ N II, 437.

²⁵⁴ See, for instance, Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 99-100, and Cooper, *Beethoven*, 156.

finished form (along with sketches for the connecting passage from the slow movement).²⁵⁵ An anecdote from Ries relates how this theme was conceived. He reports that during a walk with Beethoven near his lodgings in Döbling:

The entire way he had hummed, or sometimes even howled, to himself—up and down, up and down, without singing any definite notes. When I asked what this was, he replied: 'A theme for the last Allegro of the sonata has occurred to me' (in F minor, Opus 57). When we entered the room he rushed to the piano without taking off his hat. I took a seat in the corner and he soon forgot all about me. He stormed on for at least an hour with the new finale of this sonata, which is so beautiful. Finally he got up, was surprised to see me still there, and said: 'I cannot give you a lesson today. I still have work to do'.²⁵⁶

This event would appear to have taken place between the two periods of composition represented on page 191 of Mendelssohn 15 (i.e. the 'Ultimo pezzo' sketched in the multi-movement plan and the advanced sketches beneath this). Although the theme eventually used is reported to have occurred to Beethoven in a moment of inspiration while out walking, the theme is really a refinement of the initial sketch, which already contains some of the essential features of the finished version (as outlined above). Thus Beethoven's imagination appears to have been guided by the 'primitive' finale idea sketched within the multi-movement plan for the sonata. In combination with Ries's anecdote, the op. 57 multi-movement plan therefore provides a rare insight into the composer's creative process. As Cooper writes, 'Often his best ideas came when he was on long walks, usually solitary ones', and in his later years he carried pocket sketchbooks in which he could note things down as they occurred to him.²⁵⁷ In the case of op. 57, however, the theme that occurred to him while out walking built upon the idea he had already sketched at his desk. His preliminary multi-movement plan for the sonata may therefore have acted as a springboard for further creative thoughts.

Op. 59 no. 2

Since the majority of sketches for op. 59 no. 1 have been lost, as have many of those for nos. 2 and 3, the sources provide a very incomplete picture of the compositional process behind the three 'Razumovsky' Quartets.²⁵⁸ Yet the surviving sketches

²⁵⁵ Transcription in Frohlich, Appassionata, 160-1.

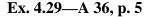
²⁵⁶ Wegeler-Ries, 87.

²⁵⁷ Cooper, *Beethoven*, 154.

²⁵⁸ See Tyson, 'The "Razumovsky" Quartets', 120.

include multi-movement plans for the Quartets op. 59 nos. 2 and 3 (see Table 4.4 above). Unlike most of Beethoven's previous multi-movement plans, however, these relate only to parts of the work rather than to the sequence of movements in the work as a whole.

The plan for the first three movements of op. 59 no. 2 appears directly below advanced sketches for the finale of the previous quartet on page 5 of the miscellany Vienna A 36. The three movements actually appear in reverse order on the page: a 'tempo di Minuet' in E major is sketched on stave 7, an 'adagio' sketch on staves 11-13 shows an early version of the Molto adagio second movement of the finished work, and an early version of the first-movement theme is sketched on stave 14 (Ex 4.29).²⁵⁹





The three movements in the plan were not necessarily notated in the order in which they appear. The inscription 'quartett E moll' appears before the 'adagio' sketch on stave 11, yet it seems unlikely that Beethoven would label this sketch in particular as belonging to the E minor quartet after having already notated ideas for a minuet movement on the staves above. It is therefore probable that Beethoven sketched the first two movements first, and subsequently added the minuet sketch in

²⁵⁹ Nottebohm presents these sketches according to the sequence of movements in the finished work, and his transcriptions therefore give no indication of their positioning on the page (N II, 83-4).

the remaining space on the page; this suggestion is further supported by the fact that the minuet begins in the middle of a stave already containing sketches for the finale of the previous quartet (op. 59 no. 1). The plan may therefore have emerged in two stages, beginning with the ideas for the first and second movements, and the minuet being added later.

As with the finale of op. 57, the theme of the slow movement of op. 59 no. 2 is reported to have occurred to Beethoven during a moment of inspiration, in this case 'while looking at the stars and thinking of the harmony of the spheres'.²⁶⁰ Since this theme was apparently the first to be sketched in the plan on page 5 it may be that this sudden inspiration was the starting-point for his conception of the quartet as a whole. This suggestion is supported by the fact that the adagio in the multi-movement plan is closer to the finished version than the other two movements (the E major minuet being abandoned altogether in favour of the present E minor Allegretto).

Significantly, there is no sign here of the 'Theme russe' which appears in the trio of the scherzo movement in the finished work. When he commissioned the op. 59 Quartets, Count Razumovsky had apparently asked Beethoven to make use of Russian folksongs, which suggests that the use of a folksong was already part of his conception of the E minor quartet when he sketched the plan on A 36 page 5. The first 'Razumovsky' Quartet indeed features a Russian melody in its finale, where it forms the basis of a variations movement. Besides op. 59 no. 1, Beethoven had previously incorporated a well-known melody into a multi-movement work on only two other occasions (the Clarinet Trio op. 11 and the *Eroica*),²⁶¹ where the melody similarly appears in a variations finale. Thus a variations finale was evidently the most typical place for a pre-existing theme to be used.

This leads to the possibility that Beethoven originally intended to use a 'Theme russe' in the finale of op. 59 no. 2, as he had in op. 59 no. 1. The multimovement plan on A 36 page 5 shown no sign of either the 'Theme russe' that appears in the finished work, nor of an idea for a finale; thus he may have already decided to adopt 'Theme russe' as the basis of the finale, and perhaps felt no need to notate this in the plan. The *Eroica* plan, as outlined above, omits any indication for

²⁶⁰ Reported by Czerny in *Proper Performance*, 9.

²⁶¹ The Clarinet Trio adopts the popular melody 'Pria ch'io l'impegno' from Weigl's *L'amor marinaro*, whereas the *Eroica* uses the theme previously used in *Prometheus* and op. 35.

the finale, even though the use of the *Prometheus* theme was apparently part of Beethoven's initial conception of the symphony; a similar case may therefore be represented by the preliminary plan for op. 59 no. 2. If a 'Theme russe' finale was indeed part of the plan outlined on A 36 page 5, Beethoven evidently changed his mind about the finale after he had already established the basic material of the first and second movements, which are already present in the initial plan. He could perhaps have decided that the theme he had chosen, the national melody 'Glory be to God in Heaven,'²⁶² did not have sufficient potential to form the basis of an entire movement, or perhaps he decided against another variations finale after having already used one in the previous quartet. By this point, the only remaining place to use the theme would be in the scherzo movement, where it indeed features in the finished work.

Such an account can only be speculated upon, as there is no direct evidence indicating that a 'Theme russe' finale was part of Beethoven's conception of the quartet as outlined on A 36 page 5. Yet the *Eroica* plan suggests a precedent for a pre-existing melody being destined for the finale from the outset (where the melody itself is not explicitly indicated in the plan). Lewis Lockwood has furthermore speculated that the Russian melody used in op. 59 no. 1 was 'the conceptual point of departure for the work as a whole',²⁶³ even without reference to the early sketches (which have not survived); thus it is equally plausible that op. 59 no. 2 similarly had a Russian melody as its point of departure. The multi-movement plan for op. 59 no. 2 therefore offers a possible insight into the development of this work that is not immediately apparent from the finished score.

Op. 59 no. 3

The two multi-movement plans for the Quartet op. 59 no. 3 both relate to only two movements at a time. They appear to represent a somewhat new approach to multi-movement planning, since they were evidently made at different stages during the composition of the work, rather than only in the preliminary stage (as is the case in the majority of his plans before this point).

²⁶² The original melodies used in op. 59 nos. 1 and 2 are given in N II, 90.

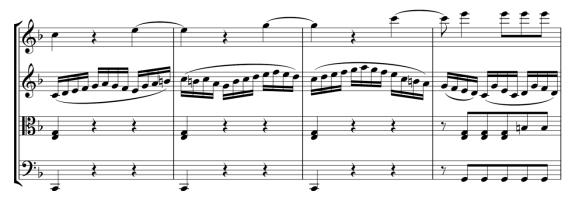
²⁶³ Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life*, 318. See also: Lewis Lockwood, 'Process Versus Limits: A View of the Quartet in F Major, Opus 59 No. 1', in: *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process*, Cambridge, MA, 1992, pp. 198-208; here, 199.

The ideas for the two interior movements on page 1 of A 36 were evidently sketched during detailed work on the first movement, since this is drafted extensively on the same page (staves 8-16). The minuet movement of the finished quartet recycles a theme that had already been sketched in connection with a projected A minor piano sonata in the Kessler sketchbook (see Table 4.2 above). This theme here appears in a two-bar incipit on stave 3, followed by the word 'etc'. An E flat major sketch on stave 1 appears to be an early idea for the trio, clearly foreshadowing the running semiquaver accompaniment figuration beginning in the sixth bar of the present trio (Ex. 4.30a-b).

Ex. 4.30a—A 36, p. 1



Ex. 4.30b-Op. 59 no. 3/iii, trio, bars 6-9



Two very different ideas are sketched for the second movement, however. It was first pointed out by Nottebohm that the theme of the second movement of the Seventh Symphony was originally sketched in connection with op. 59 no. 3;²⁶⁴ this theme appears on stave 4, directly below the minuet sketch. The theme was apparently abandoned immediately, since a sketch for the 6/8 Andante con moto quasi allegretto movement of the finished work appears below this on staves 5-8. The fact that two such different ideas appear in close proximity indicates that Beethoven did not yet have a clear conception of the sequence of the interior movements.

²⁶⁴ N II, 86.

By contrast, the concept sketches for the last two movements of op. 59 no. 3 on page 14 suggest that at this point Beethoven was explicitly thinking of the sequence of these movements, rather than simply notating ideas for material that might be used (Ex. 4.31).²⁶⁵ Brief incipits are given for the minuet and trio sections of the third movement immediately followed by the notation 'finale c moll', indicating that he was considering beginning the finale in the minor mode (though presumably concluding in the major, as would be expected in a major-key work).





As Tyson observes, the opening bars of the minuet and trio sections of the finished work are clearly recognisable, 'but not the sequence of keys suggested here'.²⁶⁷ By this point Beethoven had already considered a minuet with a trio in the flattened mediant of E flat major (see Ex. 4.30a). Here, however, he was considered the subdominant as the key for the minuet, and a trio in its flattened submediant of D flat. The finished work, by contrast, follows a far more conventional key scheme by having the minuet in the tonic and the trio in the subdominant. The use of a key other than the tonic for the minuet movement is rare even in Beethoven's late works, and occurs for the first time in his Piano Trio op. 70 no. 2 of 1808. The idea of a finale beginning in the tonic minor is similarly unusual (though as Tyson points out it has an important precedent in Haydn's 'Emperor' Quartet op. 76 no. 3).²⁶⁸ Beethoven may actually have been considering a finale that begins in the minor mode before

²⁶⁵ This leaf was evidently first used as a pocket sketchleaf, as it has been folded in half with pencil sketches covering half of p. 14 (facsimile in Tyson, 'The "Razumovsky" Quartets', 119); the ink sketches on the rest of the leaf were apparently added later. The plan for the later movements is one of the pencil sketches.

²⁶⁶ Transcription from N II, 87.
²⁶⁷ Tyson, 'The "Razumovsky" Quartets', 130.
²⁶⁸ Tyson, 'The Problems of Beethoven's "First" *Leonore* Overture', 326.

quickly reverting to the major, since a similar procedure occurs in the finale of the previous quartet (whose opening phrase begins with C major and ends in the tonic of E minor). Thus the plan on page 14 suggests that Beethoven was considering an experiment with tonal design in which he simultaneously breaks with standard convention and refers to a procedure in the previous work in the set. This plan may therefore have been sketched as a means of visualising the proposed sequence of keys, at a point when he was considering whether or not to adopt an unorthodox tonal design. Ultimately Beethoven reverted to the conventional pattern; op. 59 no. 3 is in fact often regarded as the most conventional of the three 'Razumovsky' Quartets.²⁶⁹

Violin Concerto

Although only two pages of sketches have survived for the Violin Concerto, one of these contains a multi-movement plan (whose first and last movements were transcribed by Nottebohm).²⁷⁰ The plan appears on page 64 of the miscellany Landsberg 12,²⁷¹ and consists of sketches for the first movement on staves 2-16 and 9-12 (Ex. 4.36a), and brief sketches for the other two movements on staves 7-8 (Ex. 4.36b-c).²⁷² Although the first-movement theme has not yet reached its final form, the the prominent repeated-note motif with which the concerto begins is already present, and is employed in bars 10-13 in the continuation of the sketch in virtually the same way as in the finished work (with the D sharp here spelled as E flat). Beethoven's conception of the main motivic elements of the first movement's principal theme is therefore more advanced than his melodic ideas at this point, which suggests that the idea of motivic development was fundamental to his plans for this movement from the outset.

²⁶⁹ See, for instance, Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life*, 324-5.

²⁷⁰ N II, 533.

²⁷¹ See Bathia Churgin, *Transcendent Mastery: Studies in the Music of Beethoven*, Hillsdale, NY, 2008, 70.

²⁷² A facsimile of Landsberg 12 page 64 is given in ibid., 71; however, the image is very small and of poor quality, and the sketches are virtually illegible.



The incipits for the slow movement and finale, by contrast, reveal little about his plans for these movements. The finale incipit shows the beginning of the rondo theme as it appears in the finished work, though the 3/8 'Andante' in G major was abandoned in favour of the present common-time Larghetto movement. Beethoven's conception of the outer movements was therefore closer to the finished version than his conception of the slow interior movement, as was also observed in the preliminary plans for several previous works (including op. 30 nos. 1 and 2).

Summary

Whereas very few multi-movement plans have survived from before 1800, plans exist for most of the multi-movement works from 1800-07, from the Sonata op. 22 onwards. The year 1800 therefore marks a change in Beethoven's sketching habits, which saw him place greater emphasis on conceptualising multi-movement structures in the preliminary stages of sketching a new work.

A number of multi-movement plans in this period do not include a scherzo movement, even where such a movement is present in the finished work: op. 22 and op. 30 no. 2 are two such examples. The 'Waldstein', by contrast, was apparently going to include a scherzo at one point, as suggested by the sketches for WoO 56 amongst sketches for the sonata. Thus the decision whether to adopt a three- or a four-movement structure often appears to have been made later in the compositional process, rather than being established in the preliminary planning stage. The plans for the *Eroica* and Fifth Symphonies are comparable in that they both outline unusually detailed plans for the work as a whole well in advance of the main period of sketching. As Meredith observed in the case of the Fifth Symphony, this suggests that Beethoven notated the plans partly in order to preserve ideas to be returned to at a later date. This method of working appears to have been reserved only for symphonies, since no other plans have survived that demonstrate such a detailed conception of the whole before being set aside.

Inter-movement motivic connections were observed in a small number of multi-movement plans (op. 28, op. 30 no. 1 and the *Eroica*). Long-range tonal connections were also observed in the plans for the Fifth Symphony and the 'Appassionata'. In most other plans, however, such inter-movement connections are not generally apparent. In fact, most plans generally reflect a high degree of contrast between successive movements (especially that for op. 26), which suggests that the idea of contrast was more important in his initial conception of a new work than integrative features as observed in the *Eroica* and others.

Chapter 5—Multi-Movement Plans from 1808 to Mid-1815

This chapter takes as its point of departure the *Pastoral* Symphony, which is Beethoven's first explicitly programmatic instrumental work and thus marks a new type of multi-movement structure in his output to date. The chapter concludes at the end of the Congress of Vienna period, during which time Beethoven had many opportunities to present academy concerts, which accounts for the emphasis on large-scale works for public consumption in his compositional output in those years (including occasional works such as Wellingtons Sieg).

5.1—Sixth Symphony

Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony falls within a long tradition of characteristic symphonies.²⁷³ The depiction of nature (particularly thunderstorms) was a popular subject in such symphonies, and the 'pastoral' theme had furthermore long been traditional in church music.²⁷⁴ Characteristic symphonies, as outlined in Chapter 2, were not restricted to the four-movement structure of the standard Viennese symphony. Paul Wranitzky's Grande Sinfonie caractéristique pour la paix avec la *République françoise* (composed in 1797 to celebrate the signing of the Treaty of Campo),²⁷⁵ for instance, is divided into four large segments that depict various programmatic events. Although the structure bears some resemblance to that of a standard symphony—the two outer movements are fast movements, and the second movement is a slow funeral march-the movements themselves do not adopt the normal symphonic structures (such as sonata-allegro). Instead of a minuet, the symphony has a Tempo di marcia movibile third movement that depicts the march of the English, the march of the Allies, and finally the tumult of a battle.

Perhaps an even more significant forerunner of Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony is Joseph Knecht's Le portrait musical de la nature (first published in 1784). While this work does not bear the title 'symphony', it has clear parallels with

²⁷³ For an account of this tradition, see Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and* Beethoven, and David Wyn Jones, Beethoven: Pastoral Symphony, Cambridge, 1995, 14-19. See also Chapter 2.2 above. ²⁷⁴ See Jones, *Pastoral Symphony*, 14-19. ²⁷⁵ Ibid., 33.

Beethoven's work in terms of its subject matter, where each movement has a programmatic description relating to a different aspect of nature. The sequence of events itself is similar to that in the *Pastoral* Symphony; Knecht's *Portrait* includes a storm sequence (third movement) that eventually gives way to a finale where 'Nature, transported with joy, lifts its voice to heaven and gives thanks to the Creator in soft and pleasant songs.²⁷⁶ Even the work's overall structure bears some resemblance to the Pastoral: Knecht's work has five movements, where movements 2-5 are continuous.²⁷⁷ Although it is not known whether Beethoven was familiar with Le portrait musical de la nature,²⁷⁸ the existence of this work suggests that both the subject matter and the expanded structure of the Pastoral Symphony would not have been considered especially unorthodox by contemporary audiences.

It was first pointed out by Nottebohm that two ideas sketched by Beethoven in 1803 were later taken up in the Pastoral.²⁷⁹ However, the earliest sketch that explicitly relates to a symphony with a pastoral theme (actually inscribed 'Sinfonia pastorella') appears on a single leaf from the summer of 1807.²⁸⁰ This sketch includes the opening theme of the first movement and an idea for the end of the exposition, followed by a sketch headed 'Donner' (thunder) that shows a rising tremolo figure to be played by the basses.²⁸¹ After notating this sketch Beethoven set the work aside in order to work on other projects (including the completion of the Fifth Symphony). Thus the 'Sinfonia pastorella' sketch may have had a similar purpose to the early plans for the Third and Fifth Symphonies, where Beethoven apparently notated ideas with the intention of returning to them later (see Chapter 4.4). Significantly, however, the 'Sinfonia pastorella' sketch pertains to only two individual parts of the work, rather than outlining ideas for each of the movements as he usually did in his early plans for a new work as a whole. The sequence of

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 18-19.

²⁷⁷ The full list of movements and their programmatic content are given in Will, *The Characteristic* Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven, 268.

Jones, Pastoral Symphony, 18.

²⁷⁹ The first of these sketches (Landsberg 6, p. 64) shows the theme used in the trio of the Sixth Symphony, though notated a fifth lower and with a key signature of three flats (transcribed in N 1880, 55). The second sketch (Landsberg 6, p. 96) is inscribed 'Murmeln der Bäche' ('murmuring of the brook') and shows a figure in triplet quavers that points forward to the second movement ('Scene by the Brook') of op. 68 (transcribed in N 1880, 56).

²⁸⁰ The leaf is now bound up as part of the miscellany Landsberg 12 (pp. 47-48), and the 'Sinfonia pastorella' sketch is apparently contemporary with sketches for the Mass in C on the same page (Ludwig van Beethoven, Sechte Symphonie F-dur Opus 68: Sinfonia pastorale [autograph facsimile], ed. Sieghard Brandenburg, Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2000, Commentary, 38). ²⁸¹ Transcribed in N II, 370.

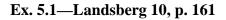
movements seems to have been less important to his first conception of this symphony than the general idea of a pastoral theme and the depiction of nature.

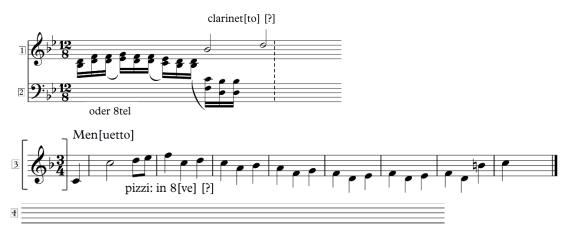
When Beethoven returned to the symphony in the spring of 1808, however, the projected sequence of movements was evidently one of his first considerations. He made no fewer than three multi-movement plans, all of which outline the five-movement structure of the finished version (Table 5.1). The symphony's expanded structure was therefore decided upon almost from the outset, rather than emerging later in the compositional process (as did the expanded structures of some of his four-movement sonatas; see Chapter 4).

Table 5.1—Multi-movement plans for the Sixth Symphony

Multi-Movement Plan	Description
Landsberg 10, p. 161	Concept sketches for movements ii-v
Pastoral Symphony	Early ideas for movements iii-v
Sketchbook, ff. 13v-14r:	
Landsberg 12 p. 53	Sketches for movements iii-v

The first of these plans, on page 161 of the miscellany Landsberg 10 (Ex. 5.1), is sketched on a leaf that originally belonged after folio 5 of the Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook (as reconstructed by Alan Tyson).²⁸² By this point Beethoven's conception of the first movement was relatively advanced, as this had been sketched on folios 2-5.





Ex. 5.1 continued

²⁸² Alan Tyson, 'A Reconstruction of the Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook (British Museum Add. MS 31766)', in: Tyson, *Beethoven Studies*, 67-96 (reconstruction also presented in JTW, 172-3).



The plan outlines preliminary ideas for movements ii-v. A concept sketch on staves 1-2 clearly foreshadows the B flat major second movement; it is here notated in 12/16, though Beethoven added the comment 'oder 8tel' ('or quavers') and a 12/8time signature, showing that he was yet undecided about the metre. A 'Men[uetto]' sketch on stave 4 shows a version of the theme of the symphony's third movement, though its phrase structure is shifted by the presence of an extra bar at the beginning. On stave 5 there is a concept sketch for the 'Sturm', followed immediately by a 12/8 sketch whose heading 'Andante Variazionen' points forward to 'the relaxed tempo and significant decorative element of the eventual fifth movement', as Alain Frogley points out.²⁸³ Frogley further points to the significance of the fact that the finale sketch apparently begins in B flat major, foreshadowing the prominence of the subdominant throughout the finished version of the symphony.²⁸⁴ The layout of the plan suggests that that the 'Sturm' was already envisaged as leading directly into the finale, though there is no indication that the storm would also interrupt the scherzo as it does in the finished version. In every other respect, however, the multi-movement plan outlines a basic sequence of movements that is the same as in the finished version.

Curiously, with the exception of the 'storm' sequence (which had also been present in the initial 'Sinfonia pastorella' sketch of the previous year), the plan shows no sign of the programmatic content of the symphony. The triplet figuration in the second-movement sketch was presumably intended to depict a 'Scene by the Brook' (as it is labelled in the finished version), since a similar figuration appears in the 1803 sketch transcribed by Nottbohm that is explicitly labelled 'Murmeln der Bäche'.²⁸⁵ Yet Beethoven did not label the movement as such in the multi-movement plan. The 12/8 finale sketch may well have been envisaged as a 'Shepherd's Song' depicting 'Joyful feelings of gratitude to the godhead after the storm',²⁸⁶ as it is

 ²⁸³ Alain Frogley, 'Beethoven's Struggle for Simplicity in the Sketches for the Third Movement of the Pastoral Symphony', *Beethoven Forum*, iv (1995), 26-75; here, 110.
 ²⁸⁴ Ibid., 110.

²⁸⁵ Transcribed in N 1880, 56.

²⁸⁶ 'Wohltätige, mit Dank an die Gottheit verbundene Gefühle nach dem Sturm'; title as given in Ludwig van Beethoven, *Symphonie Nr. 6 in F Dur*, ed. Jonathan Del Mar, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998.

eventually titled, though here no such title is given. In fact, the first explicit references to an extra-musical association in the finale are the comments 'ausdruck des Danks' and 'herr wir danken dir' ('expression of thanks' and 'lord we thank thee') on page 164 of Landsberg 10, stemming from an advanced stage of composition when the symphony as a whole was nearly complete.²⁸⁷

Undoubtedly, the finale sketched in the multi-movement plan on page 161 was intended to convey a mood that contrasts with the preceding storm; the projected finale's 'Andante' tempo and subdominant emphasis suggests a calm and relaxed character. However, this does not necessarily mean that Beethoven had a specific programmatic event in mind. He seems to have been similarly concerned with strong contrasts between adjacent movements in movement-plans for several non-programmatic works; the preliminary plan for op. 26, for example, seems to be largely concerned with establishing a sequence of movements that are strongly contrasting in character (Ex. 4.6). Thus it is unclear how much of the symphony's programmatic outline was already envisaged when Beethoven sketched this initial multi-movement plan.

The absence of programmatic indications in the plan may in part be explained by a verbal notation on the same page. On staves 8-9, directly below the plan on page 161 of Landsberg 10, Beethoven wrote: 'all tone painting in instrumental music loses value if pushed too far'.²⁸⁸ He continued to make similar comments amongst the sketches at later points in the compositional process, including 'one leaves it to the listener to discover the situations', and 'even without descriptions will the whole be perceived more as feeling than tone painting'.²⁸⁹ These comments reflect his concern with what Cooper describes as the potential problem of 'degenerating into mere scene-painting or story-telling'.²⁹⁰ In sketching a multi-movement plan focusing primarily on musical material rather than an extra-musical programme, as he did on Landsberg 10 page 161, Beethoven was perhaps deliberately applying the same principles of large-scale structural planning to his projected 'pastoral' symphony as he routinely did in his non-programmatic works. Thus the initial multi-

²⁸⁷ The leaf Landsberg 10, pp. 163-4 originally belonged after f. 42 of the Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook; see Tyson, 'A Reconstruction of the Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook', 85.

²⁸⁸ 'Jede Mahlerei nachdem sie in der instrumentalmusik zuweit getrieben verliehrt'. Transcribed in N II, 375.

²⁸⁹ 'man überlässt es dem Zuhörer die Situationen auszufinden'; 'Auch ohne Beschreibung wird man das Ganze welches mehr Empfindung also Tongemählde erkennen'. Transcribed N II, 375.

²⁹⁰ Cooper, *Beethoven*, 189.

movement plan may have been sketched as a means of ensuring that the symphony's structure was determined primarily on musical (rather than programmatic) grounds.

The two later plans for the symphony outlined in Table 5.1 above similarly show little sign of the symphony's projected programmatic content. The plan for movements iii-v on folios 13v-14r of the Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook (Ex. 5.2ab) appears across the top staves of two facing pages, and was evidently sketched in a single sitting when the pages were otherwise empty (as had also been the case in the 'Appassionata' plan in Mendelssohn 15; see Ex. 4.27 above). At this point in the sketchbook Beethoven was working on the second movement, and thus his conception of the symphony's first two movements was presumably relatively advanced. The plan shows an idea evidently intended for the scherzo at the top of folio 13v, with a sketch for the transition from the 'thunderstorm' movement to the finale (here a 6/8 'siciliano') at the top of folio 14r. As with the first plan in Landsberg 10, there is no explicit indication here that the thunderstorm is to interrupt the scherzo movement.



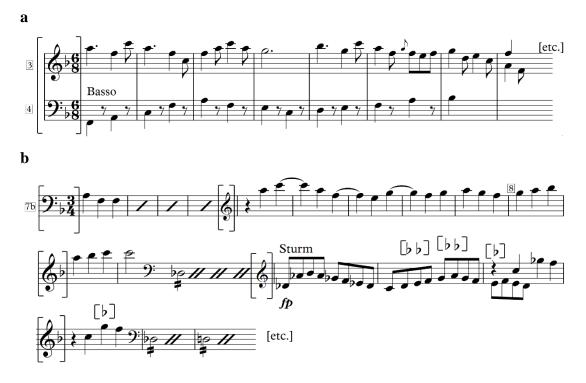


Ex. 5.2b—Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook, f. 14r



The plan on Landsberg 12, page 53, also deals with the last three movements, and presumably dates from an even later point in the compositional process (to judge

from the advanced nature of the sketches; see Ex. 5.3).²⁹¹ This plan includes a sketch for the main theme of the finale (Ex. 5.3a), and underneath this perhaps the first sketch for the scherzo being interrupted by the 'storm' movement (Ex. 5.3b).



Ex. 5.3—Landsberg 12, p. 53

The transition between the thunderstorm and the surrounding movements evidently required much sketching before Beethoven reached the end result. Each of the three multi-movement plans (Exx. 5.1-3) deals with this transition; in Ex. 5.1 and Ex. 5.2 the storm is followed directly by a more relaxed finale idea, whereas in Ex. 5.3 it is shown as beginning while the scherzo is in full flow. Besides these multi-movement plans, Beethoven made at least ten further sketches that deal with the transition before or after the storm (including on folio 1v of the leaf Bonn HCB Mh 73,²⁹² and in the Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook folios 29r, 32v-33r, 35r, 37r-38v and 40r). This reflects his concern with incorporating the thunderstorm into the symphony's overall structure in a way that makes sense musically, rather than being

²⁹¹ The bifolio Landsberg 12 pp. 53-6 had originally been used during the preparation of the autograph score of the Fourth Symphony. See Brandenburg, ed., *Sechste Symphonie F-dur Opus 68: Sinfonia pastorale*, Commentary, 39.

²⁹² Bonn HCB Mh 73 is not one of the leaves that originally belonged to the Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook; it was probably used by Beethoven as a single leaf alongside the sketchbook. See Frogley, 'Beethoven's Struggle for Simplicity', 104.

led primarily by programmatic events (as might be expected in a typical characteristic symphony).

As can be seen from Ex. 5.1-3, the thunderstorm is the only extra-musical event that is referred to in Beethoven's three multi-movement plans for the symphony. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that he did not have extramusical events or associations in mind as he planned the overall structure of the symphony. It does suggest, however, that he deliberately approached the structure in the same way he approached the structure of his non-programmatic instrumental works. By juxtaposing musical incipits for each of the movements, as was his standard practice in multi-movement planning, he was able to see whether the basic characteristics of each movement (such as tempo, metre, and key) would combine to form a satisfactory whole. The symphony's programmatic aspect seems to have been secondary to this, which reflects an original approach to the genre of the characteristic symphony, where multi-movement structure is generally governed primarily by narrative events.

5.2—Multi-Movement Works Composed Between the Sixth and Seventh Symphonies

Of the multi-movement works composed between the completion of the *Pastoral* Symphony in 1808 and the Seventh Symphony in 1812, multi-movement plans have been located for four completed works and one unfinished piano sonata (see Table 5.2).

Work	Location	Description
Piano Trio Op.	MH 4693/c, f. 1v	Concept sketches for i, ii and iv
70 no. 2	Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook, 58v	Concept sketches for ii and iii
Unfinished	Landsberg 5, p. 65	Sketches for 1 st movement, slow
piano sonata (?)		movement and finale [?]
in C minor		
Quartet Op. 74	Landsberg 5, pp. 70-1	Sketches for all four movements
	Landsberg 5, p. 76	Sketches for ii, iii and iv
Piano Sonata	Landsberg 5, p. 86	Sketches for ii and iii (and verbal outline
Op. 81a ('Les		of the work as a whole)
Adieux')		

Table 5.2—Multi-movement plans for works composed between the Sixth and
Seventh Symphonies

Piano Trio op.	Landsberg 11, p. 59	Preliminary sketches for movements ii-iv	
97			

Multi-movement plans appear not to have survived for the five other relevant works from this period: the Trio op. 70 no. 1, the Piano Concerto op. 73, the Sonatas opp. 78 and 79 and the Quartet op. 95. This is unsurprising in the case of opp. 78 and 79, since no sketches have survived for the former work and brief sketches for the latter have survived on only three pages of Landsberg 5 (as reconstructed by Clemens Brenneis).²⁹³ And although more sketches exist for op. 95, most of which are on 15 pages of Landsberg 11 (pages 33-47), the crucial early sketches appear not to have survived.²⁹⁴

Op. 70 no. 2

The first of the two multi-movement plans for op. 70 no. 2 appears on the single leaf MH 4693/c in the Vienna City Library. Tyson states that in terms of its physical characteristics, including rastrology and watermark, this leaf is a possible candidate for one of the missing leaves ('leaf G') towards the end of his reconstruction of the Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook.²⁹⁵ He does not, however, firmly identify MH 4693/c as 'leaf G', suggesting that the contents of the leaf seem to be too advanced for this position in the reconstructed sketchbook; the leaf is entirely devoted to sketches for op. 70 no. 2, including some advanced first-movement sketches, whereas in the leaves surrounding 'leaf G' in the sketchbook Beethoven was still at work on op. 70 no. 1.²⁹⁶ Some of the sketches on MH 4693/c indeed seem to belong to an advanced period of work on op. 70 no. 2 rather than the preliminary stage; on stave 14 of folio 1r, for instance, the beginning of the slow introduction to the first movement is virtually complete (Ex. 5.4).

 ²⁹³ Clemens Brenneis, ed., *Ludwig van Beethoven: Ein Skizzenbuch aus dem Jahre 1809 (Landsberg 5)*, 2 vols., Bonn, 1992, Vol. 2 (Transcription and Commentary), 51.
 ²⁹⁴ An Nettelacher also and the State and Commentary (State and State a

²⁹⁴ As Nottebohm observed, the first movement is already very advanced in the first Landsberg 11 sketches (N II, 278).

²⁹⁵ Tyson, 'A Reconstruction of the Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook', 93-4.

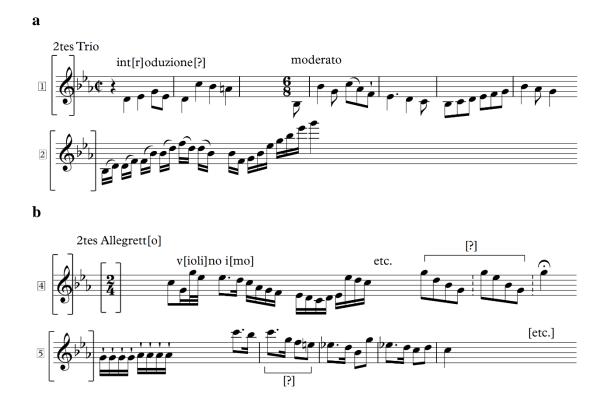
²⁹⁶ Ibid., 94.

Ex. 5.4—MH 4693/c, f. 1r



However, the sketches on the leaf appear to represent several different compositional stages; the sketch in Ex. 5.4 is one of several sketches made with a thicker quill and darker ink than the other sketches on the leaf. These darker sketches show advanced work on the first movement, and their positioning on the page suggests that they were added in empty spaces after the rest of the page had been filled.²⁹⁷ The layer of sketches on folio 1r that was apparently the earliest, beginning with an incipit headed '2tes trio' on stave 1, outlines a multi-movement plan consisting of far more primitive ideas for three movements of op. 70 no. 2 (Ex. 5.5).

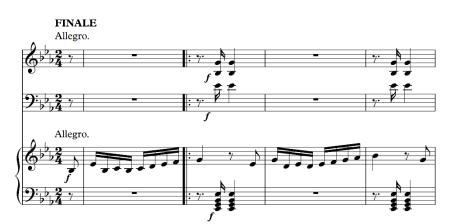




²⁹⁷ Sketches in this ink appear on stave 1b and on staves 12-16. Stave 1b shows a concept sketch for the Allegro ma non troppo theme of the first movement, and staves 12-16 have further advanced sketches for the slow introduction and Allegro ma non troppo sections.



Although none of the sketches in the plan show the themes that are found in the finished version, the plan clearly shows preliminary versions of the first, second and fourth movements. The 'int[r]oduzione' sketch on stave 1 foreshadows the Poco sostenuto introduction to the first movement in terms of its rhythm and the prominent A natural in bar 2. The 6/8 'moderato' sketch that immediately follows this shows the main theme of the Allegro ma non troppo of the first movement; this is one of the sketches in darker ink that appears to have been added at a later stage. The semiquaver figure sketched on stave 2 seems to stem from the same period of composition as the 'int[r]oduzione' sketch above, and possibly represents a more preliminary idea for the 6/8 portion of the movement; slurred semiquaver pairs and triplet arpeggios feature prominently in the finished version. The '2tes Allegrett[0]' sketch on stave 4 foreshadows the Allegretto second movement in terms of its tempo and rhythm, and its C minor tonality foreshadows the key of the movement's contrasting theme (the finished movement is in double variations form, with themes in C major and C minor). And the 'final[e'] incipit on stave 11 clearly shares certain characteristics with the finale of op. 70 no. 2, particularly the pitch and register of its opening upbeat figure (see Ex. 5.6).



Ex. 5.6—Op. 70 no. 2/iv, bars 1-4

The preliminary nature of the sketches shown in Ex. 5.5 suggests that they could plausibly stem from a time when Beethoven was working on op. 70 no. 1 and thinking ahead to the next trio in the set. The more advanced sketches on the page (including the introduction to the first movement as shown in Ex. 5.4) could then have been added when Beethoven turned back to this multi-movement plan once op. 70 no. 1 had been completed in order to refine and elaborate his initial ideas. A similar procedure was observed, for instance, in the preliminary sketches for the Fifth Symphony in Landsberg 6 (see Chapter 4); although the primitive multi-movement for the symphony on page 158 was probably sketched during the sketchbook's main period of use, the more advanced sketches for the first and third movements on pages 155-7 seem to have been added subsequently, at a point when Beethoven turned back to the preliminary plan. MH 4693/c therefore seems very likely to be 'leaf G' in Tyson's reconstruction (despite his hesitation in identifying it as such), since the first sketches to appear on this leaf would not be incongruous with their position amongst sketches for the previous trio.

The preliminary plan on MH 4693/c suggests that Beethoven had a relatively clear initial conception of the basic characteristics of the first, second and fourth movements of the trio, as many recognisable features of the finished version are already present in the sketches. He appears to have originally planned a three-movement structure, as there is no sign here of the minuet third movement (Allegretto ma non troppo). The minuet of op. 70 no. 2 is the first of Beethoven's minuet or scherzo movements to adopt a key other than the tonic (in this case the subdominant), though he had considered a similar procedure during the composition of op. 59 no. 3 (see Chapter 4.5). This is one of the most innovative aspects of the multi-movement structure of op. 70 no. 2, and it is therefore noteworthy that it is absent from the initial plan; this more adventurous element evidently emerged later in the compositional process (unlike the expanded five-movement structure of the Pastoral Symphony, which was already present in the first multi-movement plan).

Another noteworthy aspect of the plan on MH 4693/c is the fact that the sketches show very primitive versions of the themes found in the finished version, even though some of the basic elements of tempo, rhythm and key are already present. As observed in Chapter 4, the preliminary sketches for some of the keyboard works composed around 1800 are notated in piano score and show relatively advanced versions of the themes that appear in the finished work, thereby giving the

impression that they were initially conceived at the keyboard (or perhaps sketched elsewhere) before being notated in the sketchbook. The thematic sketches in the MH 4693/c plan, by contrast, are far more fragmentary, and are mostly notated on a single stave. They are true 'concept sketches' as defined by Tyson, containing only 'the germ of an idea' rather than representing notations of ideas already partially worked out.²⁹⁸ This suggests that keyboard extemporisation was not the starting point for Beethoven's first conception for op. 70 no. 2 to the same extent that it had been for previous keyboard-based works. Instead, his initial approach for the trio seems to have been to sketch the rudimentary features of the projected movements on paper, perhaps with the intention of refining the thematic material once the basic outline of the work as a whole had been established.

The second multi-movement plan for op. 70 no. 2 shows sketches for the two interior movements, and appears amongst advanced sketches for the finale of op. 70 no. 1 on folio 58v of the Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook (Ex. 5.7). In Tyson's reconstruction, folio 58 appears four folios after 'Leaf G', which can now be identified as MH 4693/c (which contains the initial op. 70 no. 2 plan).²⁹⁹ The two movements of op. 70 no. 2 were evidently added in empty spaces once the rest of the page had been filled, as the second movement (Ex. 5.7a) is sketched on the right-hand side of staves 7-8 (immediately following op. 70 no. 1 sketches), and the minuet (Ex. 5.7b) is sketched at the bottom of the page on staves 13-16. It is therefore not possible to establish precisely when these op. 70 no. 2 sketches were made, though it seems likely that they are roughly contemporary with the more advanced first-movement sketches that are found in the second layer of sketched on MH 4693/c. After finishing work on op. 70 no. 1, Beethoven may therefore have turned back to the preliminary plan for the second trio and then added further sketches on the same page and on the available space on folio 58v.

²⁹⁸ Tyson, 'The 1803 Version of Beethoven's Christus am Oelberge', 570-1

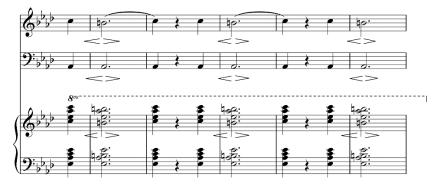
²⁹⁹ Tyson, 'A Reconstruction of the Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook', 85.

Ex. 5.7—Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook, f. 58v



In contrast with the sketches in the initial plan on MH 4693/c, the op. 70 no. 2 sketches on folio 58v show advanced conceptions of the two respective movements. An incipit for the second movement is sketched in piano score, appearing almost exactly as it does in the finished version, which suggests that Beethoven had by this point worked on the movement either at the keyboard or on sketchleaves that are now lost. Similarly, the minuet sketch shows an advanced version of the minuet theme, as well as some of the main elements of the trio: the piano chords at the end of the trio sketch even appear in the same spacing as in the finished work (see Ex. 5.8).

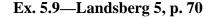
Ex. 5.8-Op. 70 no. 2/iii, bars 33-7



Beethoven's plan for the interior movements on folio 58v clearly represents a different type of multi-movement plan from the initial sketches on MH 4693/c. The interior-movement sketches are evidently notations of ideas that have already been partially worked out elsewhere, whereas the MH 4693/c plan appears to be more of a template for the general characteristic of the different movements. These different types of plan also appear to have had different purposes. The initial template may have been sketched in order to set the general parameters (such as key and character) for the individual movements, perhaps as a starting-point for future sketching or extemporisation. The later plan for the interior movements, by contrast, appears to preserve more advanced ideas. Beethoven may have particularly felt the need to visualise these two movements as the minuet had not been part of his initial plan for the work, and its subdominant tonality is unconventional in the context of the overall multi-movement structure.

Op. 74

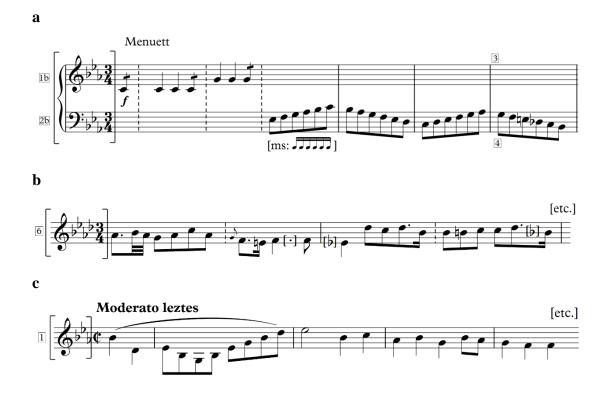
The first sketches for the Quartet op. 74 in Landsberg 5 appear in a multi-movement plan across two facing pages (70-1). As with the preliminary plan for op. 70 no. 2, the op. 74 plan appears to represent more than one layer of sketching. A sketch in A flat major, 3/8, at the top of page 70 appears to represent an early version of the Adagio non troppo second movement (Ex. 5.9).





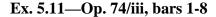
This sketch appears in darker ink than the other sketches on the page, and was therefore presumably sketched in isolation when the page was otherwise empty. Most of the other sketches on pages 70-1 were made with lighter ink and a thinner quill, and probably therefore represent a subsequent period of sketching. These include sketches for passages from the main portion of the first movement, including the beginning of the development section (page 71, staves 6-9), which suggests that the movement had already been sketched elsewhere on leaves that are now lost.³⁰⁰ Across the top staves of both pages, Beethoven also sketched brief ideas for the three later movements (Ex. 5.10).





³⁰⁰ Brenneis, Landsberg 5, Vol. 2, 48.

The 'Menuett' sketched on page 70, stave 1 (Ex. 5.10a) clearly points forward to the Presto third movement of the finished version, particularly in the emphatic repeated notes in the main theme and the underlying quaver figuration (see Ex. 5.11). The sketches for the slow movement and finale show more primitive conceptions of the finished movements, however. The A flat major sketch on page 70, stave 6 (Ex. 5.10b) resembles the 3/8 Adagio non troppo movement only in terms of its tonality and triple metre as the theme is very different from the one eventually used. Similarly, the theme sketched for the finale ('Moderato leztes', Ex. 5.10c) bears no resemblance to the theme of the 2/4 Allegretto con variazioni movement of op. 74, though Beethoven had evidently already conceived this movement as a set of variations, since he wrote the comment 'Variazioni' over the continuation of 'Moderato leztes' sketch. As with the preliminary multi-movement plan for op. 70 no. 2, therefore, the initial plan for op. 74 includes only the most basic characteristics of the different movements of the finished work. The single-line notation of most of the sketches similarly suggests that Beethoven's ideas had not been previously worked out at length at the keyboard, though this is perhaps less surprising in a string quartet than in a piano trio like op. 70 no. 2.





Perhaps the most significant aspect of this early plan for op. 74 is a comment at the end of the sketch for the minuet which reads 'Eingang zu X' (not shown in Ex. 5.10), which indicates a cross reference to the beginning of the finale sketch at the top of page 71. This indicates that the idea of a link between the end of the third movement and the finale was already part of Beethoven's plan for the work as a whole at this preliminary stage. As outlined above, links between movements had also played an important role in Beethoven's multi-movement planning for the *Pastoral* Symphony. This suggests that run-on movements were a particularly important device in Beethoven's approach to multi-movement structures in this period, as they seem to have been part of his conception of the overall structures of these works from the preliminary stages of composition.

A second multi-movement plan for op. 74 appears on pages 76, staves 1-5 of Landsberg 5, and similarly outlines ideas for the three later movements (Ex. 5.12). This plan appears to represent a similar stage on the compositional process to the plan on pages 70-1, since these movements are evidently still in the preliminary stages of composition. The basic outline of the movements is essentially the same as before: an A flat major slow movement in triple metre (Ex. 5.12a) is followed by a C minor minuet movement (Ex. 5.12b). As before, the finale is evidently planned as continuing without a break after the minuet movement: a sketch for the trio section of this movement ends with a pause on a dominant seventh chord, which leads directly to the 2/4 finale theme (Ex. 5.12c).





The sketch for the trio includes the comments 'imita[zione]' and a word that appears to read 'cancrazio'. In his transcription of Landsberg 5 Clemens Brenneis interprets this latter word as meaning 'retrograde';³⁰¹ 'cancrazio' may indeed be Beethoven's misspelling of 'cancrizans'. Although the finished version of the trio does not actually involve the use of retrograde, it does employ contrapuntal techniques throughout, beginning with a passage in double counterpoint to which extra voices are then added, becoming (in Kerman's description) 'a parody textbook exercise in third- and fourth-species counterpoint'.³⁰² The idea of using 'textbook' counterpoint was evidently more important to Beethoven's initial conception of the trio than the actual thematic material (or even the type of counterpoint), as these are not yet established in the sketch on page 76. Kerman points out that during the French occupation of Vienna Beethoven had spent much time compiling counterpoint found its way into this particular work, which was the first to be completed following the occupation.

The essential aspects of the transition from the end of the third movement to the finale in the plan on page 76 are remarkably close to the finished version. The sketch indicates that the reprise of the minuet is to be *pianissimo*. In the finished version, the final statement of the Presto section is similarly played at a hushed dynamic from the second phrase until the end, which forms a marked contrast with the *forte* and *fortissimo* dynamics in the two previous Presto sections (the movement adopts a five-part ABABA structure). Beethoven therefore appears to have worked out many of the essential aspects of this transition passage even though the quartet as a whole was at an early stage. This further reinforces the suggestion that run-on movements were an important aspect in his basic conception of multi-movement structures at this point.

Op. 81a

The Piano Sonata op. 81a was composed in two stages. The first movement ('Das Lebewohl'—'the farewell') was presented to Archduke Rudolph to mark his departure from Vienna in May 1809 in order to escape Napoleon's approaching

³⁰¹ Brenneis, *Landsberg 5*, Vol. 2, 49.

³⁰² Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 165.

³⁰³ Ibid., 165-6.

army.³⁰⁴ The second and third movements (*Abwesenheit* and *Das Wiedersehn* – 'absence' and 'the return') were composed around four months later in anticipation of the Archduke's return to the city.³⁰⁵ Cooper suggests that a three-movement sonata may have been planned from the outset.³⁰⁶ However, there are no signs of projected later movements amongst the surviving first-movement sketches in Landsberg 5 (pages 42-5). As is now evident, Beethoven's standard procedure when composing multi-movement works was to sketch at least one multi-movement plan in the early stages of composition. The absence of such a plan amongst the first-movement sonata, and that the first movement had been intended as a stand-alone piece (though it is of course possible that a plan was made elsewhere and has not survived).

A multi-movement plan does survive from the second period of the sonata's composition, when Beethoven added the two later movements. The plan (Landsberg 5, page 86) consists of sketches for the last two movements as well as a verbal outline on staves 7-8 of the sonata as a whole: 'Abschied – Abwesenheit – Ankunft' ('farewell – absence – arrival'). Although on staves 3/4 Beethoven sketched an unused idea for a slow movement in G minor,³⁰⁷ a longer sketch directly beneath this (staves 5-6) shows the first eight bars of the slow movement virtually as it appears in the finished version, even including the indication 'Andante espressivo' (Ex. 5.13a). The finale is sketched on staves 9-12, and already contains some of the essential thematic and figurative material of the finished version, especially in a brief passage sketched on staves 10-11 (Ex. 5.13b). Further sketches for the slow movement on staves 13-16 were evidently made at a later stage, as they relate to interior parts of the movement and were sketched with a thinner quill than other sonata sketches on the same page.

³⁰⁴ The autograph score of the first movement bears the inscription 'Wien am 4ten May 1809'; Kinsky-Halm, 216.

³⁰⁵ See Brenneis, *Landsberg 5*, Vol. 2, 46.

³⁰⁶ Cooper, Beethoven, 199.

³⁰⁷ Transcribed in N II, 99.



The sketches shown in Ex. 5.13 evidently fulfil a similar function to some of the other multi-movement plans stemming from a later period of composition, where Beethoven notates brief but relatively advanced ideas for the different movements on a single page. A similar plan was made, for instance, for the interior movements of op. 70 no. 2 (see Ex. 5.7). The verbal outline, however, represents a new approach to the sketching of multi-movement structure. The outline refers exclusively to the programmatic role of each movement, (i.e. the farewell to Archduke Rudolph, his absence, and his eventual return). As observed above, Beethoven seems to have avoided being led by programmatic issues during the composition of the *Pastoral* Symphony, since his multi-movement planning for that work involved the same type of sketching as for non-programmatic works. The verbal outline for op. 81a, on the other hand, demonstrates Beethoven considering the work's programmatic narrative without reference to any musical issues such as key, tempo or thematic material. By this point, of course, the basic content of each movement had already been decided upon (to judge from the surrounding sketches on page 86), and thus the programmatic outline was clearly not the sole basis of the overall structure. Yet the fact that a purely programmatic outline was sketched for op. 81a indicates that the idea of a programmatic narrative was a fundamental aspect in his structuring of the work as a whole.

Op. 97

Although the 'Archduke' Trio first appeared in print in 1816 as op. 97, the autograph score indicates that it was completed on 26 March 1811.³⁰⁸ The earliest surviving sketches for the work appear in a sketchbook dating from late 1809 to autumn 1810 (Landsberg 11). As Nottebohm observed, the first movement had evidently been begun elsewhere on leaves that are now lost, as the earliest first-movement sketches in Landsberg 11 are already fairly advanced.³⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the surviving multi-movement plan for op. 97 on Landsberg 11 page 60 still appears to represent a relatively early stage in the composition of the work as a whole, since it outlines preliminary ideas for the later movements (Ex. 5.14).³¹⁰ The staves above and below the plan are mainly devoted to advanced sketches for interior parts of the first movement. The plan includes two separate ideas for a scherzo movement (Exx. 5.14a-b),³¹¹ an 'adagio' movement in D major, 3/4 (Ex. 5.14c), and a 'leztes' in common time (Ex. 5.14d).





³⁰⁸ Kinsky-Halm, 272.

³⁰⁹ N II, 283.

³¹⁰ 'P. 60' here means f. 30v (i.e. the 60th page), not the p. 60 in Ludwig Landsberg's erroneous pagination of the sketchbook (from f. 3r onwards Landsberg wrote even numbers rather than odd numbers on each of the recto pages). See JTW, 196.

³¹¹ Both scherzo sketches are transcribed in N II, 284.



The themes sketched for each movement bear little resemblance to those of the finished version, though the first scherzo idea does foreshadow the rhythm of the theme eventually used (with a pair of quavers followed by two crotchets). The basic sequence of movements is the same as that of the finished work, however: the scherzo is in second place, and the slow movement is to be in triple time in the mediant major key. The 'adagio' theme in the plan begins with a rising arpeggio figure that is strikingly similar to that of the slow movement of Mozart's Piano Concerto in C major, K. 467, which may have been partly what led Beethoven to abandon it.³¹² The finale theme sketched in the plan is not the one eventually used. The presence of a scherzo movement in the plan indicates that a four-movement structure was planned from the outset, in contrast with a number of previous works where the scherzo movement was not present in the preliminary multi-movement plan (including, most recently, the Trio op. 70 no. 2). The fact that the four-movement structure was decided upon from an early stage rather than emerging later suggests that op. 97 was intended from the outset as being on a grand scale.

As with some of Beethoven's other preliminary multi-movement plans (particularly that for op. 70 no. 2), the plan for the later movements of op. 97 contains the essential characteristics of the different movements, though the themes themselves were evidently developed later. This strengthens the idea that his creative process sometimes began with setting the basic parameters of a movement, including key, metre and general character, which perhaps then guided his imagination when developing the actual thematic material. This process was most evident in the composition of the 'Appassionata' finale, where an initial basic idea apparently led to a moment of inspiration wherein Beethoven established the finale theme while out walking (Chapter 4.5 above).

³¹² Similar instances of 'accidental plagiarism' were suggested in the appearance of a theme from Haydn's Symphony no. 82 in the Kafka Miscellany (Chapter 3, Ex. 3.4) and the resemblance of an early sketch relating to op. 22 to a passage from op. 2 no. 3 (Chapter 4, Exx. 4.1 and 4.2).

5.3—Works of 1811-15

After the completion of the 'Archduke' Trio, Beethoven's compositional activity during the years 1811 to mid-1815 focused largely on orchestral and dramatic works, a number of which been commissioned for particular occasions. The summer of 1811 was devoted mainly to the composition of two singspiels (*Die Ruinen von Athen* and *König Stephan*) that had been commissioned for the opening of a new theatre in Pest (Budapest).³¹³ The 'battle symphony' *Wellingtons Sieg* was composed in response to Wellington's victory over Napoleon at the battle of Vittoria in June 1813. The celebratory cantata *Der glorreiche Augenblick* was composed on the occasion of the subsequent Congress of Vienna (1814-15). The great popularity of *Wellingtons Sieg* was a contributing factor in the call to revive *Fidelio*, which had last been performed in 1806,³¹⁴ and Beethoven made substantial revisions to this work during the early part of 1814.

Five multi-movement works were completed in the period 1811 to mid-1815: the Seventh and Eighth Symphony, *Wellingtons Sieg*, the Violin Sonata op. 96 and the Piano Sonata op. 90. Multi-movement plans have survived for all but op. 90 (see Table 5.3). However, as Table 5.3 shows, multi-movement plans also survive for five further works which were never completed. There have been a number of detailed studies of Beethoven's creative process within this period, both in studies of individual works and individual sketch sources.³¹⁵ A number of the plans listed in Table 5.3 have therefore been referred to in previous literature, though their significance has not hitherto been evaluated in the context of Beethoven's approach to multi-movement structures throughout his career.

³¹³ According to Beethoven's own testimony, these works were composed in around three weeks in August and September 1811, though Cooper suggests that they had been begun earlier than Beethoven claimed (Cooper, *Beethoven*, 219-20).

³¹⁴ Thayer-Forbes, 571

³¹⁵ See, for instance: Sieghard Brandenburg, 'Ein Skizzenbuch Beethovens aus dem Jahre 1812: zur Chronologie des ''Petter''schen Skizzenbuches', in: Harry Goldschmidt, ed., *Zu Beethoven*, Berlin, 1979, pp. 117-148; John K. Knowles, 'The Sketches for the First Movement of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony', Ph.D. diss., 3 vols., Brandeis University, 1984; Mary Rowen Obelkevich, 'The Growth of a Musical Idea: Beethoven's Opus 96', *Current Musicology*, xi (1971), 91-114; Hans-Werner Küthen, 'Neue Aspekte zur Entstehung von Wellingtons Sieg', *Beethoven-Jarhbuch*, viii (1975), 73-92; Lewis Lockwood, 'Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Concerto of 1815: Sources and Problems', *Musical Quarterly*, Ivi (1970), 624-46; and Nicholas Cook, 'Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Concerto: A Case of Double Vision?', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xlii (1989), 338-74.

Work	Location	Description	
Symphony no. 7	Petter, f. 5r	Preliminary ideas for i, ii and iv	
Symphony no. 8	Petter, f. 44v	Preliminary ideas for i, ii and iii	
Unfinished Symphony in	Petter, f. 45r	Sketches for three movements	
D minor			
Unfinished Symphony in	Bonn BH 119, f. 1r	Sketches for two or three	
E minor		symphonic movements	
Unfinished Symphony in	Bonn HCB Mh 86,	Sketches for all four movements	
E flat major	f. 1r		
Violin Sonata op. 96	Petter f. 72v	Sketches for ii, iii (with transition	
		between them)	
Wellingtons Sieg	Artaria 197, p. 13	Verbal outline	
Unfinished Symphony in	Dessauer, p. 141	Sketches for several symphonic	
E minor or D minor		movements	
Unfinished Piano	Scheide, p. 10	Sketches for ii and iii(?)	
Concerto in D major			
(Hess 15)			

 Table 5.3—Multi-movement plans from 1811-15

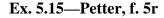
The existence of multi-movement plans for so many orchestral works (seven symphonies in total, including the characteristic work Wellingtons Sieg, and a piano concerto) suggests that Beethoven was particularly concerned with presenting academy concerts in this period. Of the ten academy concerts he presented for his own benefit throughout his lifetime, half of them in fact stem from the year 1814, and he also contributed to two charity concerts in collaboration with Maelzel in December 1813 (at which the Seventh Symphony and Wellingtons Sieg were premiered). The high concentration of his concerts in this period is undoubtedly connected with the opportunity for greater exposure during the Congress of Vienna, during which period the festive cantata Der Glorreiche Augenblick was composed.³¹⁶ However, the first five symphonic multi-movement plans in Table 5.3 all stem from before the end of 1812, which suggests that Beethoven had a view to presenting orchestral concerts even before the opportunities that arose as a result of Napoleon's defeat in 1813. The new emphasis on orchestral works in his compositional output may have had as much to do with the founding of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in 1812, which aimed to promote public concerts as a

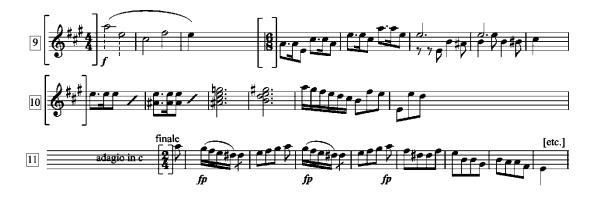
³¹⁶ See Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 167. See also Nicholas Cook, 'The Other Beethoven: Heroism, the Canon, and the Works of 1813-14, *19th-Century Music*, xxvii (2003), 3-24.

regular aspect of Viennese life. Beethoven had not yet presented a public concert since gaining the financial security of an annuity from his three aristocratic sponsors (Archduke Rudolph, Prince Kinsky and Prince Lobkowitz) in 1809,³¹⁷ and the establishment of the Gesellschaft may have been an incentive to prepare for future orchestral concerts.

Seventh Symphony

Beethoven began to work on the Seventh Symphony shortly after completing *Die Ruinen von Athen*, around September 1811.³¹⁸ The multi-movement plan for the symphony on folio 5r of the Petter sketchbook evidently stems from very early in the compositional process (Ex. 5.15). Although in his study of the Seventh Symphony sketches John Knowles refers to 'ideas for all movements' sketched on folios 2r-5r, he does not single out the sketches on folio 5r as representing a single plan for the outline of the work as a whole.³¹⁹ The plan includes brief sketches for both the slow introduction and the 6/8 Vivace section of the first movement,³²⁰ a verbal indication that there is to be a slow movement in C major ('adagio in C'), and a relatively lengthy sketch for a finale.³²¹ Brief sketches for the first movement appear on folios 2v, 4r and 4v,³²² though Beethoven appears not to have made much progress on it before sketching the plan on folio 5r, where the main theme of the 6/8 section is not yet established.





³¹⁷ See Thayer-Forbes, 455-7

³¹⁸ JTW, 207-19.

³¹⁹ Knowles, 'The Sketches for the First Movement of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony', Vol. 1, 67. ³²⁰ The 6/8 sketch on the right-hand side of stave 9 is in darker ink than the rest of the plan and was therefore probably added later, perhaps as an alternative to the 6/8 passage sketched on stave 10. ³²¹ The finale sketch is transcribed in N II, 109.

³²² Sketches for the first movement (including those on folios 2v and 4r-v) are selectively transcribed in ibid., 102-3.

Whereas the outer movements are represented in the plan by thematic material, the slow movement is represented only by a verbal comment indicating that it is to be in C major, and the scherzo is not represented at all. It seems unlikely that Beethoven had a three-movement symphony in mind here, since (with the exception of the programmatic *Pastoral* Symphony) all of his previous symphonies and string quartets adopt the four-movement structure that had been standard since the end of the 18th century (see Chapter 2). Thus the absence of a scherzo movement in the plan may simply indicate that he had not yet thought of an idea for this movement. Although the finale theme in the plan is different from the one eventually used, it foreshadows the finished version in its 2/4 time signature, the feature of having regular accents, and the falling semiquaver motif (Ex. 5.16). The melody is similarly repetitive, hovering in both cases mainly around only five notes of the scale. Thus Beethoven's conception of the outer movements appears to be clearer than that of the interior movements, as was also the case in multi-movement plans for several previous works (including op. 26 and op. 30 no. 2).

Ex. 5.16—Op. 92/iv, violin 1, bars 5-8



The idea of a slow movement in C major was evidently never taken any further than this early plan, since sketches relating to the Allegretto in A minor that forms the second movement of the finished work are already found on the following page (folio 5v). C major (the flattened mediant) would be an unusual choice of key for the slow movement. Nevertheless, this key does feature prominently as a secondary key area in the finished work. In the second movement, C major makes an appearance in bars 139-49 just before the music returns to A minor after the first A major section. In the finale, the main theme of the movement appears in C major in an extended passage from bar 146, and C major also features several times within the first movement, most prominently in the slow introduction (bars 23-32). Beethoven therefore decided upon C major as an important secondary key area in the symphony before he had established exactly where in the work it would feature.

Barry Cooper points to two similar cases amongst the sketches where an important secondary key was shifted from one part of a work to another during the

compositional process. The first is the D minor Sonata op. 31 no. 2, where an early synopsis of the sonata's first movement indicates that the exposition was to end in B flat; in the finished version the key of B flat was transferred instead to the slow movement, rather than featuring in the second subject of the first movement.³²³ Similarly, Cooper highlights that an the earliest sketch for the original Andante slow movement to the 'Waldstein' Sonata was in E major rather than F, but that E major subsequently made its way into the first movement as the key of the second subject.³²⁴ These cases, in combination with the preliminary plan for the Seventh Symphony, support the idea that establishing the basic tonal centres was a fundamental aspect in Beethoven's approach to multi-movement structures, since the key areas were occasionally established even before their position in the finished work had been decided upon.

Eighth Symphony

The earliest sketches that can be identified with the Eighth Symphony appear from folio 35v onwards of the Petter sketchbook, directly after the last sketches for the Seventh Symphony. It was first pointed out by Sieghard Brandenburg that the Eighth was originally planned as a piano concerto rather than a symphony; sketches for the first movement from folio 35v until around folio 40v include a passage that clearly suggests a pianistic cadenza, as well as several indications of 'solo' and 'tutti'.³²⁵ Beethoven evidently vacillated between composing a new symphony or a piano concerto following the Seventh symphony, since concept sketches for a '2te Sinfonie' are found towards the end of work on the Seventh (folios 29v and 35r), and sketches for a 'Concert in g' and a 'Concert in g oder E moll' appear on folio 42r amongst preliminary sketches for the Eighth Symphony. Either way, he evidently had some sort of orchestral work in mind as a companion piece to the Seventh Symphony, which suggests that he was planning to present an academy concert at some point in the near future.

The multi-movement plan for the Eighth Symphony on Petter folio 44v appears directly opposite a plan for a '3te Sinfonie' in D minor on folio 45r. At this point they were evidently intended as the second and third symphonies in a set of three (beginning with the recently completed Seventh). These plans mark a decisive

³²³ Cooper, Creative, 183.

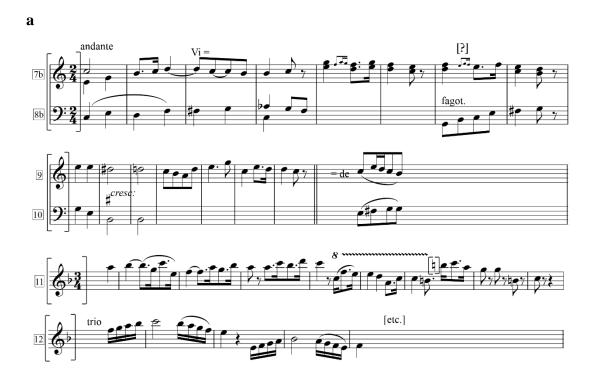
³²⁴ Cooper, 'The Evolution of the First Movement of Beethoven's "Waldstein" Sonata', 171-2.

³²⁵ Brandenburg, 'Ein Skizzenbuch Beethovens aus dem Jahre 1812, 135-9.

moment in Beethoven's sketching process at this point; as recently as folio 44r he was still sketching isolated ideas for various possible new works, whereas concentrated work on the Eighth Symphony begins directly following the plans (folios 45v-71v are almost entirely devoted to this work).

The Eighth Symphony plan involves extensive sketches for the first movement on staves 1-7 followed by preliminary ideas for an andante and a minuet and trio (Ex. 5.17a). Another concept sketch on stave 14 is marked '2tes trio' (Ex. 5.17b); it appears that Beethoven was considering that the symphony would have a minuet movement with two different trio sections. Although the plan does not include a finale, Beethoven had sketched an idea for a 'Finale' in F major on folio 41v which shows an early version of the theme used in the finished version.³²⁶ He may therefore have already decided to use this theme in the symphony's finale when he sketched the plan on folio 44v.





³²⁶ Transcribed in N II, 116-7.



The two interior movements represented in the plan bear little resemblance to the finished versions. The C major andante was evidently abandoned immediately as it was not developed any further in the sketches. The themes of the projected minuet and trio were similarly abandoned, which may be partially due to the close similarity between the minuet theme and the theme he had already used in the second movement of the Violin Sonata op. 30 no. 3. Thus Beethoven's initial conception of the interior movements was apparently less advanced than that of the first and last movements, as has also been observed in the multi-movement plans for a number of previous works (most recently the Seventh Symphony).

It is significant that Beethoven at this stage considered a minuet with two different trio sections. Beethoven's scherzo movements occasionally adopt a fivepart form, where the material of the trio section appears twice (as in the Quartet Op. 59 no. 2 and the Seventh Symphony). However, a formal scheme that incorporates two different trio sections tends to appear mainly in lighter works such as divertimentos and serenades rather than symphonies (the second movement of Beethoven's Serenade in D major, Op. 25, for instance, is a minuet with two different trios). This suggests that Beethoven initially intended the Eighth Symphony to be in a lighter vein than the more serious Seventh. Although the idea of a minuet with two trio sections was not taken any further in the sketches, the finished symphony is certainly shorter and lighter than the other late symphonies; the general scope of the work was therefore perhaps already established from the preliminary stages (as implied by the minuet movement indicated in the multi-movement plan).

Unfinished Symphony in D minor

The plan for the '3te Sinfonie', which appears opposite the plan for the Eighth Symphony in the Petter Sketchbook, outlines ideas for three movements (transcribed in full in Ex. 5.18).

Ex. 5.18—Petter, f. 45



Ex. 5.18 continued



Although several scholars have drawn attention to the presence of sketches for a D minor symphony within the Petter Sketchbook,³²⁷ the plan on folio 45r has never yet been examined in detail. Nottebohm deems it 'prophetic' that Beethoven here envisaged his next symphony as being in D minor,³²⁸ though the plan bears almost no resemblance to the Ninth Symphony (completed more than ten years later). The first movement in the plan begins with a 'poco sostenuto' introduction that leads to a march-like main theme. A movement with the heading 'deutsche' beginning on staves 5-6 in F major, 3/8, is evidently intended as a second movement. A movement in F minor, 3/4, beginning on staves 11-12, has a phrase structure that suggests a scherzo movement, and the theme on staves 15-16 is most likely to be for a trio section. Although no key signature is indicated for the 'trio' section, the contour of the theme and the natural accidental in the 14th bar suggests a key of C minor. This latter movement, however, is directly preceded by a sketch for the recapitulation of the first movement of the Eighth Symphony on staves 7-10, which raises the possibility that the F minor scherzo may have been intended for the Eighth

³²⁷ See N II, 111; Brandenburg, 'Ein Skizzenbuch Beethovens aus dem Jahre 1812', 140; Cooper, *Creative*, 120-1. ³²⁸ Ibid., 111.

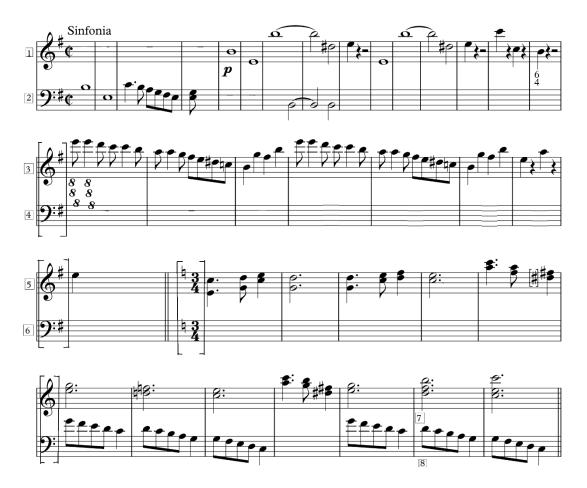
Symphony rather than the projected D minor symphony sketched at the top of the page. In which case, Beethoven would seem to have considered a somewhat darker episode within the Eighth Symphony than the lyrical Tempo di menuetto movement of the finished version.

In any case, it is clear from the layout of the sketches for the first two movements in the plan in Ex. 5.18 (the D minor movement and the ensuing 'deutsche') that they were intended as two movements of the same work. The 'deutsche', being in the mediant key, may have been intended to take the place of a slow movement, despite the fact that 'deutsche' movements are generally in a faster tempo; the 'Alla danza tedesca' movement of the Quartet op. 130, for instance, is marked 'Allegro assai'. The finished version of the Eighth Symphony similarly has a faster movement (Allegro scherzando) in second place rather than a true slow movement. At this stage Beethoven's plan for the Eighth Symphony involved a more conventional slow movement, as indicated by the plan on folio 44v opposite (see Ex. 5.17). The idea of a faster interior movement in place of a slow movement may therefore have been an idea absorbed into the Eighth Symphony from the unfinished D minor work sketched on folio 45r.

Unfinished Symphony in E Minor

The plans for the next two works listed in Table 5.3 are found on single sketchleaves that also contain sketches for the Eighth Symphony, and were therefore probably sketched as possible alternatives to the D minor symphony as the third in the projected set of three. The first plan appears on Bonn BH 119, which originally belonged to the Petter Sketchbook (appearing directly after folio 52 in Tyson's tentative reconstruction),³²⁹ and shows the first two movements of a symphony in E minor clearly laid out at the top of folio 1r (Ex. 5.19).

³²⁹ JTW, 216-8.



The first movement was to begin with a theme in the lower register, apparently with hushed dynamics until the entire orchestra enters in bar 15 with a passage that Beethoven has underscored with no few than eight '8[va]' indications. The second movement was to be in C major, which appears to have been a favourite choice for an interior slow movement in this period; a C major slow movement had also been considered in the context of initial plans for the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies (see Ex. 5.15 and Ex. 5.17 above). The theme itself resembles the one eventually adopted in the trio section of the Eighth Symphony's Tempo di menuetto (see Ex. 5.20). Beethoven in fact turned to work on the latter movement from folio 53r of the Petter Sketchbook,³³⁰ immediately following Bonn BH 119 in Tyson's reconstruction. Thus Beethoven may have adopted this theme in the Eighth Symphony's trio after having decided to abandon the projected E minor work outlined in the plan shown in Ex. 5.19.

³³⁰ Although early ideas for a minuet movement are found on ff. 44v, 46r and 51r, the theme of the Tempo di menuetto first appears on f. 53r, with sketches continuing on 53v, 54v-56r, 69r and 71v (see JTW, 215).

Ex. 5.20—Op. 93/iii, trio, bars 1-4 (piano reduction arr. Ernst Pauer)



The E minor symphony was sketched when Beethoven was apparently vacillating over what to compose next (i.e. after the Eighth Symphony), since BH 119 contains sketches for several other unfinished works. A brief cadenza-like passage in C major on folio 1r, staves 7-8 and a 'Rondo' in C major on staves 10-11 may have been ideas for a possible piano concerto. A comment written above stave 1, however, reads 'gar keine Klawir sachen als Konzerte andere bloß wenn ich drum angegangen werde' ('absolutely no piano things like concertos[;] others only if one is requested from me'). Thus he may have briefly considered composing a new piano concerto to be performed alongside the new symphonies at a future academy concert, but then decided against further works in this genre, perhaps because his deafness had now reached a level which meant he could not perform such works himself. It was indeed around this time that he stopped performing in public; he never performed another concerto after the premiere of the Fourth in 1808, and his last public performance at the piano (apart from as an accompanist) took place in 1814, when he performed the 'Archduke' Trio.³³¹

A curious comment regarding a piano quintet on folio 1r of the same sketchleaf appears to confirm that Beethoven was here abandoning once and for all the prospect of premiering his own keyboard works: 'quitett [sic] in c moll fürs / fortepian mit / Clarinett Violoncell / Horn Fagott / senza toccar il Clav- / Cembalo Misera / bile' ('quintet in C minor for fortepiano with clarinet cello horn bassoon without playing the keyboard miserabile'). The meaning of 'miserabile' is unclear; it may refer to the character of the work, though, more poignantly, it may also simply express Beethoven's feelings following the statement 'without playing the keyboard'. His despondent mood at this point is also reflected in a sketch on folio 1r for a 'Requiem' (Ex. 5.21).

Ex. 5.21—Bonn BH 119, f. 1r

³³¹ Thayer-Forbes, 578.



The E minor tonality of this sketch, as well as its positioning on the same page as the projected E minor symphony, leads to the intriguing possibility that this was intended as a possible finale for the latter work. Thus the E minor symphony may have been intended as having a morose and somewhat dark character, perhaps in some way influenced by Beethoven's despondency from having accepted that he had reached the end of his career as a performing pianist. As with the (by now abandoned) plan for a D minor symphony, this work would form a stark contrast with the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies within a set of three.

Unfinished Symphony in E flat Major

The next symphonic multi-movement plan was probably sketched as the Eighth Symphony was nearing completion, as it appears on a leaf that also contains advanced sketches for the finale of that work (Bonn HCB Mh 86). The plan covers an entire page, and shows all four movements of a symphony in E flat major, including thematic material as well as notes regarding instrumentation for each of the movements (transcribed in full in Ex. 5.22). The plan is therefore more detailed even than the early plans for the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies, where only three of the four movements are represented.

Ex. 5.22—Bonn HCB Mh 86



The plan is labelled 'Sinfon[ie] 3', which shows that Beethoven was at this point still planning a third symphony in a set alongside the Seventh and Eighth. The symphony was to have a first movement in 2/4, with a theme based on a prominent dotted rhythm motif, a minuet in C major with a trio featuring the piccolo, an adagio in A flat, and a rondo finale featuring fugal elements ('fugirtes Rondo') beginning with a theme in the basses. The symphony represented in this plan does not appear to reflect the dark character of the D minor and E minor symphonies that by now had presumably been abandoned. This symphony was explicitly planned as having a 'tempo di Menuet' rather than a scherzo, which arguably places it more in line with

the Eighth (whose third movement is headed Tempo di menuetto) than with any of Beethoven's other symphonies.

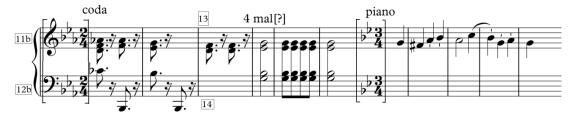
The multi-movement structure of the projected symphony incorporates three somewhat unconventional aspects that Beethoven had recently explored in other works. Firstly, the usual order of the interior movements was to be reversed, as had been the case in the 'Archduke' Trio. Secondly, the minuet was to be in a key other than the tonic, as is the case in the Trio op. 70 no. 2. And thirdly, the comment 'gleich darauf tempo di menuet' ('immediately thereafter tempo di menuet') on staves 7-8 apparently indicates that the minuet was to follow without a break after the first movement; similar run-on movements are found in a number of other works from this period, including the 'Archduke', the Pastoral Symphony and the Quartet op. 74. As with the previous two unfinished symphonies, however, the E flat work was apparently abandoned almost immediately, since (with the exception of a further brief sketch for the finale on the reverse of the leaf) no other sketches for the symphony survive.

Op. 96

After completing the Eighth Symphony, Beethoven briefly returned to the genre of chamber music by composing the Violin Sonata op. 96 for the violinist Pierre Rode, who was in Vienna in December 1812.³³² The only sketches to have survived for this work are some brief notations relating to the last three movements on three pages of the Petter Sketchbook (folios 72v-73v).³³³ Thus the first-movement sketches, as well as any preliminary multi-movement plans (if they were ever sketched) are now lost. A sketch on folio 72v, however, appears specifically to relate to the transition from the slow movement to the scherzo (which begins *attacca* in the finished sonata) and therefore warrants brief discussion here. The sketch shows an early version of the end of the slow movement (with the indication 'coda') immediately followed by the beginning of the scherzo (Ex. 5.23).

³³² Thayer-Forbes, 545.

³³³ One leaf in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms 60 no. 1) is the beginning of an abandoned early version in score of op. 96/iv, though this is not a sketch as such.



The essential aspects of the transition passage in the finished version are present: the scherzo begins in a hushed tempo, with note G acting as a pivot between the final E flat major chord of the slow movement and the beginning of the next movement. A sketch on staves 9-10 shows that the main theme of the slow movement had not yet reached its final form at this stage, which suggests that the sonata as a whole was still in the early stages of composition. Similar cases were observed in the early sketches for the Pastoral Symphony and the Quartet op. 74 (and, most recently, the unfinished Symphony in E flat major). This further supports the idea that transitions between successive movements were particularly important to Beethoven's conception of multi-movement structures in this period, as this was something he established in the preliminary planning stage rather than after advanced work on the individual movements.

Wellingtons Sieg

In *Wellingtons Sieg* Beethoven did not attempt to adhere to the conventional symphonic multi-movement structure as he had in his other 'characteristic' symphony, the *Pastoral*. In its fully orchestrated form *Wellingtons Sieg* is divided into two large multi-sectional parts (the Battle and the Victory Symphony). The original version, however, was scored for the panharmonicon, an instrument of Maelzel's invention, and consisted only of the Victory Symphony (a triumphant march in D major followed by a fugato on the theme 'God Save the King') as a stand-alone piece. After completing this piece, Beethoven decided to compose an explicitly programmatic 'battle' sequence to partner the Victory Symphony, with both movements being scored for full orchestra.³³⁴ The Battle depicts the English and French armies in turn, the battle, and a final 'storm march' ('Sturm Marsch') in which the French are defeated. The overall structure of the work is therefore

³³⁴ See Küthen, 'Neue Aspekte zur Entstehung von Wellingtons Sieg'.

primarily determined by programmatic events, as was not unusual within the characteristic symphony genre (see pages 134-5 above).

Only ten pages have survived that contain sketches for the *Wellingtons Sieg*, most of these stemming from an advanced stage of composition.³³⁵ While most of these sketches relate to individual passages, a verbal comment on a single leaf that was later recycled in the home-made sketchbook Artaria 197 explicitly relates to the structure of the work as a whole:³³⁶

falls in 2 parts though without entirely breaking off / battle scene – victory symphony / Triumph over the enemy. Remembrance of the battle 337

In this comment Beethoven outlines the structure of the whole work in entirely programmatic terms without any reference to musical features (such as tempo or tonality). He had taken this approach only once before, in sketching the Sonata op. 81a, though in that case the verbal outline had appeared in close proximity to sketches for the thematic material of the last two movements (see Ex. 5.15 above). No such musical notations accompany the comment regarding *Wellingtons Sieg*. This suggests that narrative events here took precedence over musical issues, which is confirmed by the unique and overtly programmatic structure of the finished work.

Yet the comment 'without entirely breaking off' also suggests that conventional musical concerns were not completely forgotten. Hans-Werner Küthen interprets this remark as indicating that Beethoven was considering some sort of transition between the two sections, which was ultimately realised in the eight-bar Intrada that was added to the beginning of the Victory Symphony in the orchestrated version.³³⁸ The Intrada is essentially a *fortissimo* D major flourish played by the strings, brass and timpani that prepares the way for the triumphant D major march; without the Intrada, the beginning of the march would seem rather abrupt after the closing *pianissimo* section of the Battle, which ends on a unison F sharp. Thus Beethoven's comment in the Artaria 197 sketch suggests that he wanted the two main sections of *Wellingtons Sieg* to be in some way integrated musically as well as programmatically.

³³⁵ The surviving sources are listed in ibid., 80.

³³⁶ The main period of use of Artaria 197 was c. March-December 1821; see JTW, 265-6.

³³⁷ 'fällt in 2 Theile jedoch ohne gänzlich abzusetzen / Schlachtgemälde – Siegssimphonie /

Triump[h] über den Feind. Erinnerung an den Krieg'; Artaria 197, p. 13. Partially quoted in N II, 463. ³³⁸ Küthen, 'Neue Aspekte zur Entstehung von Wellingtons Sieg', 83.

Ultimately, of course, the verbal outline of *Wellingtons Sieg* confirms that the work's structure was primarily determined by the programmatic narrative, as might be expected in 'battle' symphonies in this period. Yet the existence of a sketch explicitly relating to structure also reveals that Beethoven still considered the shape of the work as a whole during the compositional process, albeit in a different manner from that demonstrated in his standard multi-movement plans.

Unfinished Symphony in E minor or D minor

Beethoven made several brief sketches for a possible new symphony in 1814 after completing his revisions to *Fidelio*. On page 141 of the Dessauer Sketchbook he notated concept sketches for a number of different movements, two of which are explicitly labelled as being for a symphony (stave 1: 'Sinfonia 2tes Stück'; staves 3-4: 'Sinfonia adagio'). In these sketches he was apparently returning to the ideas for the unfininished symphonies in D minor and E minor sketched during work on the Eighth Symphony, since there is both an 'All[egr]o' in E minor in common time on staves 6-7 (Ex. 5.24a) and a different 'All[egr]o' in D minor, common time, on staves 14-15 (Ex. 5.24b). The latter sketch in particular is reminiscent of the opening movement of the projected D minor symphony he had sketched previously, especially in its march-like dotted rhythms (see Ex. 5.18 above).



Ex. 5.24—Dessauer, p. 141

Unlike the previous E minor and D minor symphony sketches, however, the sketches in Dessauer do not represent a clearly laid-out plan for a single new work.

The sketches do not appear in a logical order (a 'Sinfonia 2tes Stück' appears at the very top of the page, for instance, rather than after a sketch for a first movement), and the variety of keys suggests that they cannot all be intended for the same work. Thus the sketches on this page do not appear to have the same function as the symphonic multi-movement plans stemming from the period of work on the Eighth Symphony (see Table 5.3 above). Since Beethoven is here apparently returning to unfinished works for which he had already sketched multi-movement plans, however, it may have been less necessary to map out the overall structure than if he were sketching a work that was entirely new. In any case, the concept sketches on Dessauer page 141 appear to represent Beethoven sketching ideas for a potential new symphony with rather less purpose than the previous more systematic plans, which may suggest that he had no firm intention of embarking on a new symphony project in the immediate future.

Unfinished Piano Concerto in D Major (Hess 15)

In the early part of 1815 Beethoven made extensive sketches for the first movement of a piano concerto in D major. Sketches for this work are found primarily in the desk sketchbooks Mendelssohn 6 and Scheide, and in the pocket sketchbook Mendelssohn 1.³³⁹ Beethoven even began to draft the movement in full score in a manuscript now catalogued as Artaria 184.

Although the sketches for this work have been examined in detail in two individual studies by Lewis Lockwood and Nicholas Cook, no multi-movement plan for the concerto as a whole has been identified.³⁴⁰ Cook in fact states that there is an 'absence of any identifiable sketches for subsequent movements'.³⁴¹ Lockwood, on the other hand, suggests that there are hints at a second movement and finale amongst the sketches,³⁴² though he provides no further details about their content or precise location. Possible candidates for the sketches Lockwood may be referring to include two different sketches in D major, 6/8 metre, on pages 9 and 10 of the Scheide Sketchbook (c. March 1815 to c. May 1816),³⁴³ which may be ideas for a

³³⁹ A full list of sources for Hess 15 is given in Lockwood, 'Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Concerto of 1815', 629-36.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.; Cook, 'Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Concerto'.

³⁴¹ Cook, 'Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Concerto', 366.

³⁴² Lockwood, 'Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Concerto of 1815', 629. In a response to Cook's 1989 article, Lockwood states that sketches for later movements are to be found in the Scheide Sketchbook (letter to *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xliii [1990], 376-82; here, 378).
³⁴³ JTW, 241.

finale. Similarly, two sketches in B flat major within Scheide may be intended for a slow movement: the first is in 2/4 metre and appears on page 13, staves 5-6 (though its tonality is somewhat uncertain), and the second appears at the top of page 23 and is explicitly marked 'Andante' with a 6/8 time signature.

Only one sketch has the appearance of a multi-movement plan: on page 10 of the Scheide Sketchbook Beethoven sketched a draft that shows an 'Adagio' in D major or minor, common time, that leads into an 'assai adagio', which is followed by a 'sempre più all[egr]o' transition passage to a 6/8 'prestissimo' (Ex. 5.25). This draft appears in the midst of detailed work on the first movement, which is sketched on pages 1 and 3-32 of Scheide, continuing from sketches on pages 114-33 in Beethoven's previous sketchbook, Mendelssohn 6.³⁴⁴







³⁴⁴ See JTW, 230-34 and 241-6.

Ex. 5.25 continued



The 'prestissimo' was evidently to be in sonata form, since the draft includes a new theme A major with the indication 'm.g.', which is Beethoven's shorthand for 'mitte Gedanke' ('middle idea'), by which he often meant the second theme in sonata-form movement.³⁴⁵ Thus the draft seems to show a plan for an adagio that links with a sonata-form 'prestissimo' in a contrasting metre, which may be intended as the slow movement and finale of the piano concerto (though neither is explicitly labelled as such). In this context, a key of D minor would be more likely for the 'Adagio' than D major, as the concerto's slow movement would almost certainly be cast in a contrasting tonality from the outer movements. This would therefore suggest a tonal scheme set entirely in the tonic major and minor. Such homotonal schemes are relatively rare within Beethoven's output, though they also appear in four previous D major works: the String Trio op. 9 no. 2, Piano Sonata op. 10 no. 3, the Piano Sonata op. 28, and the 'Ghost' Trio op. 70 no. 1. This suggests that Beethoven was particularly drawn to the contrast between D major and D minor. Another possible interpretation of the plan is that the 'Adagio' was intended as a slow introduction to the finale rather than a movement in its own right, following on from a slow movement in a different key (perhaps B flat major as indicated in the two concept sketches described above).

The gradual transition suggested by the 'sempre più all[egr]o' in the plan is particularly reminiscent of the structure of the Fifth Piano Concerto, where a transition at the end of the slow movement anticipates the main theme of the finale (which is similarly in a lively 6/8 metre). This is not the only aspect of the unfinished work that harks back to the Fifth Piano Concerto; in the first movement of the projected concerto, the soloist enters with a cadenza-like passage very early in the

³⁴⁵ See Cooper, *Creative*, 99, and William Drabkin, 'Beethoven's Understanding of "Sonata Form": The Evidence of the Sketchbooks', in: William Kinderman, ed., *Beethoven's Compositional Process*, Lincoln, NE, 1991, pp. 14-19; here, 17-18.

movement (in this case after a 10-bar statement of the main theme by the orchestra).³⁴⁶ A similar cadenza passage for the soloist appears in the opening of the Fifth Piano Concerto. The idea of a gradual accelerando transition into the last movement, however, is a device that had not been used in any of Beethoven's previous works. A similar device is found in the Piano Sonata op. 101, composed the following year, in which the final Allegro is directly preceded by a stringendo transition passage (leading to a cyclical restatement of the first-movement theme). The finale of the 'Hammerklavier' Sonata op. 106 also features an 'Introduzione' that eventually leads into to the Allegro risoluto by means of an accelerando. Thus, while the concerto itself was abandoned, this innovative aspect of its projected multimovement structure was evidently recycled in the sonata.

It was rare for Beethoven to pursue a work to the stage of beginning a draft in full score before abandoning it, and various possible reasons have been cited for why the concerto was never completed. Lockwood suggests that Beethoven may have intended to perform the concerto himself, but abandoned it when it became clear that his hearing had deteriorated too far for this to be possible.³⁴⁷ As discussed above, however, Beethoven had already apparently drawn a line under his solo piano career around the time he composed the Eighth Symphony (see pages 167-8), and thus it is unlikely that he ever intended to perform the projected D major concerto himself. Cooper suggests that the concerto may have been intended for the Archduke Rudolph, and that it may ultimately have been left unfinished due to the fact that the Archduke developed rheumatism around this time that 'severely impeded his piano playing'.³⁴⁸ Alternatively, Cooper suggests, the fact that no benefit concert was being planned meant that there was little incentive to complete the work.³⁴⁹

Summary

Multi-movement plans were sketched for most of the instrumental works composed from 1808-1815; these plans therefore played as prominent a role in Beethoven's sketching process in this period as they had done in the previous years since 1800. Several particularly noteworthy elements were observed in the plans discussed in the present chapter. One such element was the frequency of run-on movements. Previous

³⁴⁶ The structure of the first-movement draft is presented in tabular form in Lockwood, 'Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Concerto of 1815', 627.

 ³⁴⁷ Ibid., 626.
 ³⁴⁸ Cooper, *Beethoven*, 260.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 260.

multi-movement plans did not generally indicate run-on movements even where these occur in the finished work (as in the initial plans for the Fifth Symphony and 'Appassionata' Sonata, as outlined in Chapter 4). From 1808 onwards, however, runon movements are explicitly indicated in the plans for the *Pastoral* Symphony, the Quartet op. 74, the Violin Sonata op. 96, the unfinished Symphony in E flat major, and the unfinished Piano Concerto in D (Hess 15). Run-on movements therefore appear to have been particularly important to his basic conception of multimovement structures in this period.

Another striking aspect of Beethoven's approach to multi-movement planning in this period is the large number of plans sketched for symphonies that never reached completion: five such plans were sketched in the years 1811-15. As observed in Chapter 4, Beethoven had sketched plans for the *Eroica* and Fifth Symphonies before temporarily setting them aside to focus on other projects. The plans for unfinished symphonies in 1811-15 may therefore have similarly been sketched with the intention of preserving ideas to be returned to later, though ultimately they were abandoned.

Chapter 6—Multi-Movement Plans from 1815 to 1824

This chapter will trace the multi-movement planning in Beethoven's sketches from the close of the Congress of Vienna in the summer of 1815 to the completion of the Ninth Symphony in 1824. This period encompasses what is traditionally viewed as the onset of Beethoven's 'late' period, inaugurated by the Cello Sonatas op. 102 (1815).³⁵⁰ Only eight multi-movement works were actually completed in this period,³⁵¹ which marks a noticeable drop in this aspect of his output compared with previous years. This drop can partly be accounted for by his preoccupation with different projects (especially the *Missa Solemnis*, composed between 1819 and 1823),³⁵² as well as by what has often been observed as a temporary decline in productivity around 1817.³⁵³

6.1-1815-16

Table 6.1 shows the multi-movement plans amongst Beethoven's sketches from mid-1815 to 1816. The only works from this period that are not represented in the table are the two Cello Sonatas op. 102 (1815). It is unsurprising that no multi-movement plans have survived for these sonatas, since very few sketches survive for op. 102 no. 1, and the surviving sketches for op. 102 no. 2 mostly relate to the last movement and thus stem from a later period in the compositional process.³⁵⁴

Table 6.1—Multi-movement plans from mid-1815 to 1816
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Work	Location	Description
Unfinished symphony of	Scheide, p. 51	Ideas for the first three
1815/16		movements of a
		symphony
Op. 101	Bonn HCB BSk 13/61	Sketches for all three
		movements (three-

³⁵⁰ See, for instance, Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 198, and Cooper, *Beethoven*, 260-3.

³⁵¹ The Cello Sonatas op. 102 nos. 1 and 2, the Piano Sonata op. 101, the 'Hammerklavier' Sonata op. 106, the Sonatas opp. 109-11, and the Ninth Symphony.

³⁵² Kinsky-Halm, 360.

³⁵³ See, for instance, Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 199.

³⁵⁴ Sketches for the first two movements of op. 102 no. 2 may be on the 17 leaves apparently missing between pp. 32 and 33 of the Scheide Sketchbook (JTW, 244).

		movement work
		planned)
	Scheide, pp. 76-7	Sketches for ii-iv (four-
		movement work
		planned)
Unfinished piano trio in F	Scheide, pp. 66-7	Sketches for slow
minor		movement and finale(?)
	Scheide, pp. 104-5	Sketches for all four
		movements?

Unfinished Symphony of 1815/16

Of the plans listed in Table 6.1, those relating to a symphony on page 51 of the Scheide Sketchbook are the most familiar within the Beethoven literature, as they were first transcribed by Nottebohm and have been viewed as a foreshadowing of the Ninth Symphony (completed almost a decade later).³⁵⁵ Across the bottom of Scheide page 51 (staves 12-14), Beethoven sketched the following verbal outline of the beginning of a projected symphony:

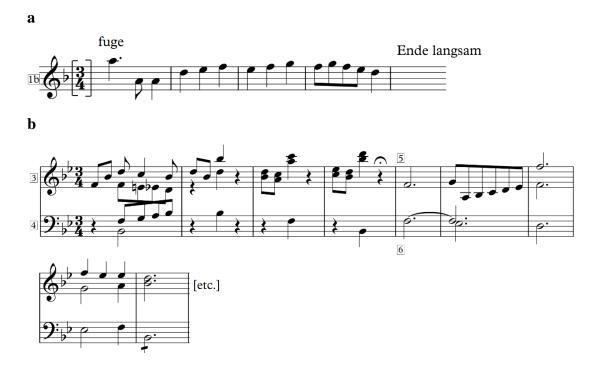
Symphony the first [movement] beginning in only 4 parts 2 violins viola bass[,] in between forte with other parts and if possible each other instrument entering one after the other³⁵⁶

The movement Beethoven had in mind here was to with just four parts in the strings, leading to a *forte* with the other instruments entering one by one (in an apparent reversal of the procedure at the end of Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony). This idea can be seen to have resurfaced in the opening of the completed Ninth Symphony, which begins with *pianissimo* bare fifths in the strings leading to a *fortissimo* statement of the main theme by the full orchestra from bar 17.

Two sketches further up on the same page may also be intended as different movements of the projected symphony, though they are not labelled as such. A concept sketch on stave 1 shows the first four bars of the theme eventually adopted as the scherzo of the Ninth Symphony (here marked 'Fuge'; Ex. 6.1a); it is possible that this movement was similarly intended as a scherzo movement here. A dance-like theme in B flat major, 3/4 metre, is sketched on staves 3-12 (Ex. 6.1b). This latter sketch may also have been intended as another possible symphonic interior

 ³⁵⁵ See N II, 158, and Sieghard Brandenburg, 'Die Skizzen zur neunten Symphonie', in: Harry Goldschmidt, ed., *Zu Beethoven II: Aufsätze und Dokumente*, Berlin, 1984, pp. 88-129, here 90-1.
 ³⁵⁶ 'Sinfonie/ erster anfang/ in bloß 4 stimen / 2 Vi[oli]n Viol Basso / dazwischen forte mit anderen stimen u. Wenn möglich jedes / andre Instrument nach u. nach eintreten laßen', quoted in Brandenburg, 'Die Skizzen zur neunten Symphonie', 91.

movement; the Ninth Symphony is again foreshadowed in the B flat major tonality and the minuet-like character (which points forward to the second theme of the Ninth's slow movement). On the other hand, as Brandenburg points out, the verbal notation on staves 12-14 was sketched in different ink from the notations shown in Ex. 6.1, and thus it is possible that these sketches are unrelated.³⁵⁷





Whether or not the sketches on page 51 relate to the different movements of the same work, the verbal description of the opening movement is clearly of relevance to the topic of Beethoven's conception of large-scale musical structures. This description clearly demonstrates his thinking beyond the level of individual musical themes and considering the effect of the movement on a larger scale. It also demonstrates a new approach to the conceptualising of larger musical structures, since Beethoven's ideas for new works tend to take the form of mainly musical notations rather than verbal descriptions. He had previously sketched purely verbal outlines only for larger structures with a programmatic narrative (the Sonata op. 81a and *Wellingtons Sieg*, as outlined in Chapter 5).

Op. 101

Sketching for op. 101 took place in three main stages from 1815-16. The first movement was evidently sketched on some of the 17 leaves that have been removed after page 32 of the Scheide Sketchbook, since the only surviving sketches for this movement appear on what has been identified as one of these missing leaves (Bonn HCB BSk 13/61).³⁵⁸ Sketches for the work next appear between pages 74 and 85 of Scheide, after sketches for other projects including two folksong settings (WoO 157 no. 7 and op. 108 no. 11), *An die ferne Geliebte* (op. 98), and the unfinished symphony described above.³⁵⁹ Work on the sonata was again interrupted by sketching for the unfinished F minor trio (see below), before the finale of op. 101 was finally completed at the beginning of Beethoven's next desk sketchbook, Autograph 11/1.

Two multi-movement plans have survived for op. 101 (see Table 6.1). The first of these stems from the initial stage of composition, and shows early sketches for the first and last movements of the finished work, (Ex. 6.2a and 6.2c) as well as a sketch in F sharp minor, 3/4, which appears to appears to be an early idea for an interior movement (Ex. 6.2b).³⁶⁰

Ex. 6.2—Bonn HCB BSk 13/61, f. 1r



³⁵⁸ See JTW, 241-6.

³⁵⁹ An isolated concept sketch for the finale of op. 101 is also found on p. 56. For an inventory of the sketches in Scheide see JTW, 244-5.

³⁶⁰ A brief sketch in pencil on st. 4-5, apparently relating to the first movement, was evidently made in an empty space after the rest of the page had been filled and thus does not belong with the original plan.



Sieghard Brandenburg has described the significance of this plan to the work's composition, outlining that 'Beethoven quickly found the twin poles between which the musical events of the sonata would unfold'.³⁶¹ He goes on to suggest that 'The starting point of the composition may well have been the venerable model of the prelude and fugue, now heightened to the point of antithesis'.³⁶² The texture of the sonata's first movement (already evident in the sketch) has indeed been compared to that of a Bach prelude,³⁶³ and the finale sketch includes passages that suggest fugal entries. The word 'augmentation' on stave 9 also foreshadows the use of this technique in bars 223-7 in the finale's fugue (in fact the bass line is a double augmentation of the fugue subject).³⁶⁴ However, Brandenburg makes no mention of the 3/4 sketch apparently intended as the interior movement, and thus his description seems to imply that only two movements were planned, as in Beethoven's most recently completed piano sonata op. 90. The presence of this interior movement makes the prelude-fugue analogy less convincing, and instead links the projected work with other multi-movement works with a fugal finale—Haydn notably ended three of his Quartets op. 20 in this way, and Beethoven made use of fugal techniques in the finale of the Quartet op. 59 no. 3.

b

 ³⁶¹ Ludwig van Beethoven, *Klaviersonate A-dur Opus 101* [facsimile of the autograph score], ed.
 Sieghard Brandenburg, Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1998, Commentary, p. XIII.
 ³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ See, for instance, Cooper, *Beethoven*, 271.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 272.

The second multi-movement plan is found across the top half of pages 76-77 of the Scheide Sketchbook, around the point Beethoven resumed work on the sonata after the first gap in composition (Ex. 6.3). The sketches outline three projected later movements: an 'All[egr]o Marcia' second movement (Ex. 6.3a), a 'poco All[egre]tto' third movement in A minor (Ex. 6.3b), and 'presto' finale based on the same theme that was sketched on Bonn HCB BSk 13/61 (and which also appears in the finished work; Ex. 6.3c). These sketches are in pencil, whereas the rest of the sketches on these two pages are in a mixture of pencil and ink. Nottebohm transcribed the sketches for the last two movements, which he describes as ideas for the later movements made during the composition of the second movement.³⁶⁵ Although the rest of the sketches on these two pages indeed relate to the 'Marcia' movement, the physical appearance of the sketches, and their positioning across the top of the pages (not commented upon by Nottebohm) clearly indicates that the original plan also included the 'All[egr]o Marcia' sketch on page 76.

Ex. 6.3—Scheide, pp. 76-7









³⁶⁵ N II, 343.



The first movement was probably complete by this point, since no further sketches survive for it from this point in the sketchbook. Thus Beethoven's plans for the first and last movements of the sonata were essentially unchanged from the earlier version. The second movement now has the basic characteristics of the finished movement in terms of key, metre, and movement-type. The projected '3tes Stück', however, shares very little with the brief Adagio that directly precedes the finale in the finished work, with the exception of the A minor tonality. Whereas the previous plan indicated a three-movement structure, the present plan suggests four movements, with an alla marcia scherzo movement in second place and an allegretto movement (in place of a true slow movement) in third. This bears some resemblance with the structure of the Seventh Symphony, which similarly has an allegretto movement in place of a slow movement. This proposed structure was evidently abandoned immediately, however, since there are no further sketches for the 6/8 movement in Scheide.

The plan on Scheide pages 76-7 may have served the purpose of kick-starting the recommencement of work on the sonata after a gap in composition. Since the finale sketch shows an idea that was already present in the initial compositional stage, Beethoven may have included it in the plan in order to remind him of the work he had done previously. In other ways, however, the plan on pages 76-7 appears to be fairly typical in terms of what it reveals about Beethoven's compositional approach. It supports the evidence in the earlier plan which suggests that Beethoven's conception of the first and last movements was more advanced than that of the interior movements, as has also been observed in the plans for other works (most recently in the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies). It also suggests that Beethoven vacillated over the number of movements during the compositional process, which has similarly been observed in the plans for other sonata-type works (whose structure was more variable than symphonies and quartets) from as early as the Sonatas op. 10.

Unfinished Piano Trio in F Minor

The main body of sketches for an unfinished piano trio in F minor appears between pages 86 and 107 of the Scheide Sketchbook. These sketches begin in the midst of work on the second movement of the Sonata op. 101, suggesting that Beethoven briefly laid this work aside in order to work on the trio. Further sketches for the trio are found on unbound leaves, some of which originally belonged to Scheide.³⁶⁶

Although the existence of sketches for the F minor trio was first pointed out by Nottebohm,³⁶⁷ the sketches themselves have only recently been examined in detail. In articles published within a few months of each other, William Kinderman and Nicholas Marston offer interpretations of the sources for and the musical significance of the unfinished trio.³⁶⁸ Their accounts focus mainly on the first movement, of which the beginning of a draft in full score has survived on 5 folios catalogued as Grasnick 29. Their discussions of the work's stylistic features concur in several ways; both authors compare aspects of the thematic material and tonal scheme of the trio's first movement with that of the F minor Quartet op. 95, particularly in the choice of D flat major for the second subject and the emphasis on the interval C to D flat.³⁶⁹ However, they offer somewhat different interpretations of the surviving sketches for the later movements of the trio, including the two multi-movement plans listed in Table 6.1. These other sketches in fact present particular problems in terms of their chronology and intended purpose, especially those for the finale, and warrant detailed discussion here.

Both Kinderman's and Marston's accounts of the sketches begin with a citation of what Nottebohm identified as sketches for the first and last movements of the trio (Ex. 6.4).³⁷⁰

³⁶⁶ A full list of sources for the F minor Trio is given in Nicholas Marston, 'In the "Twilight Zone": Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Trio in F Minor', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxxxi (2006), 227-286; here, 236.

³⁶⁷ N II, 345 and 348.

³⁶⁸ William Kinderman, 'Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Trio in F Minor from 1816: A Study of its Genesis and Significance', *Journal of Musicological Research*, xxv (2006), 1-42; Marston, 'In the "Twilight Zone": Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Trio in F Minor'.

³⁶⁹ Kinderman, 'Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Trio', 11-12; Marston, 'In the "Twilight Zone", 259-60.

³⁷⁰ N II, 345.





The 6/8 sketch which Nottebohm identifies as the 'finale' in fact appears before the first-movement sketch in the Scheide Sketchbook. Sketches for the 6/8 movement largely break off after page 94, whereas those apparently for the first movement continue to appear until the very last page of sketches for the trio.³⁷¹ Kinderman therefore suggests that compositional ideas for the finale were the 'trigger point' for Beethoven's work on the trio.³⁷² An alternative interpretation is offered by Marston: pointing out that Beethoven almost invariably composed movements in the order they appear in the finished work,³⁷³ Marston raises the possibility that the 6/8 movement was originally intended as the trio's first movement before being rejected in favour of the alla breve movement.³⁷⁴

The two surviving multi-movement plans for the trio can help to shed light on Beethoven's intended finale. The first plan (on Scheide pages 66-7) appears twenty pages before the main body of sketches for the F minor trio (Ex. 6.5). There would be very little to link these sketches with the F minor trio were it not for the fact that they both reappear on page 105 in the context of the second multimovement plan for the trio (see Ex. 6.6 below). The plan on pages 66-7 consists of concept sketches for two movements: a movement in common time with an implied key of C major (or perhaps C minor; Ex. 6.5a), and a movement headed 'als Deutscher vom lezten Stück', which suggests a projected *alla tedesca* finale (Ex. 6.5b). Although there is no sign of a first movement in the context of the plan, Beethoven did not generally plan the later movements of a work until he had at least

³⁷¹ Marston, 'In the "Twilight Zone", 253-4.

³⁷² Kinderman, 'Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Trio', 12.

³⁷³ See Cooper, *Creative*, 114.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 255.

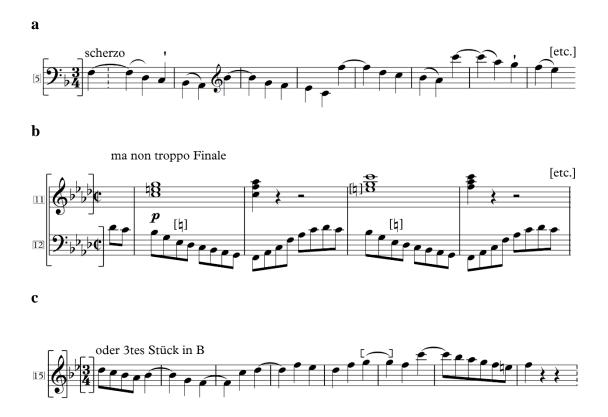
some idea of the first movement; it is therefore likely that had already established the material of the opening movement by this point, perhaps having sketched it elsewhere on leaves that are now lost. Either of the two movements transcribed by Nottebohm may have been intended as the trio's first movement at this point; in any case, this preliminary outline indicates that a finale based on the 6/8 movement was not part of Beethoven's conception of the work at this point.





The concept sketches appear across the top staves of two facing pages, which are otherwise empty. He presumably intended to fill the rest of pages 66-7 (and subsequent pages) with further sketches for these movements at a later stage, in the same way he had filled out preliminary plans for several other works (including the 'Appassionata' and the Trio op. 70 no. 2). However, the pages immediately following the plan are filled with sketches for *An die ferne Geliebte*; Beethoven may have received the cycle of poems from Jeitteles after having sketched the plan for the trio, and therefore decided to set immediately to work on the song cycle and postpone the trio project for a later date.

The second multi-movement plan appears on pages 104-5 (Ex. 6.6), after detailed work on the two F minor movements transcribed by Nottebohm (see Ex. 6.4). Although it is spread across two facing pages, it is not systematically laid out (as had been the case across pages 66-7). Instead, brief sketches for the later movements are interspersed amongst advanced sketches for the first movement (i.e. the alla breve movement shown in Ex. 6.4b).



Ex. 6.6d-e—Scheide, p. 105

d

als deutscher vom lezten Stück



Two different ideas for a scherzo movement are outlined on page 104 (Ex. 6.6a and Ex. 6.6c). Since no scherzo movement was sketched in the plan on pages 66-7, this may indicate that his conception of the trio had now expanded from a three-movement work to one in four movements; similar cases have been observed in numerous previous works (including the Trio op. 70 no. 2). The first scherzo idea (Ex. 6.6a) is in F major, as would be conventional in a work with an overall tonality

of F, whereas the alternative version is sketched in the subdominant of B flat (Ex. 6.6c). Page 104 also includes a movement in alla breve metre headed 'ma non troppo Finale' (Ex. 6.6b). The 'Deutscher' first sketched as a finale idea on page 67 also reappears on page 105 (Ex. 6.6d), and is here perhaps being considered as an alternative finale to the one sketched on page 104. The common-time movement previously sketched on page 66 also reappears on page 105, and is presumably intended as a slow movement (Ex. 6.6e).

Marston raises the possibility that the 'ma non troppo Finale' sketch may have been an attempt at the closing bars of the first movement (i.e. that 'Finale' here actually means 'Ende'), especially given the 'strongly closural quality of the material'.³⁷⁵ Since it appears amongst preliminary ideas for other movements, however, it seems more likely that the indication 'Finale' can here be taken literally as referring to the final movement. The presence of alternatives for the scherzo (and perhaps also the finale), as well as the haphazard appearance of the sketches across these two pages, suggest that Beethoven was here 'brainstorming' various possible ideas for later movements, including the preliminary ideas sketched in the earlier multi-movement plan, rather than planning the sequence of movement as a whole.

Since neither plan indicates the 6/8 movement transcribed by Nottebohm as the intended finale, it is now evident that Marston's proposition regarding the purpose of this movement is likely to be the correct one: namely, that it was a first attempt at a first movement rather than a finale. Beethoven therefore seems not to have made any progress on the later movements of the trio beyond sketching brief preliminary ideas for the later movements. Nevertheless, he had made more progress on the trio before abandoning it than was usually the case with works that remained unfinished. Not only had he begun a draft of the movement in full score, he had sketched two different plans for the later movements of the trio; no previous unfinished work had involved more than one multi-movement plan. He clearly envisaged finishing the trio, since he offered it together with the Sonata op. 101 to the London publisher Birchall in a letter dated 1 October 1816 (though neither work was yet completed at the time).³⁷⁶

Why, then, did the sonata remain unfinished? It might be tempting to attribute the abandonment of this work to issues of compositional uncertainty, as

³⁷⁵ Marston, 'In the "Twilight Zone", 249-50.

³⁷⁶ The autograph score of op. 101 is dated November 1816 (Kinsky-Halm, 279).

indicated by the fact that Beethoven apparently had two attempts at an opening movement (one in 6/8, one in alla breve). Yet the fact that Beethoven was sketching ideas for later movements after advanced work on the first movement suggests that he was sufficiently satisfied with what he had sketched to be contemplating the material that was to follow. Thus he most likely abandoned the trio for practical reasons (including Birchall's rejection of the offer for publication), as is indeed generally thought to be the case.³⁷⁷

6.2—The 'Hammerklavier' Sonata and Unfinished Symphony of 1817/18

The 'Hammerklavier' Sonata is the only multi-movement work that Beethoven completed in the years 1817-19.³⁷⁸ From this period, however, multi-movement plans have survived for two different works: the 'Hammerklavier', and an unfinished symphony (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2—Multi-movement plans for the 'Hammerklavier' Sonata and
Unfinished Symphony of 1817/18

Work	Location	Description
Sonata op. 106	Boldrini Sketchbook	Two separate plans for
		the later movements
Unfinished Symphony of	Bonn HCB BSk 8/56	Verbal description of a
1817/18		symphony 'in the old
		modes'

'Hammerklavier' Sonata op 106

The 'Hammerklavier' Sonata is Beethoven's longest work in this genre, and during its composition the composer told Czerny that it was to be his 'greatest'.³⁷⁹ The sonata is also considered to be one of Beethoven's most integrated; William Kinderman writes that 'Never before had Beethoven achieved such close coordination between motivic and harmonic detail, tonal structure, and formal shape.'³⁸⁰ In Charles Rosen's analysis of the sonata, a pattern of descending thirds is

 ³⁷⁷ Marston, 'In the "Twilight Zone", 267; Kinderman, 'Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Trio', 36-8.
 ³⁷⁸ In 1817 Beethoven also completed a quintet arrangement (op. 104) of his Piano Trio op. 1 no. 1

⁽Kinsky-Halm, 286-7).

³⁷⁹ Czerny, *Proper Performance*, 10.

³⁸⁰ Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 203.

outlined as underpinning much of the motivic material and tonal structure throughout the entire work.³⁸¹

The sketches for the 'Hammerklavier' are described by the authors of *The Beethoven Sketchbooks* as 'problematical case', since they stem from a period of around two and a half years from which no desk sketchbook has survived.³⁸² While it is possible that one or more entire sketchbooks from this period has been lost, a large number of 'Hammerklavier' Sketches have survived in pocket sketchbooks and on unbound leaves, which suggests that Beethoven did not use a desk sketchbook during its composition.³⁸³ However, the 'Boldrini' pocket sketchbook of 1817-18, in which Beethoven made the earliest sketches for the sonata (including, presumably, almost all of those for the first movement) has been lost since the end of the 19th century, and the present knowledge of its contents stems from Nottebohm's description of it.³⁸⁴ The only two known multi-movement plans for the 'Hammeklavier' stem from the 'Boldrini' Sketchbook, and have therefore been preserved only in Nottebohm's transcription (see Table 6.2).³⁸⁵

Significantly, these are the first known multi-movement plans to have been sketched in a pocket sketchbook rather than a desk sketchbook. This may simply be due to the fact that Beethoven did not use a desk sketchbook at this point, and any sketching of multi-movement structure would therefore have to take place in his pocket sketchbook (or not at all). It is not surprising that desk sketchbooks would normally be Beethoven's preferred place for planning his multi-movement structures, since the size of the leaves allowed him plenty of space in which to sketch the ideas for different movements.

The first plan, which Nottebohm describes as appearing amongst sketches for the opening movement,³⁸⁶ is somewhat laconic compared with Beethoven's usual multi-movement plans, consisting of a combination of brief musical and verbal notations (see Ex. 6.7):

³⁸¹ Rosen, The Classical Style, 407 ff.

³⁸² JTW, 535-8.

³⁸³ Ibid., 535-6.

³⁸⁴ 'Ein Skizzenbuch aus dem Jahre 1817', in: N II, 349-55. Sketches from the 'Boldrini' Sketchbook are also described on pp. 123-37 and 157-92.

³⁸⁵ N II, 129.

³⁸⁶ N II, 129.

Ex. 6.7—Plan for op. 106 in the 'Boldrini' Sketchbook³⁸⁷



As Nottebohm observes, this plan captures the essential aspects of the finished sonata's form in words if not in the actual themes.³⁸⁸ The comment 'Zuerst Menuet' ('first minuet') indicates that Beethoven had already decided upon the order of the interior movements, and the F sharp tonality of the slow movement was also present in his plan for the work at this stage ('Adagio Fis moll oder Fis dur'). Similarly, the idea of a fugal finale was already being considered (as indicated by the comment 'Fugirt'), although the actual theme in the sketch was not the one eventually used. This demonstrates that the more general concepts of the sonata's outline—such as the order of movements, the tonal scheme, and the fugal element—were in place from the preliminary stages of composition, and that the thematic material was established at a later stage.

While there is some suggestion of a falling-third motif in the proposed thematic material for the second and fourth movements, this is much less obvious than in the themes adopted in the finished sonata. The falling third in the penultimate bar of the 'Menuet' sketch is a diminished rather than major or minor third, while in the finale sketch the thirds appear only within the third bar rather than underpinning the contour of the theme as they do in the finished version. Thus the unifying motivic element of the finished sonata, which has played such a prominent role in subsequent analysis of the work, evidently emerged only once the broader aspects of the sonata's multi-movement structure were in place. It was similarly observed in a number of previous multi-movement plans (notably those for the Fifth Symphony) that inter-movement motivic integration was not obviously present in his preliminary conception of a work, even where such integration is easily discernible in the finished version. This supports the suggestion that motivic connections between

³⁸⁷ Transcribed in ibid., 129.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

movements emerged later in the compositional process, rather than underpinning Beethoven's basic conception of multi-movement structure.

A curious aspect of the plan not commented upon by Nottebohm is the fact that the minuet ends on the dominant. This suggests that Beethoven envisaged some sort of transition between the minuet and the slow movement, with the adagio perhaps continuing directly after the inconclusive half cadence of the previous movement. Although in the finished work the scherzo ends firmly in the tonic, the contrast between this movement and the ensuing F sharp minor Adagio sostenuto is tempered by the unison A to C sharp figure in the first bar of the latter movement, as numerous commentators have observed.³⁸⁹ It is widely known that this opening bar was added to the Adagio at a very late stage, as communicated to Ries in a letter containing Beethoven's metronome marks for the sonata.³⁹⁰ The multi-movement plan shown in Ex. 6.7, however, demonstrates that the idea of a transition between the two interior movements was already present in the preliminary stages of the sonata's composition. Rather than indicating an afterthought, Beethoven's insertion of the extra bar at the beginning of the Adagio suggests a realisation of an earlier idea. A somewhat similar case was observed in Beethoven's late-stage revision to the Violin Sonata op. 30 no. 1, in which he replaced the 6/8 Presto finale (later recycled in the 'Kreutzer' Sonata) with a newly-composed Allegretto movement (see Chapter 4). In that case, the replacement finale is closer in character to that outlined in the initial multi-movement plan, indicating a return to a previous idea rather than a completely new compositional direction, as also seems to have been the case in his addition of the extra bar in the 'Hammerklavier'.

The second multi-movement plan transcribed by Nottebohm (Ex. 6.8) consists of two elements; it is unclear from Nottebohm's description whether these belong together in a single plan or whether they appear in separate places in the sketchbook.³⁹¹ The first element shows a sketch in 2/4 that is indicated as being an 'episode' ('Zwischensatz') or 'section ('Abschnitt') in the last movement (Beethoven's inscription was evidently difficult to read here as Nottebohm's transcription is incomplete). The second part shows a sketch for a minuet in B flat minor, which bears some resemblance to the trio section of the finished work in

³⁸⁹ See, for instance: Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 206; Charles Rosen, *Beethoven's Piano Sonatas: A Short* Compendium, New Haven, 2002, 224-5; Cooper, Beethoven, 290-1. ^o A-940; BB-1309.

³⁹¹ N II. 129.

terms of its tonality and the repeated arpeggio figuration in the left hand. It is possible that this sketch in fact relates to the trio section, though Beethoven's preliminary concept sketches for trio sections are usually indicated as such.³⁹² The minuet sketch is followed by a verbal note concerning the finale: 'could also [have] at the end a Rondo moderato and as episode [a] fugue in B flat minor'.

Ex. 6.8—Plan for op. 106 in the 'Boldrini' Sketchbook³⁹³



If viewed in isolation, this plan would appear to represent a less advanced conception of the work as a whole than the plan sketched earlier (see Ex. 6.7). The 2/4 material did not make its way into the finished version; nothing is indicated for the slow movement; and Beethoven eventually opted for the initial idea of a fugal finale rather than the Rondo moderato proposed here. If viewed in combination with his earlier multi-movement plan, however, the sketches shown in Ex. 6.8 can be seen to represent an elaboration of his initial ideas at a more detailed level of structural planning. Since the basic outline of the interior movements (minuet followed by an adagio in F sharp) had already been established in the initial plan, there would be no need to repeat these indications here. No thematic material (besides two closing bars) had been sketched for the minuet in the earlier plan, and thus the 'men. allo' sketch may be essentially filling this gap rather than representing an alternative idea.

Furthermore, although Beethoven was apparently vacillating over a fugal or 'Rondo moderato' finale at this point, the idea of a fugal episode in B flat minor suggests a hybrid multi-sectional form (including contrapuntal techniques). The finale of the finished work indeed adopts a unique hybrid structure: the movement

³⁹² See, for instance, the multi-movement plans for op. 74 and the Eighth Symphony (Chapter 5, Exx. 5.12 and 5.17).

³⁹³ Transcribed in N II, 129.

opens with a fantasy-like introduction that moves through a variety of keys and tempi, eventually leading into an immense 'Fuga a tre voci, con alcune licenze' ('fugue in three voices, with some licences'). The fugue itself employs a number of contrapuntal techniques: the subject appears variously in augmentation, retrograde, inversion, and also in counterpoint with a contrasting theme introduced in bar 250. Thus, in a sense, the multi-sectional finale suggested by Beethoven's comment in the second multi-movement plan (Ex. 6.8) comes closer to the basic impression of the immense finale of the finished work than the finale sketch in the initial plan (Ex. 6.7), which simply indicates that the main theme is to be fugal. Moreover, the proposed fugal episode in B flat minor would create a long-range tonal connection with the B flat minor minuet as outlined in the second multi-movement plan, whereas no such tonal connections were evident within the first plan. The high level of integration in the finished work, which has been central to analyses such as Rosen's, is therefore reflected more in the second multi-movement plan, which further supports the idea that it represents an elaboration and expansion of Beethoven's earlier conception of the whole.

Even with the limited surviving evidence of Beethoven's composition of the 'Hammerklavier', it is clearly apparent that multi-movement planning played an important part in both the very early stages and very late stages of the work's composition. As is well known, however, Beethoven later made some surprising statements that seem to downplay the importance of the sonata's multi-movement structure. Firstly, Beethoven claimed to Archduke Rudolph that the work had originated as two movements composed for the archduke's name-day of the previous year, and that the other movements were added later in order to make a sonata.³⁹⁴ Secondly, when arranging for the sonata's publication in England, Beethoven made various suggestions to Ferdinand Ries for making the sonata 'more suitable for London', including omitting the Largo, or 'just [taking] the first movement and the Scherzo and [letting] them form the whole sonata'.³⁹⁵ Ries took these suggestions on board and eventually published the work in two parts: part one comprised the first three movements (with the order of the scherzo and slow movement reversed), and part two was the last movement, published as 'Introduction and Fugue'.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁴ A-948; BB-1292. ³⁹⁵ A-939; BB-1295.

³⁹⁶ Kinsky-Halm, 296.

The evidence of the sonata's multi-movement planning supports the existing arguments that Beethoven made these statements for practical rather than musical reasons. Norbert Gertsch has shown that Beethoven's account of the sonata's composition to Rudolph may have been a 'retrospective manipulation'; the composer was at this point particularly in need of Rudolph's support in the ongoing guardianship dispute over his nephew Karl.³⁹⁷ Beethoven's proposals to Ries are usually interpreted as demonstrating his eagerness to earn extra payment from an English publication rather than representing his musical intentions, since the work was already being properly printed in Vienna.³⁹⁸ While it is often problematic to make assertions about the composer's true 'intentions', particularly when these run contrary to his actions or words, the evidence of the sonata's composition unequivocally supports the position that the multi-movement structure (as it appears in the finished work) was an essential aspect of the work as Beethoven's conceived it.

Unfinished Symphony of 1817/18

Beethoven's verbal outline of a projected symphony on a sketchleaf from 1817/18 (Bonn HCB BSk 8/56) is familiar through having been associated with the early gestation of the Ninth Symphony.³⁹⁹ The symphony is described in somewhat vague terms mostly relating to instrumentation and general character. The sketch begins with the comment 'Adagio Cantique – Pious Song in a symphony in the old modes'. It continues with an indication that voices were to enter in the last movement with 'orchestral violins etc. [...] increased tenfold', or that the voices would instead enter in the adagio (which is then repeated in some way in the last movement).⁴⁰⁰

This sketch is generally considered significant for the fact that it shows that Beethoven was considering composing a symphony which involves vocal forces.⁴⁰¹ The use of voices clearly foreshadows the Ninth Symphony, though, as Barry Cooper points out, by this point Beethoven had already sketched some preliminary

³⁹⁷ Norbert Gertsch, 'Ludwig van Beethovens "Hammerklavier" Sonate op. 106: Bemerkungen zur Datierung und Bewertung der Quellen', *Bonner Beethoven Studien*, ii (2001), 63-93; here, 67. ³⁹⁸ Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 304; Rosen, *Beethoven's Piano Sonatas*, 228.

³⁹⁹ See, for instance, N II, 163, Brandenburg, 'Skizzen zur neunten Symphonie', 103.

⁴⁰⁰ English translation given in Cooper, *Beethoven*, 285.

⁴⁰¹ N II, 163.

ideas for the Ninth and thus the 'Adagio cantique' sketch evidently relates to a further symphony intended to follow the Ninth.⁴⁰²

Besides its connection with the Ninth Symphony, however, this sketch is significant in being expressed in purely verbal terms. Similar terms had been used to describe the first movement of a symphony on Scheide page 51 (see page 180 above), though here for the first time the verbal description operates on the multi-movement level. His conceptualisation of the overall effect of the work here takes precedence over the actual musical material; in other words, he was imagining the whole in terms of general concepts rather than sound. This indicates a more abstract conceptualisation of overall structure than that represented by multi-movement plans that outline musical material.

6.3—The Sonatas opp. 109, 110 and 111

Although the three late Piano Sonatas opp. 109, 110 and 111 appear under different opus numbers, they were composed for a single commission for three new piano sonatas from the Berlin published Adolf Schlesinger. Multi-movement plans for all three of these works have been identified in studies by Nicholas Marston and William Drabkin (see Table 6.3);⁴⁰³ the significance of these plans will here be considered in terms of Beethoven's approach to multi-movement planning in previous works.

Work	Location	Description
Op. 109	Grasnick 20b, f. 1v	Sketches for the last three movements (of a
		projected four-movement structure)?
Op. 110	Artaria 197, pp. 65-6	Preliminary sketches for all three movements
Op. 111	Artaria 197, pp. 75-6	Preliminary sketches for three movements

Table 6.3—Multi-movement plans for the Sonatas opp. 109, 110 and 111

Op. 109

As was first shown by William Meredith, the first movement of the Sonata op. 109 was originally conceived as a stand-alone piece, intended as a contribution to a new

⁴⁰² Cooper, *Beethoven*, 285.

⁴⁰³ Nicholas Marston, *The Sketches for Beethoven's Piano Sonata in E, Opus 109*, Oxford, 1995, 31-2; William Drabkin, A Sketchbook from the Year 1821 (Artaria 197): Sketches for the Agnus Dei and other Movements of the Missa Solemnis, the Piano Sonatas op. 110 and op. 111, and the Canon WoO 182, 2 vols., Bonn, 2010, Vol. 2 (Transcription and Commentary), 16 and 28-9.

piano method by the composer and horn player Friedrich Starke.⁴⁰⁴ The request from Starke came in February 1820,⁴⁰⁵ and an incipit of the first movement of op. 109 appears in a conversation-book entry of 11-13 April, suggesting that it was essentially complete by this time.⁴⁰⁶ The main sketches for the other two movements, however, date from no earlier than mid-June in the sketchbook Artaria 195.⁴⁰⁷ The idea to use the newly-composed piece for Starke as a sonata movement probably stemmed from Beethoven's friend and (unpaid) secretary Franz Oliva. Towards the end of April 1820 Beethoven agreed to compose three piano sonatas for Schlesinger, as indicated in a letter of 30 April.⁴⁰⁸ In a conversation-book entry of 22-24 April, Oliva wrote: 'and use the little new piece for a sonata for Schlesinger';⁴⁰⁹ Beethoven evidently followed this advice, adopting the piece in op. 109 and composing a new set of bagatelles for Starke instead (op. 109 nos. 7-11).

The one surviving multi-movement plan that can be associated with op. 109 has been identified by Nicholas Marston,⁴¹⁰ and appears on a leaf that originally belonged towards the end of the Wittgenstein Sketchbook, which was in use until May/June 1820.⁴¹¹ The plan shows preliminary ideas for what appear to be three different movements of a sonata (Ex. 6.9). The first is a 3/4 movement whose phrase structure suggests a minuet or scherzo; a brief sketch in C major below is likely to be intended as a trio section, as suggested by the indication 'D.C.' (Ex. 6.9a and Ex. 6.9b). Further down the page is a 'molto presto' in 2/4; as Marston observes, the continuation of this sketch suggests rondo form, and it breaks off with the comment '3ter the[i] in E dur durchaus', indicating that was to conclude in the tonic major (Ex. 6.9c).⁴¹² Lastly, following the end of the 'molto presto' sketch is a 'largo' in 3/4 which is indicated as being the '2nd movement' (Ex. 6.9d).

 ⁴⁰⁴ William Meredith, 'The Origins of Beethoven's Op. 109', *Musical Times*, cxxvi (1985), 713-6.
 Sieghard Brandenburg had previously raised the possibility that the first movement of op. 109 initially was composed as a stand-alone piece (Brandenburg, 'Die Skizzen zur neunten Symphonie', 105).
 ⁴⁰⁵ BKh, Vol. 1, 245 and 289.

⁴⁰⁶ Marston, *Opus 109*, 25-6.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 31.

⁴⁰⁸ A-1021; BB-1388.

⁴⁰⁹ C. 22-24 April; BKh, Vol. 2, 87.

⁴¹⁰ See Marston, *Opus 109*, 31-4.

⁴¹¹ For the dating and a reconstruction of the Wittengstein Sketchbook see JTW, 253-9.

⁴¹² Marston, *Opus 109*, 33. The term '3ter the[i]l' is likely to refer to a coda; this term is similarly used to denote a coda in a sketch for the first movement of the Ninth Symphony (see Drabkin, 'Beethoven's Understanding of "Sonata Form", 16).



All three movements appear to be in E minor (with the 'molto presto' concluding in E major). Marston suggests that the plan 'may have been Beethoven's initial response to Oliva's suggestion that he use the "little new piece" in a sonata for Schlesinger',⁴¹⁴ with the sketches representing ideas for the last three movements. In this case the plan would serve a similar purpose to the multi-movement plan for op. 81a, which similarly outlined the later movements of a work whose first movement had already been completed (see Chapter 5).

⁴¹³ Transcribed in Marston, *Opus 109*, 32.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 31.

However, the resulting sonata would have two interior movements with both the same key and the same metre (E minor, 3/4). While Beethoven occasionally adopts the same metre for the two interior movements (as occurs in the Fourth Symphony whose interior movements are both in 3/4), none of his four-movement works have both interior movements in the same key. It may be the case, therefore, that the two interior movements shown in Ex. 6.9 (the minuet/scherzo and largo) are in fact alternative ideas for interior movements. In sketching the plan he may be vacillating over the interior movement of a three-movement structure: either a scherzo movement or a 'largo'. The finished work indeed has three movements with a scherzo as interior movement, though it concludes with a lyrical Andante molto cantabile ed espressivo variations movement rather than a more conventional rapidtempo finale.

Whether Beethoven was planning a three- or a four-movement structure, the projected sonata outlined on Grasnick 20b folio 1v was evidently going to have a homotonal scheme, with every movement in E major or minor. As Marston observes, this foreshadows the key scheme eventually used in op. 109 (and indeed links it with all of Beethoven's previous multi-movement works in E).⁴¹⁵ This strongly supports the notion than Beethoven considered these homotonal schemes to be particularly effective in the key of E: the homotonal scheme was planned from the start and preserved in the finished work, even though the multi-movement structure was otherwise completely transformed.

Op. 110

After completing op. 109, Beethoven did not immediately compose the next two of the three sonatas he had promised Schlesinger. With previous sets (such as the Sonatas op. 30 and 31) advanced sketches for one work are often accompanied by brief ideas for the next one, though there is no clear evidence of ideas for a new sonata amongst advanced work on op. 109 in the sketchbook Artaria 195. Instead, Beethoven next worked mainly on two delayed projects: the contribution to Starke's piano method (op. 119 nos. 7-11) and work on the last part of the *Missa Solemnis*. It was not until around a year later that he returned to the sonata set for Schlesinger,⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 33.

⁴¹⁶ The earliest sketches for op. 110 in Artaria 197 date from autumn 1821: see Drabkin, ed., *Artaria 197*, Vol. 2 (Transcription and Commentary), 16. William Kinderman has suggested that the earliest op. 110 sketches in Artaria 197 were originally made on loose leaves around June 1820 and only later

at which point the Sonatas opp. 110 and 111 were composed in immediate succession. It may have been this delay that resulted in the works being published individually rather than in a set of three (though Schlesinger may also have envisaged three separate publications from the outset).

Some of the preliminary sketches for op. 110 in Artaria 197 are known to the literature through Nottebohm's transcriptions of them.⁴¹⁷ Several op. 110 sketches were also selectively transcribed in Karl Michael Komma's commentary to the facsimile edition of the sonata.⁴¹⁸ However, the initial multi-movement plan for op. 110 has been known in its complete form only since the recent publication of William Drabkin's edition of the sketchbook Artaria 197, in which he identifies sketches relating to the 'general shape' of op. 110.⁴¹⁹ A number of isolated sketches for piano works made at various points in the sketchbook are evidently preliminary ideas for a new sonata,⁴²⁰ but it was not until Beethoven started work on what is recognisable as the first movement of op. 110 that he sketched a plan for a work as a whole.

Sketches for the first movement of op. 110 begin on page 64, and the multimovement plan begins on page 65 opposite (Ex. 6.10). Half-way down page 65 are concept sketches for the first movement (Ex. 6.10a) and a 'leztes Stück' in 3/8 (Ex. 6.10b). On the next page Beethoven sketched an 'andante' in A flat minor which Drabkin identifies as a middle movement;⁴²¹ this indeed seems its most likely purpose as it is surrounded by further sketches for the first movement (Ex. 6.10c).

Ex. 6.10—Artaria 197, pp. 64-5

⁴²⁰ See Ibid., 29-30.

a

bound up in the sketchbook (William Kinderman, ed., Artaria 195: Beethoven's Sketchbook for the Missa solemnis and the Piano Sonata in E Major, Opus 109, 3 vols., Urbana and Chicago, 2003, Vol. 1 [Commentary], 13), though Drabkin provides numerous counter-arguments for such an interpretation (Drabkin, Artaria 197, Vol. 2, 14).

⁴¹⁷ Nottebohm transcribed early sketches for the first movement and fugue of op. 110 (N II, 465-6), and the second and third movements in the plan for op. 111 (N II, 467-8).

⁴¹⁸ Ludwig van Beethoven, Die Klaviersonate As-dur opus 110 von Ludwig van Beethoven [autograph facsimile], ed. Karl Michael Komma, 2 vols., Stuttgart: Ichthys Verlag, 1967, Vol. 2, 6-12. ⁴¹⁹ Drabkin, Artaria 197, Vol. 2, 28.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 28.



Although the first-movement sketch is almost identical to the beginning of the finished work, Beethoven's ideas for the later movements bear no relation to op. 110 (besides the fact that they follow a three-movement structure). Whereas the work outlined in Ex. 6.10 follows a conventional fast-slow-fast pattern, op. 110 has an interior duple-time scherzo movement and a multi-sectional finale incorporating an introduction, recitative, aria ('klagender Gesang') and fugue in a complex overall design. As with op. 109, the finished version of op. 110 has a heavily end-weighted multi-movement structure, and it is therefore curious that this feature is not evident in the preliminary multi-movement plans for these works.

One last feature of the plan shown in Ex. 6.10 invites comment: namely, its homotonal scheme. Such schemes are relatively rare amongst Beethoven's output, though this scheme had been adopted in op. 109 and was used in the finished version of op. 111. The idea of modal contrast within a homotonal scheme therefore seems to have been a particularly important aspect of his compositional language at this point. He may have abandoned the idea of a homotonal scheme in op. 110 in order to avoid having two successive sonatas with the same tonal scheme. The idea of modal contrast was preserved in op. 110's finale, however, since first appearance of the 'klagender Gesang' is set in the tonic minor, leading directly to the beginning of the fugue in the tonic major.

Op. 111

The preliminary multi-movement plan for op. 111 appears on Artaria 197 pages 75-6, amongst advanced sketches for the last two movements of op. 110 (Ex. 6.11). Although the finished sonata has only two movements (a sonata allegro followed by the monumental Arietta variations movement in the tonic major), the initial plan outlines three movements. The sonata was to begin with a 6/8 movement with an introductory two-bar gesture (which does not approach the gravity of the finished version's extended Maestoso introduction; Ex. 6.11a). There was to be an interior slow movement in A flat major, 2/4 (Ex. 6.11b), and a fugal finale based on the theme eventually used in the Allegro con brio of the first movement (Ex. 6.11c).

Ex. 6.11—Artaria 197, pp. 75-6



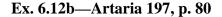


Altogether the plan outlines a conventional fast-slow-fast design that bears little relation to the finished work (as had been the case with the plan for op. 110). Drabkin, however, suggests that sketches on subsequent pages of Artaria 197 'may have indicated an expansion of the initial plan from a three-movement sonata to a larger work'.⁴²² On page 77, opposite the sketches for the second and third movements, Beethoven sketched an 'Episode' in C minor, 3/4 (Ex. 6.12a); further sketches in 3/4 on page 78 appear to be a continuation of this idea. Drabkin suggests that the title 'Episode' may indicate a 'short in-between piece', and that sketches for a rondo-like 'All[egro] con brio' movement on pages 80-81 may relate to a projected fifth movement (Ex. 6.12b).⁴²³ The resulting five-movement structure would have some affinity with that of the Quartet op. 132, which similarly has a 'short inbetween piece' ('Alla marcia, assai vivace) between the third movement and finale.

⁴²² Drabkin, Artaria 197, Vol. 2, 28.

⁴²³ Ibid., 28-9.







The title 'Episode', however, may not necessarily relate to an independent movement; the same term was used in a plan for the 'Hammerklavier' to indicate a passage in the finale (Ex. 6.8 above) and may have had the same meaning here. Furthermore, in terms of tonal design, a five-movement work incorporating the movement described above would have a lack of variety that is uncharacteristic of Beethoven, since four of the five movements would be C minor. This casts doubt on the interpretation of the sketches on page 77-8 as being for additional movements to the preconceived three-movement structure. Another interpretation of their purpose is that Beethoven may have sketched them as possible alternatives to the movements sketched in the initial plan on pages 75-6. Thus a likely interpretation of the preliminary sketches for op. 111 would be that only the sketches on pages 75-6 constitute a multi-movement plan, whereas the sketches on subsequent pages represent alternative ideas for later movements less systematically laid out.

6.4—The Ninth Symphony

Although two earlier multi-movement plans have been identified as foreshadowing aspects of the Ninth Symphony (Unfinished Symphony of 1815/16 and Unfinished

Symphony of 1817, see Chapters 6.1 and 6.2), only the three plans listed in Table 6.4 clearly relate to the symphony in its finished form. The first of these plans appears within a set of leaves that originally belonged to the end of the Wittgenstein Sketchbook of 1819/20 (Grasnick 20b folios 1-6),⁴²⁴ and thus predates the main period of work on the three late piano sonatas for Schlesinger. The other two plans are found in the sketchbook Artaria 201 and mark the beginning of detailed work on the symphony in 1822.⁴²⁵ Nottebohm also transcribed sketches for possible later movements of the symphony from the lost Boldrini Sketchbook; however, since he presented the sketches individually and did not describe their exact position in the sketchbook it is impossible to tell whether these constituted further multi-movement plans.426

Location	Description	
Grasnick 20b, f. 2v	Sketches for three or four movements	
Artaria 201, p. 111	Verbal outline of the last three movements	
Artaria 201, p. 123	Sketches for all movements (five-movement structure	
	planned at this point?)	

 Table 6.4—Multi-movement plans for the Ninth Symphony

Whereas the latter two plans are well known through having been transcribed by Nottebohm,⁴²⁷ the plan in Grasnick 20b has previously been overlooked. The Ninth Symphony sketches in Grasnick 20b were first identified by Sieghard Brandenburg, and can be dated to around March 1820 on the basis of the surrounding sketches.⁴²⁸ As Brandenburg points out, these were apparently the last sketches Beethoven made before setting the symphony project aside for more than two years.⁴²⁹ Brandenburg did not, however, present a transcription of these sketches or discuss their significance in terms of the symphony's genesis.

Concept sketches on folio 2v staves 4-9 evidently relate to the different movements of the symphony (Ex. 6.13): the first movement is recognisable in the sketch on stave 4 (Ex. 6.13a); a sketch on stave 6 indicates a second-movement minuet in B flat (Ex. 6.13b); a concept sketch on stave 8 shows a theme in G major

⁴²⁴ JTW, 257.

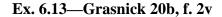
⁴²⁵ Brandenburg, 'Die Skizzen zur neunten Symphonie', 106-9.
⁴²⁶ N II, 159-62.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 166-7.

⁴²⁸ Brandenburg, 'Die Skizzen zur neunten Symphonie', 104-5.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 104-5.

(Ex. 6.13c); and an 'Andante' sketch on stave 9 is accompanied by the comment 'Finale von der Sinfon[ie] in D' (Ex. 6.13d). The G major sketch is not explicitly labelled as belonging to the symphony, and may therefore be unrelated to the plan for the symphony, though its position between the concept sketches for the second movement and finale suggests that it relates to a possible slow movement in G major.





With the exception of the first movement, the finished version of the symphony is barely recognisable in this plan, though the order of the interior movements (with the minuet movement in second place) was preserved in the Ninth Symphony. The keys of the projected interior movements do feature in the finished work, though not as outlined here. The finished scherzo is in D minor rather than B flat, though B flat is adopted as the key of the slow movement (and of the first movement's secondary key area). The key of G major, as sketched in the plan, also features within the slow movement in the second appearance of the second theme (bars 65-81).

These features aside, however, the plan outlines a very different symphony from the Ninth. Most importantly, the crucial aspect of its innovative overall design—the use of vocal forces in the finale—is not present here. The 'Andante' sketch is curious, since it might imply that Beethoven intended a moderate-tempo finale rather than a more characteristic fast movement. A more likely interpretation, however, is that 'Andante' was intended as an introduction to the finale rather than the main substance of the movement itself. The comment 'Finale von der Sinfon in D' may therefore refer to an ensuing fast movement (which is not sketched in the plan). This is supported by the fact that eight pages later, on Grasnick 20b folio 6v, there is a sketch labelled 'Finale der Sinfonie in D moll', which shows a 'presto' sketch in 2/4 that begins in D minor before turning to D major (staves 3-6). This 'presto' may well have been sketched in order to fill the gap in the symphonic plan on folio 2v (if the 'Andante' indeed refers only to an introduction to the finale).

It was observed in the discussions of the *Eroica* and Fifth Symphonies that Beethoven seems to have sketched plans for these works before setting them aside in favour of other projects, perhaps in order to preserve ideas for future development. A similar purpose is suggested by the plan on Grasnick 20b folio 2v, since it was made shortly before Beethoven put the symphony aside for more than two years. The plan may therefore have been sketched as a template for a D minor symphony (whose first movement was already partially worked out by this point) that Beethoven intended to return to later.

One further aspect of the symphony sketches on folio 2v deserves mention in connection with the projected finale. Directly beneath the 'Andante' sketch on stave 9 Beethoven made a sketch for a set of orchestral variations on the 'Dead March' from Handel's *Saul*, in which singers are introduced at the end (Ex. 6.14).

Ex. 6.14—Grasnick 20b, f. 2v



Brandenburg highlights the significance of this sketch in terms of dating the surrounding Ninth Symphony sketches, as it corresponds with a related entry in Beethoven's conversation book from March 1820.⁴³⁰ However, he does not explicitly point to the fact that the idea of orchestral variations leading to the introduction of vocal forces clearly foreshadows the finale of the Ninth Symphony. The position of this sketch directly following a plan for the symphony (in which the main part of the finale is apparently left blank) seems too striking to be mere coincidence. This leads to the intriguing possibility that the 'Dead March' sketch may have helped to trigger Beethoven's decision to use vocal forces in the Ninth, either at the point when he sketched the 'Dead March' or when turning back to the symphonic plan at a later date. Of course, as outlined above, Beethoven had already considered using vocal forces in a symphony 'in the old modes' as early as 1817/18, which indicates that this idea had been germinating for some time. Yet the Ninth Symphony sketches in Grasnick 20b clearly indicate an instrumental finale, and the decision to include voices in the Ninth therefore came after he sketched the multimovement plan on folio 2v. The visual cue of the 'Dead March' sketch may therefore have helped trigger this. This suggests that multi-movement plans continued to stimulate his creative imagination even after the process of sketching.

The other two multi-movement plans for the Ninth have been frequently discussed and will be only touched upon here. Both plans appear in relatively close proximity in the sketchbook Artaria 201 (pages 111 and 123), and date from the beginning of the main period of work in the symphony in late 1822.⁴³¹ The first plan in Artaria 201 is a purely verbal outline of the last three movements:

the symphony in 4 movements or [?] the 2nd movement in 2/4 metre like in the son[ata] in A flat this could be in 6/8 major and the last movement

⁴³⁰ Brandenburg, 'Die Skizzen zur neunten Symphonie', 104-5.

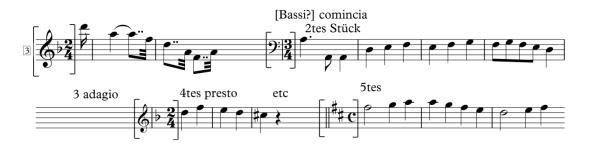
⁴³¹ JTW, 273-7.

[followed by a cross reference to the beginning of the 'Freude' theme sketched elsewhere on the pagel⁴³²

The relationship of this plan with the finished work has already been discussed elsewhere.⁴³³ What has not been emphasised, however, is the significance of the purely verbal form of this outline. As with the 'Adagio cantique' sketch (see pages 197-8) Beethoven has here outlined the musical features of the work without the use of music notation, suggesting that he was here conceptualising the shape of the whole in terms of abstract narrative rather than sound.

The second multi-movement plan, by contrast, takes the form of Beethoven's more typical multi-movement plans in presenting concept sketches for the different movements in sequence (Ex. 6.15). This represents a more specific outline of the work than the verbal description from earlier in the sketchbook, as it indicates the thematic content of all but the adagio movement. This plan may therefore have been sketched in order to refine his ideas for the conception of the whole, developing the basic outline sketched in the previous verbal plan.





Although the plan appears to indicate a five-movement structure, with an extra 'presto' movement in between the adagio and finale, Brandenburg suggests that the 'presto' was in fact intended as an instrumental introduction to the finale rather than a movement in its own right.⁴³⁴ The finished version indeed opens with an instrumental Presto, leading to a lengthy recitative-like section before the first entry of the 'Freude' theme. The earlier plan in Grasnick 20b seems to support Brandenburg's interpretation, as the 'presto' sketch strongly recalls the D minor 'Andante' that may have been intended as an introduction to the finale (see Ex. 6.13d

⁴³² 'die sinfonie aus 4 / Stücken oder (?) das 2te Stück in 2/4 takt / wie in der son[ate] aus As dies könnte / in 6/8tel dur sejn u das 4te Stück', quoted in Brandenburg, 'Die Skizzen zur neunten Symphonie' 109.

N II, 166; Brandenburg, 'Die Skizzen zur neunten Symphonie', 109.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 109.

above), though Brandenburg does not make this connection. This supports the idea that Beethoven returned to his earlier ideas for the symphony when beginning detailed composition, incorporating elements of his earlier plan while continuing to develop his conception of the work as a whole.

6.5—Unfinished 'Tenth' Symphony

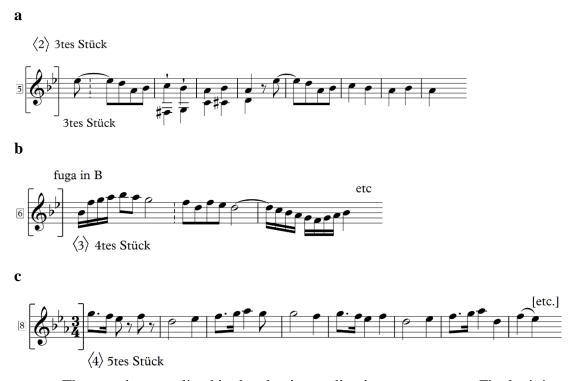
As Sieghard Brandenburg first identified, when Beethoven sketched the plans for the Ninth Symphony in Artaria 201 he was also planning to compose another symphony in E flat major.⁴³⁵ A number of sketches and drafts survive for the first movement, which was to have an Andante in E flat major, 2/4, leading to a C minor Allegro in 6/8. One multi-movement plan has also survived that outlines the later movements (Ex. 6.16); this plan appears on a loose bifolio that had originally been used as a score for an unfinished military tattoo (Bonn HCB BSk 20/68), and evidently dates from shortly after the Ninth Symphony plans in Artaria 201.⁴³⁶ On folio 1r Beethoven made further sketches for the first movement, and on folio 1v he sketched brief ideas for three later movements. Curiously, the movements are numbered 3, 4 and 5, suggesting a five-movement structure, though Beethoven had originally numbered them 2, 3 and 4. The '3rd' movement sketch shows a brief passage in G minor, 2/4 (Ex. 6.16a), the '4th' movement is a fugue in B flat major (Ex. 6.16b), and the '5th' is based on a theme that Beethoven recycled in the *Gratulations-Menuett*, WoO 3, which was composed very shortly after this plan was sketched (Ex. 6.16c).⁴³⁷ The 5th-movement sketch continues for over 30 bars, and includes an indication of a variation for winds (as indicated by the comments 'varie' and 'harmonie'). At the very end there was to be a return of the E flat major Andante from the first movement (an idea reminiscent of the finales of the Cello Sonata op. 102 no. 1 and the Piano Sonata op. 101).⁴³⁸

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 111-12.

⁴³⁶ Barry Cooper, 'The First Movement of Beethoven's Tenth Symphony: A Realization', *Beethoven Newsletter*, iii (1988), 25-31; here, 27.

⁴³⁷ Beethoven composed WoO 3 for the occasion of the name-day of the director of the Josephstadt Theatre on 3 November 1822 (Kinsky-Halm, 431-2).

⁴³⁸ The whole sketch is transcribed in Brandenburg, 'Die Skizzen zur neunten Symphonie', 112.



The symphony outlined in the plan is puzzling in many respects. Firstly, it is not entirely clear how many movements there were to be. Cooper suggests that Beethoven's renumbering indicates that he had decided to count the Andante and Allegro of the opening movement separately;⁴³⁹ a similar case exists in Beethoven's last plan for the Ninth Symphony in which '4th' and '5th' movements appear to relate to the introduction and main part of the finale (see Ex. 6.15). Brandenburg also suggests that the G minor '3rd' movement functions as a short introduction to the B flat major fugue.⁴⁴⁰ Depending on how the movements are counted, therefore, the plan could outline anything between a three-movement and a five-movement structure.

The movement-types themselves outline a structure very different from the conventional fast-slow-minuet-fast pattern. While fugal passages are not uncommon in symphonic finales, it would be unprecedented to have an interior fugal movement (which here seems to function in place of the minuet movement). The idea of a minuet finale, however, harks back to the three-movement symphonic structures of the early Classical period, which had largely become obsolete by the end of the 18th century (see Chapter 2). Beethoven had recently returned to this idea in the Tempo di

⁴³⁹ Cooper, 'Beethoven's Tenth Symphony', 27.

⁴⁴⁰ Brandenburg, 'Die Skizzen zur neunten Symphonie', 111.

menuetto finale to the Diabelli Variations, though he had never yet considered this possibility in a symphonic work. Thus the projected symphony was to contain an extraordinary combination of highly innovative and extremely old-fashioned elements.

Beethoven briefly returned to the E flat major symphony after completing the Ninth, making further sketches for the first movement in 1824 and 1825.⁴⁴¹ The sketches from 1825 also include a brief idea in A flat major and a 'Presto' in C minor, which (as Cooper points out) may indicate a projected slow movement and scherzo.⁴⁴² This suggests a conventional four-movement design, and thus the plan shown in Ex. 6.16 may have simply been a fleeting thought. Had he completed the symphony according to the earlier plan, however, his Tenth Symphony would have broken with symphonic conventions regarding multi-movement structure to a greater extent than any of his previous nine.

Summary

Multi-movement plans continue to feature amongst Beethoven's sketches for instrumental works composed between 1815 and 1824; plans survive for all of the works from this period with the exception of the Cello Sonatas op. 102 (whose sketches are largely missing). For several works (the Sonata op. 101, the unfinished trio in F minor, the 'Hammerklavier', and the Ninth Symphony) Beethoven sketched more than one plan. This suggests that multi-movement plans played a greater role in his compositional approach in this period than in previous years, where he usually sketched only one plan in the preliminary stages of composition (with only a few exceptions, notably the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies).

One new feature to emerge in Beethoven's multi-movement planning in this period is the use of purely verbal terms in describing a work's overall musical structure: such plans were sketched for the unfinished symphony of 1817 and the Ninth Symphony. The first movement of the unfinished symphony of c. 1815-16 is similarly described without the use of musical notation. This suggests a more abstract conceptualisation of multi-movement structure than in plans that outline thematic material, since Beethoven was evidently thinking not in terms of specific sounds, but in terms of the larger sequence of events in the work as a whole.

⁴⁴¹ Cooper, 'Beethoven's Tenth Symphony', 27.

⁴⁴² Ibid.

Chapter 7—Multi-Movement Plans for the Late Quartets

The late quartets are the last multi-movement works Beethoven ever completed, and are thus his 'last word' on the issue of multi-movement structure.⁴⁴³ They also include some of the most sophisticated and innovative multi-movement structures of any of his instrumental works. A vast body of sketch material survives for the late quartets, including not only sketchbooks and loose leaves, but also score sketches, in which Beethoven apparently worked out the particular textural problems raised by quartet writing.⁴⁴⁴ Many of the quartet sketches have been examined a number of detailed studies,⁴⁴⁵ which have indicated (unsurprisingly) that multi-movement planning was a particularly important issue in the sketching of these works. This chapter will summarise existing knowledge of Beethoven's multi-movement planning in each of the late quartets alongside discussions of several previously unidentified plans. The role of multi-movement planning in the sketches for these works will then be evaluated in the context of his approach to multi-movement structures throughout this compositional career. The quartets will be discussed in the order in which they were composed (rather than in the numerical order of their opus numbers).

7.1—0p. 127

Although the first of the three 'Galitzin' Quartets, op. 127, adopts the conventional 'symphonic' four-movement structure, Sieghard Brandenburg's detailed study of the sources for op. 127 outlines that Beethoven originally planned further additional

⁴⁴³ Beethoven was working on a string quintet in C major (WoO 62) at the time of his death, the first movement of which had evidently been completed though it now survives only in the publisher Anton Diabelli's 2-hand and 4-hand piano transcriptions (Kinsky-Halm, 508-9). Although some sketches survive for possible later movements (see N I, 79-81), no multi-movement plan as such has been identified for the quintet.

⁴⁴⁴ An extensive account of Beethoven's score sketches for the late quartets is given in JTW, 461-58. ⁴⁴⁵ See, especially: Winter, *Origins*; Sieghard Brandenburg, 'Die Quellen zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Beethovens Streichquartett Es-dur Op. 127', *Beethoven-Jahrbuch*, x (1983), 221-76; Laura Kathryn Bumpass, 'Beethoven's Last Quartet', Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1982.

movements.⁴⁴⁶ Brandenburg also points out that there was originally going to be a C major movement entitled 'La gaieté' in between the first movement and what is now the second movement, and that at one point a brief, mysterious Adagio in E major was to act as an introductory section to the finale.⁴⁴⁷ Brandenburg's findings have since been cited a number of times,⁴⁴⁸ and their significance to the issue of multi-movement structure is summarised by William Kinderman:

These preliminary plans show how Beethoven's attempts to shape the work as a cyclic whole were already anticipating elements akin to those of his later C sharp minor Quartet op. 131, which has seven interconnected movements.⁴⁴⁹

Brandenburg did not, however, provide examples from the sketches for op. 127 or describe them in any great detail, since the main focus of his article was a physical description of the manuscript sources for the quartet. Beethoven's plans for a six-movement structure are therefore known only from Brandenburg's passing mention of them, and their precise role in the genesis of op. 127 has never been fully evaluated.

The evidence for a six-movement structure, according to Brandenburg's article, comes from two outlines (*Konzepte*) of the projected later movements on pages 1 and 24 of the pocket sketchbook Artaria 205/4.⁴⁵⁰ Further investigation, however, reveals that there are at least three further sketches and drafts for op. 127 that can be classed as multi-movement plans (Table 7.1). These plans appear in three different formats: besides the two pocket-sketchbook plans, Beethoven also sketched two plans in desk sketchbooks (Bonn BH 112, a bifolio originally belonging to the sketchbook Landsberg 8/2, and the Engelmann Sketchbook), and another within a collection of score sketches (Artaria 206). This makes op. 127 the first work for which multi-movement plans have survived in more than one sketch format. This suggests that multi-movement planning was more of a consideration throughout the sketching process than in most of Beethoven's previous works; it seems to have

⁴⁴⁶ Brandenburg, 'Op. 127', 273. The following discussion of the multi-movement plans for op. 127 draws on my own undergraduate dissertation (The 'Finale Problem' in Beethoven's Late String Quartets', University of Manchester, 2009), and from a forthcoming article by Barry Cooper ('The Role of Beethoven's "la gaiete' Movement in the Creation of His Quartet Op. 127').

⁴⁴⁷ Brandenburg, 'Op. 127', 274. Beethoven actually omitted the accent over the final 'e' of 'gaieté', though an accent was silently added in Nottebohm's original transcription (N II, 218-20) and will be preserved here.

⁴⁴⁸ Lockwood, *Beethoven*, 446; Cooper, *Beethoven*, 348.

⁴⁴⁹ Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 285.

⁴⁵⁰ Brandenburg, 'Op. 127', 249-50 and 273.

taken place not only while he was sketching ideas at his desk, but also while out with his pocket sketchbook. The unusually high degree of multi-movement planning involved in its composition suggests that structural issues took on a new importance in this period of Beethoven's compositional career. This is of course more obviously reflected in the more innovative multi-movement structures of his next three quartets (opp. 132, 130 and 131).

Location	Type of source	Description
Engelmann, p. 1	Desk sketchbook	Ideas for the first
		movement, a slow
		movement in E major,
		and various sketches for
		fugal movements
Bonn BH 112, p. 3	Loose bifolio (originally	Ideas for the first
	belonging to the desk	movement, an 'adagio'
	sketchbook Landsberg	in C major, and a
	8/2)	finale(?)
Artaria 206, pp. 98-105	Score sketches	Sketches and drafts for
		all four movements
Artaria 205/4, p. 1	Pocket sketchbook	Sketches for the third
		and fourth movements
Artaria 205/4, p. 24	Pocket sketchbook	Sketches for the last four
		movements (six-
		movement structure
		planned at this point)

Table 7.1—Multi-movement	plans	for op.	127
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The first plan listed in Table 7.1 dates from around the beginning of 1823,⁴⁵¹ before Beethoven had completed the 'Diabelli' Variations and the Ninth Symphony and long before he began detailed work on the quartet in 1824.⁴⁵² It appears on the first page of the Engelmann Sketchbook, and outlines brief preliminary ideas for a quartet in E flat major. The plan begins with a sketch in E flat headed 'quartett un poco maestoso' leading to an 'all[egr]o' (staves 8-9), which foreshadows the beginning of op. 127 in terms of its tempo indications and the double-stopped figuration of the maestoso. The ensuing concept sketches seem to outline various options for later movements (rather than a clear plan of the whole work). A sketch in

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 233-4.

⁴⁵² Ibid.

E major seems to represent an idea for a slow movement (staves 10-11), and three further sketches in various keys are headed 'fuga' (staves 10, 12, 13 and 15-16), one of which is also in E major. The fugal movements may have been considered as possible interior movements in place of a scherzo; something similar seems to have been planned in the case of the projected 'Tenth' Symphony (Ex. 6.16).

The appearance of the key of E major in two of the sketches is significant, and might suggest that Beethoven was interested in exploring Neapolitan relationships in this quartet. A similar key scheme is found in Haydn's last piano sonata, Hob. XVI:52, which has an interior movement in E major in the context of an overall tonality of E flat. The interior movements of the finished version of op. 127 ultimately adopt more conventional keys; the Adagio second movement is in the subdominant of A flat, whereas the scherzo is in the tonic. E major does, however, feature in the third variation of the A flat major Adagio movement, which Kerman describes as the 'spiritual crown' of the whole quartet.⁴⁵³ Thus the appearance of E major in the early plan may in fact indicate that Beethoven was interested in using the key itself, rather than the idea of a Neapolitan relationship between the tonalities of successive movements. As has been observed in a number of previous multimovement plans, therefore, Beethoven evidently decided on a particular secondary key area before establishing exactly where this was to feature in the finished work; the most recent example of this was the Ninth Symphony plan in Grasnick 20b (Ex. 6.13).

The second plan in Table 7.1 (on Bonn BH 112 folio 2r) dates from around the beginning of detailed work on the quartet in the summer of 1824.⁴⁵⁴ The first movement was evidently beginning to take shape by this point, to judge from a concept sketch for the Maestoso introduction (staves 11-12) and a short draft of the ensuing Allegro (staves 1-2). This page also has a sketch for an 'adagio; in C major, common time (staves 7-8) and a movement in E flat, 2/4 (stave 9); these may be ideas for a slow movement and finale that did not make their way into the finished work. As with the previous plan, the key of the projected slow movement made its way into a different part of the finished work: the Maestoso introduction to the first movement reappears in C major within the development section (bars 135-8), and the coda of the last movement (Allegro con moto, 6/8) also begins in this key. This

⁴⁵³ Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 216. See also Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 288-9. ⁴⁵⁴ Brandenburg, 'Op. 127', 234-6.

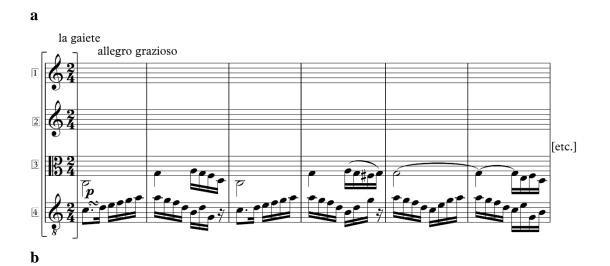
again highlights the importance of secondary key areas to Beethoven's preliminary plans for a multi-movement work. This page also includes a concept sketch in F minor headed 'F mol quartett' (staves 11-12), indicating that Beethoven was already thinking ahead to the key of the next of quartet,⁴⁵⁵ as he often did when composing a set of works.

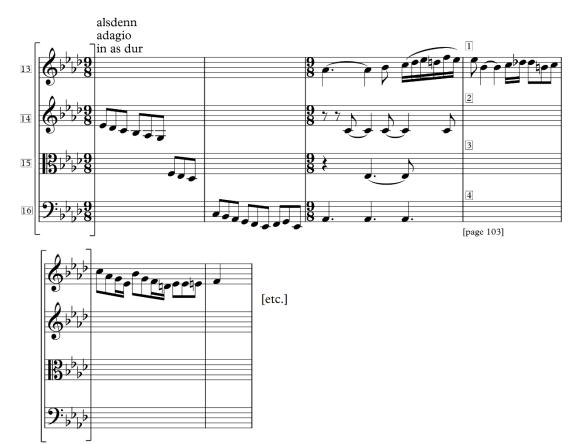
The next plan, in Artaria 206, provides a more detailed outline of the quartet as a whole, and clearly outlines a four-movement structure (Ex. 7.1). The group of four bifolios in upright format catalogued as Artaria 206 pages 97-112 was evidently used by Beethoven to create an overview of the quartet as a whole in a combination of drafts and concept sketches.⁴⁵⁶ Although page 97 contains earlier sketches for the Missa Solemnis, and pages 106-112 are blank, the rest of the pages are entirely devoted to outlining the different movements of op. 127. Page 98 contains a singlestave continuity draft of the first-movement exposition, which is evidently still at an early stage of development as it involves a different second subject from the finished movement. Pages 99-102 are filled with a draft of a C major movement entitled 'la gaieté allegro grazioso', which was partially transcribed by Nottebohm.⁴⁵⁷ This draft is in quartet score (though mostly with only one or two voices filled in), and outlines a complete movement from beginning to end. The last two movements in the draft are represented only by brief sketches: an 'adagio' in 9/8 is sketched on pages 102-4 (Ex. 7.1b), and page 105 shows the beginning of the projected finale (Ex. 7.1c).

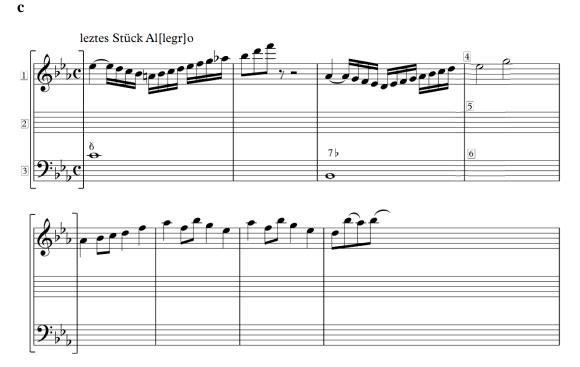
⁴⁵⁵ Beethoven had promised to compose a set of three quartets for Prince Galitzin as early as 25 January 1823 (A-1123; BB-1535)

 ⁴⁵⁶ For a description of Artaria 206 see Brandenburg, 'Op. 127', 258-66.
 ⁴⁵⁷ N II, 218-20.

Ex. 7.1—Artaria 206, pp. 102-5







As was first pointed out by Nottebohm, the theme of the C major 'gaieté' movement appears to have been later transformed into the theme of the A flat major Adagio of the finished work.⁴⁵⁸ Barry Cooper has shown that Beethoven also at one point considered merging the C major and A flat major ideas into a kind of double variations movement before ultimately abandoning 'la gaieté' altogether.⁴⁵⁹ In the Artaria 206 plan, the 'gaieté' movement was evidently intended as a substitute scherzo movement, and its role within the quartet would have been unusual for several reasons: not only was it to be placed before the adagio, it was also in a key other than the tonic and in duple (rather than triple) metre. Ultimately, however, Beethoven opted for a more conventional scherzo movement in the finished work, with a triple-time movement in the tonic appearing in the usual position directly preceding the finale.

The two plans in the pocket sketchbook Artaria 205/4 still represent an early stage in the compositional process, since Beethoven was still working on the first movement in the early part of the sketchbook.⁴⁶⁰ Although Brandenburg suggests that both plans point to a six-movement structure,⁴⁶¹ such a structure is not clearly apparent from the plan on page 1. This page has a sketch in C minor headed '3tes

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⁴⁵⁸ N II, 217.

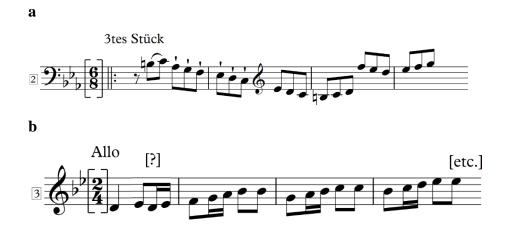
⁴⁵⁹ Cooper, 'The Role of Beethoven's "la gaiete' Movement'.

⁴⁶⁰ For an inventory of Artaria 205/4 see Brandenburg, 'Op. 127', 249-50.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 273.

Stück' on stave 2, and an 'All[egr]o' with a B flat major key signature on staves 3-4 (Ex. 7.2a-b).

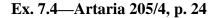


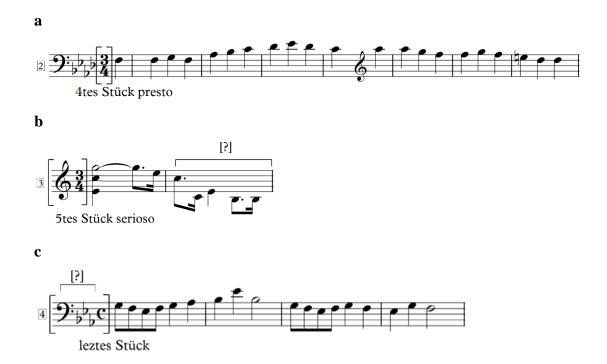


The '3tes Stück' sketch suggests a scherzo-like movement, as the staccato figuration suggests a lively character. The purpose of the 'All[egr]o' sketch is less clear. A B flat major key signature would rule out the possibility of a finale, and might therefore suggest that more movements are to follow. On the other hand, it is possible that an E flat major key signature was intended here, and that Beethoven mistakenly notated only two flats in the key signature; in this case, the 'All[egr]o' sketch may indicate a possible finale rather than a further interior movement. It does seem unlikely that Beethoven would follow a third-movement scherzo with another fast interior movement, as would result if the '3tes Stück' were immediately followed by a B flat major Allegro. Furthermore, the figuration of the 'All[egr]o' sketch is reminiscent of a passage in the development section of the finale of op. 127, where a bar from the second subject is treated sequentially (Ex. 7.3). Thus Beethoven's plan at this point may indicate a four-movement structure with a 6/8 scherzo as the third movement and an Allegro finale in 2/4.



The plan on Artaria 205/4 page 24, however, clearly outlines a six-movement structure. On stave 1 is a sketch for the A flat major slow movement with the heading '3tes Stück'; evidently this movement was still being planned as the third rather than the second movement, as in the Artaria 206 plan. 'La gaieté' may still have been planned as the second movement at this stage, since sketches for this movement are found a few pages earlier (pages 19-22). Then, on staves 2-4, Beethoven sketched ideas for a 4th, 5th and last movement (Exx. 7.4a-c.):





The plan suggests that the Adagio was to be followed by a 'presto' in F minor, then a movement with march-like rhythms apparently in C major, and then a finale in common time. This demonstrates a much more dramatic break from the 'symphonic' design than Beethoven's earlier plans for the work, where there there were no explicit indications that there were to be more than four movements. The plan shown in Ex. 7.4 points forward to the six-movement structure of op. 130, where successive movements involve a similar variety of keys and movement-types. Evidently this plan was immediately abandoned in the case of op. 127, however, since there are no further signs of a six-movement structure amongst the sketches.

The evidence of Beethoven's multi-movement planning for op. 127 indicates that he contemplated more innovative designs than that of the finished work. In the initial stage of sketching (Engelmann page 1) he seems to have considered a fugal interior movement, and when he began detailed work on the quartet he also considered a non-tonic duple-metre movement in place of a scherzo (Artaria 206). The six-movement plan first identified by Brandenburg was evidently only a passing thought, but similarly indicates that Beethoven was considering a more unconventional multi-movement structure than appears in the finished work. Although he ultimately reverted to the symphonic design in op. 127, his structural experiments during the quartet's composition may have influenced some of the innovations in his next three quartets, opp. 132, 130 and 131.

7.2—0p. 132

Op. 132 is generally held to consist of five movements, though Beethoven himself referred to the quartet as consisting of six movements.⁴⁶² The indicates that he counted the Alla marcia fourth movement and the ensuing recitative-like introduction to the finale (Più allegro) as separate movements. In the multi-movement plan for the Ninth Symphony on Artaria 201 page 123 Beethoven had similarly counted the introduction to the finale as a separate movement (see Ex. 6.15 above). In counting the movements in this way, Beethoven seems to challenge the traditional concept of a 'movement', which demonstrates his increasingly innovative approach to multi-movement structures in the late period.

Only two multi-movement plans have been identified for op. 132, both of which appear within desk sketchbooks (Table 7.2), in contrast with the larger

⁴⁶² A-1410; BB-2029.

number and variety of the surviving plans for op. 127. Since very few pocket sketches survive for the first two movements of op. 132, however, it is likely that a pocket sketchbook used during the early stages of work on the quartet has been lost.⁴⁶³ Beethoven may also have sketched pocket-sketchbook plans in the preliminary stage of sketching (as he had done for op. 127) in a sketchbook that is now missing.

Table 7.2—N	Aulti-movement	plans for (op. 132
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Location	Type of source	Description
Autograph 11/2, folios	Desk sketchbook	Plan for the last three
25v-26r		movements
De Roda, f. 2v	Desk sketchbook	Plan for movements iii-v

The first multi-movement plan appears amongst the very first sketches for op. 132. On folios 23r-24v of the desk sketchbook Autograph 11/2, in the midst of advanced work on the finale of op. 127, Beethoven made several sketches for the first movement of op. 132.⁴⁶⁴ Then, on folio 25r, Beethoven sketched a movement that clearly foreshadows the finale of op. 132 (Ex. 7.5a):⁴⁶⁵ the first phrase turns to C major, as it does in the finished version, and the last eight bars of the sketch are virtually identical to the equivalent bars in op. 132/v (Ex 7.5b). This suggests that Beethoven already had a relatively advanced conception of the finale as he made the first sketches for the first movement.

Ex. 7.5a—Autograph 11/2, f. 25r



⁴⁶³ JTW, 418.

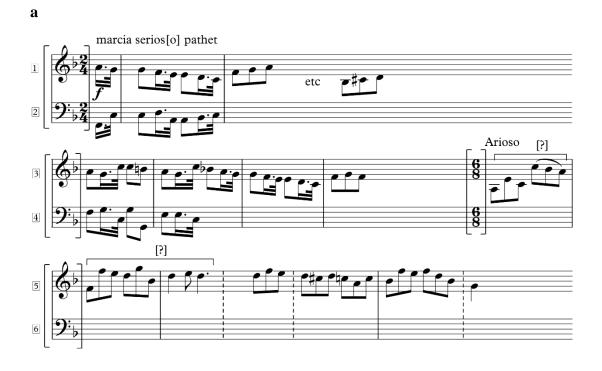
⁴⁶⁴ Some of the first-movement sketches are transcribed in N II, 547-8.

⁴⁶⁵ Transcribed in ibid., 549.

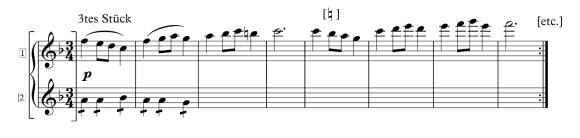


Across the very next double page (folios 25v-26r), however, Beethoven outlined a multi-movement plan for the last three movements, which includes a different idea for a finale (Ex. 7.6).

Ex. 7.6—Autograph 11/2, ff. 25v-26r









Nottebohm transcribed the beginning of the 'marcia' and '3tes Stück', though he did not transcribe the '4tes Stück' that was evidently intended as an alternative finale to the one sketched on folio 25r.⁴⁶⁶ He nevertheless points out that Beethoven was planning four movements at this point (rather than five movements as in the finished version).⁴⁶⁷ However, Nottebohm's transcription omits the 'Arioso' with which the 'marcia' sketch continues, which might suggest that the 'marcia' was intended as a brief introduction to the slow movement (if not a complete movement in itself), perhaps in a similar vein to the Alla marcia that directly precedes the finale in the finished work. Thus the eventual structure of op. 132 is foreshadowed to a certain extent in this preliminary plan.

Curiously, Beethoven seems to have planned an off-tonic scherzo at this point, whereas the interior Allegro ma non tanto of the finished work (which functions as the scherzo movement) is in the more conventional key of A major (the tonic major). As was the case with op. 127, therefore, Beethoven's initial plan for op. 132 indicates an interior scherzo movement that seems to adhere less to the 'symphonic' convention than the scherzo of the finished work.

There is no trace in Beethoven's initial plan for op. 132 of the 'Heiliger Dankgesang' slow movement. This is hardly surprising, since a major compositional stimulus for this movement was Beethoven's own recovery from a serious illness in April-May 1825,⁴⁶⁸ whereas the sketches in Autograph 11/2 date from around January of that year.⁴⁶⁹ It is significant that this extra-musical association made its way into the work only after Beethoven had made preliminary plans for the shape of the work as a whole. Joseph Kerman argues that 'The sense of a particular psychological sequence is what gives the late quartets their individual intensities',⁴⁷⁰ and the 'Heiliger Dankgesang' is clearly central to the 'psychological sequence' in op. 132. In summarising the effect of the work as a whole, Kerman describes how the intensely spiritual mood of the 'Heiliger Dankgesang' is 'shrugged off' by the Alla marcia, leading 'inevitably' to a return of the passion (and pain) of the first

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 549.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 550.

⁴⁶⁸ Thayer-Forbes, 944. The full title of the movement is 'Heiliger Dankgesang eines Genesenen an die Gottheit, in der lydischen Tonart' ('A Convalescent's Holy Song of Thanksgiving to the Godhead, in the Lydian mode').

⁴⁶⁹ For the dating of Autograph 11/2 see JTW, 302-3.

⁴⁷⁰ Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 266.

movement in the ensuing recitative and finale.⁴⁷¹ Thus Kerman's reading of the structure of op. 132 involves a sort of tragic narrative, with spiritual transcendence achieved only temporarily before the darker mood with which the work began is ultimately regained. This narrative, however, is not evident in the preliminary multimovement plan for the work, where there is no evidence of a spiritual centrepiece with the religious associations of the 'Heiliger Dankgesang'. The programmatic element of op. 132, with its slow movement inspired by Beethoven's own illness and recovery, was therefore subsequently incorporated into a work whose structure had already been planned to a certain extent.

The second multi-movement plan, which was first identified by Brandenburg, stems from a later stage of the quartet's composition, and concerns the transition from the 'Heiliger Dankgesang' to the recitative and finale (Ex. 7.7).⁴⁷² An F major concept sketch is followed by a sketch for an ending in F minor ('in F mol aufhören'). This is immediately followed by a recitative that acts as an 'introduction to the allegro' ('gleich Eingang zum Al[legr]o'). The 'allegro' itself is evidently represented by the ensuing theme jaunty theme in 2/4, whose key is apparently A major.

This plan in fact represents the first sketches that can be related to the 'Heiliger Dankgesang', (which is sketched in more detail on folio 3r opposite).⁴⁷³ Although Beethoven does not explicitly indicate any extra-musical association, it is clear from the sketches (as Brandenburg states) 'that Beethoven already had the intention here of writing a kind of chorale'.⁴⁷⁴ Furthermore, the sketches can be dated to the beginning of May 1825, around the time Beethoven had recovered sufficiently from his illness to move to Baden, and thus the time he might have first contemplated composing a 'Song of Thanksgiving'.⁴⁷⁵

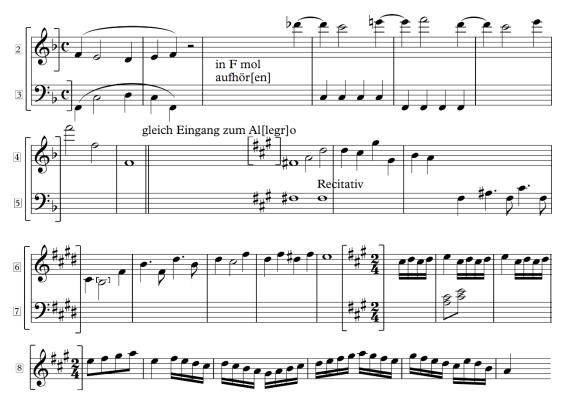
⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Sieghard Brandenburg, 'The Historical Background to the *Heiliger Dankgesang* in Beethoven's A minor Quartet Op. 132', in Alan Tyson, ed., *Beethoven Studies 3*, Cambridge, 1982, 161-91; here, 164 and 166. The first two bars of the sketch shown in Ex. 7.7 are transcribed in Cecile De Roda, 'Un Quaderno di Autografi di Beethoven nel 1825', *Rivista musicale italiana*, xii (1905), 63-108, 592-622, 734-67; here, 69, though De Roda does not draw attention to the fact that they appear in the context of a larger multi-movement plan.

⁴⁷³ Brandenburg, 'Historical Background', 163-6.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 164.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 163-4.



It is highly significant that the very first surviving sketches for the 'Heiliger Dankgesang' are to be found within a plan for the later movements; Beethoven was evidently concerned with how this movement might fit into his plan for the work as a whole. The idea of a recitative was not present in his initial sketches for the quartet, and therefore seems to have emerged in combination with the idea of a hymn-like slow movement. The finale theme in the plan is also different from the movements sketched earlier, and indicate that a major-key ending was now being considered. It seems that Beethoven here briefly contemplated having a more positive ending, and it is unlikely to be coincidental that this was also the first point at which he considered incorporating a 'song of thanksgiving' into the quartet. The idea of a 'song of thanksgiving' may have led him to consider an overall 'narrative' that leads to an affirmative, major-key conclusion, which suggests that the addition of an extra-musical element into the middle of the work affected his plans for the design of the work as a whole.

The idea of a major-key finale was immediately abandoned, however, since sketches for a minor-key finale appear from folio 3v onwards. As Nottebohm first pointed out, the finale theme of the finished work recycles an idea originally sketched as a possible instrumental finale for the Ninth Symphony,⁴⁷⁶ though it also incorporates aspects of the 3/4 finale sketch on Autograph 11/2 folio 25r (Ex. 7.5a above). Thus the plan involving a more positive overall conclusion to the quartet, as represented in the plan shown in Ex. 7.7, was only a fleeting thought.

On the other hand, the finale of op. 132 concludes with what Kerman describes as a 'phantasmagoric turn to A major' in a coda characterised by 'a great sense of release'.⁴⁷⁷ It is tempting to relate this transformative conclusion to a change in Beethoven's plans for the latter part of the work resulting from the inclusion of the 'Heiliger Dankgesang'. Beethoven's previous multi-movement plans for works with extra-musical associations support the idea that he consciously sought to incorporate programmatic elements into a structure that makes sense musically (see especially the discussion of the *Pastoral* Symphony sketches in Chapter 5). It is therefore not unthinkable that he was considering such elements in the De Roda plan.

Brandenburg points out that the 'Heiliger Dankgesang' was not yet firmly established within the quartet when Beethoven sketched the plan on De Roda folio 2v, since he sketched ideas for alternative slow movements on subsequent pages.⁴⁷⁸ These include, for instance, an idea for an 'andante scherzoso' in F major and an alternative 'adag[io]' in 3/8, both of which appear on folio 5v (though on the same page Beethoven also returned to the idea of a chorale). There is no sign of a proposed recitative movement in connection with the alternative slow movements, which supports the idea that it was closely associated in Beethoven's mind with the 'Heiliger Dankgesang' movement. Brandenburg therefore concludes that 'Any notions about a preconceived extra-musical programme for the Quartet as a whole can accordingly be dismissed as irrelevant.⁴⁷⁹ While it is certainly clear from the initial op. 132 sketches in Autograph 11/2 that there was no such 'preconceived' programme, the De Roda plan seems to suggest that the extra-musical addition to the work (in the form of the 'Heiliger Dankgesang') influenced Beethoven's plans for the later movements. The extra-musical element therefore emerged later in the compositional process, but may not be entirely 'irrelevant' to the structure of op. 132 in its finished form.

⁴⁷⁶ N II, 180-1.

⁴⁷⁷ Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 264.

⁴⁷⁸ Brandenburg, 'Historical Background', 164.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

7.3—0p. 130

The Quartet op. 130 is of particular interest in an investigation of Beethoven's approach to structure on account of his most celebrated act of revision: the replacement of the original finale (the immense *Grosse Fuge*, op. 133) with the lighter Allegro movement that came to stand in its place. This revision profoundly influences the overall effect of the quartet as a whole, particularly in what Kerman describes as a shift in 'the center of gravity', from the end (in the op. 130/133 version) to earlier in the work in the revised version (though, as Kerman writes, it is hard to say exactly where).⁴⁸⁰ This naturally raises questions about the integrity of the finished work in either of the two possible versions. These questions have been addressed numerous times with recourse to analysis of the finished work, historical circumstances regarding its revision, and the evidence of the compositional process.⁴⁸¹ Beethoven's plans for the structure of op. 130 are more widely known than his plans for most other works, since a study by Barry Cooper focuses explicitly on this issue.⁴⁸² Cooper traces the development of the work's structure through a detailed account of the surviving sketches, in which four multi-movement plans are referred to (see Table 7.3). The role of these plans in the work's development will be briefly summarised before turning to the issue of the replacement finale.

Location	Type of source	Description
De Roda, f. 14r	Desk sketchbook	Early ideas for first and last movements
De Roda, f. 22r	Desk sketchbook	Ideas for the last two movements (five-movement structure planned at this point?)
Egerton, f. 10r	Pocket sketchbook	Ideas for the last two movements (four-movement structure planned at this point)
Autograph 9/5 f. 10r	Pocket sketchbook	Outline of movements iv and v (first

Table 7.3—Multi-movement pl	lans for op.	130
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⁴⁸⁰ Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 374.

⁴⁸¹ See especially Richard Kramer, 'Between Cavatina and Ouverture: Opus 130 and the Voices of Narrative', Beethoven Forum, i (1992), 165-89. Notable sketch studies are: N II, 1-6; Klaus Kropfinger, 'Das gespaltene Werk – Beethovens Streichquartett Op. 130/133', in: Sieghard Brandenburg and Helmut Loos, eds., Beiträge zu Beethovens Kammermusik, Munich, 1987, pp. 296-335; Barry Cooper, 'Planning the Later Movements: String Quartet in B flat, Op. 130', in: Cooper, Creative, pp. 197-214; Barry Cooper, 'The Two-or Two Dozen-Finales for Beethoven's Quartet Opus 130', *Ad Parnassum*, viii (2010), 7-52.

Cooper, 'Planning the Later Movements'.

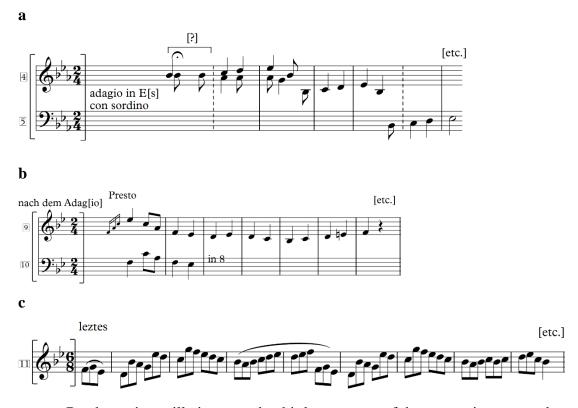
	indication of a six-movement
	structure)

The first plan (De Roda folio 14r) was sketched while Beethoven was working on the finale of op. 132, and outlines preliminary ideas for the first movement and finale of a quartet in B flat. Significantly, the finale was to involve a fugue, though with a very different subject from the *Grosse Fuge*; a similar case was found in the early plans for the 'Hammerklavier', where Beethoven had decided to have a fugal finale before establishing its thematic content (see Exx. 6.7 and 6.8 above). Since no interior movements are indicated, however, this preliminary plan reveals little about Beethoven's plans for the work's overall structure, such as the nature (and number) of projected interior movements.

Cooper outlines that Beethoven decided upon the first two movements fairly quickly after beginning detailed work on the quartet, but that he vacillated for a long time over the type of movement to have in third place (or what key to adopt in this movement).⁴⁸³ This stage of development is reflected in the second and third multi-movement plans in Table 7.3 (De Roda folio 22r and Egerton folio 10r). The De Roda plan indicates an E flat major adagio that is to be played 'con sordino', followed by two sketches in B flat major, duple metre, respectively headed 'nach dem adagio' ('after the adagio') and 'leztes' ('last'; Ex. 7.8). Cooper indicates that these latter two sketches probably outline a 'march-like intermezzo' followed by a finale in a projected five-movement structure.⁴⁸⁴ A further possibility is that they represent alternative ideas for a finale rather than a complete movement). Thus a four-or a five-movement structure may have been intended at this point.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 200-08.

⁴⁸⁴ Cooper, 'The Two—or Two Dozen—Finales', 17.



Beethoven's vacillation over the third movement of the quartet is preserved in the Egerton Sketchbook, which contains a variety of possible third-movement ideas. On folios 1r-2r and 4v-5r he sketched ideas for a third movement in E flat, as had also been indicated in the De Roda plan (though in Egerton the E flat sketches are in 3/8 rather than 2/4). On subsequent pages in Egerton Beethoven also sketched a version of the Andante third movement of the finished work (here sketched in G major rather than D flat major) and a number of sketches in D flat major that clearly represent an early version of the E flat major Cavatina of the finished work.⁴⁸⁵ It is possible that these ideas were intended for separate later movements in a sixmovement structure, as appears in the finished work. However, since by the end of Egerton Beethoven had still not progressed very far with any of these ideas, it is more likely that they represent various possibilities for a third movement, and thus a four-movement structure may still have been intended at this point.

On Egerton folio 10r Beethoven briefly paused to consider a possible finale, which appears within a condensed plan consisting of a combination of words and

⁴⁸⁵ See Joseph Kerman, 'Beethoven's Sketchbooks in the British Museum', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, xciii (1966-7), 77-96; here, 81-3, and Cooper, 'Planning the Later Movements', 198-206.

musical notations (Ex. 7.9).⁴⁸⁶ The sketch indicates a two-bar passage with held seventh chords, which is presumably intended as transitional or introductory material rather than a movement in itself. This is followed by an indication that there is to be an 'arioso' in 2/4, and finally a short sketch in B flat headed 'dann Fin'.

Ex. 7.9—Egerton, f. 10r⁴⁸⁷



As with Beethoven's previous pocket-sketchbook plans (two for the 'Hammerklavier' and two for op. 127, see Tables 6.2 and 7.1 above), the Egerton plan is extremely concise; with the exception of the opening recitative-like gesture, no thematic material is indicated for the projected 'arioso' movement. While it reveals little about the nature of this movement, it does suggest the type of structure Beethoven had in mind at this point: with the first two movements by now established, the third movement was to be an 'arioso' in 2/4 (preceded by a recitative-like gesture), which was to be followed by a lively finale. Thus his plan at this point was evidently for a four-movement structure.

The last plan in Table 7.3 is perhaps the most interesting of the three, as it appears to mark the point at which Beethoven first contemplated a six-movement rather than a four-movement structure. The Autograph 9/5 plan consists of a concept sketch for the Alla danza tedesca movement, here notated in B flat, followed by the verbal notation 'als dann kurzes ad[a]g[io]', with a succinctness apparently characteristic of pocket-sketchbook plans (Ex. 7.10). As Nottebohm first observed, the Danza tedesca movement had originally been sketched as a possible fourth movement in op. 132;⁴⁸⁸ when expanding the structure of op. 130, Beethoven therefore had this movement already at his disposal.

⁴⁸⁶ Transcribed in Cooper, *Creative*, 207.

⁴⁸⁷ Transcribed in ibid., 207 and 210.

⁴⁸⁸ N I, 53.

Ex. 7.10—Autograph 9/5, f. 10r



At this stage in the compositional process, the first three movements had been established as they appear in the finished work, and Beethoven had just begun sketching a movement that eventually became the *Grosse Fuge* (whose first appearance in Autograph 9/5 is on folios 8v-9r).⁴⁸⁹ Cooper therefore suggests that the two extra movements were inserted once 'it became clear that the finale would be very substantial and would require the extra movements beforehand to balance it out'.⁴⁹⁰

It is certainly true that the Grosse Fuge would overshadow the earlier movements if the work was to be in four movements, particularly given the extreme brevity of the second movement (which Kerman likens to a bagatelle).⁴⁹¹ However, even with a lighter finale a four-movement structure involving the first three movements of op. 130 would surely seem somewhat unsatisfactory. Rather than composing a lyrical slow interior movement (as suggested in the De Roda plan and in various places in Egerton), Beethoven had settled instead upon the quirky D flat major Andante con moto ma non troppo movement that appears in the finished work. A four-movement structure at this point would have resulted in a scheme with no interior slow movement, but rather a scherzo followed by a quasi-scherzo (the Andante is indicated 'poco scherzoso'). Similar schemes appear in a small number of Beethoven's other works, including the Quartet op. 18 no. 4 and Eighth Symphony. Yet in this case the extreme gesture of the quartet's second movement (a 'sudden furious whisper in B flat minor')⁴⁹² surely demands a more serene movement than the Andante to create sufficient contrast within the interior movements. These issues with the two existing interior movements, as well as his new ambitions for a weightier finale, may have contributed to Beethoven's decision to add the two extra movements. The multi-movement plan in Autograph 9/5 can therefore be viewed as

⁴⁸⁹ Cooper, 'Planning the Later Movements', 211. It was first pointed out by Nottebohm that the *Grosse Fuge*'s main subject was originally sketched in E flat major in connection with op. 127 (N II, 550-1).

⁴⁹⁰ Cooper, Creative, 212.

⁴⁹¹ Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 313.

⁴⁹² Ibid..

an attempt to solve a structural problem that Beethoven seemed to have reached at this point in the quartet's composition.

Where studies of the 'finale problem' in op. 130 draw on the evidence in the sketches, they tend to focus only on the finale sketches in order to advocate one particular version of the finished work (i.e. op. 130/133 or its revision). Klaus Kropfinger points to the fact that the preliminary plan on De Roda folio 14r indicates a fugal finale, and he therefore suggests that this formed part of a 'framework' from which the rest of the work developed.⁴⁹³ He accordingly advocates the fugue as belonging more to the quartet as Beethoven conceived it than the lighter replacement finale.⁴⁹⁴ Cooper, on the other hand, outlines that Beethoven seems not to have a fugal finale in mind during most of the compositional process (besides the preliminary plan for the first and last movements)—more than twenty different finale ideas were sketched that indicate a lighter, non-fugal movement.⁴⁹⁵ Cooper therefore characterises the *Grosse Fuge* finale as 'something of an intrusion into the quartet', and suggests that the replacement finale was more in line with the finale he had in mind while composing the other movements.⁴⁹⁶

Yet, as Kerman points out (without reference to the sketches), the problem 'ran much deeper than the finale'.⁴⁹⁷ Kerman finds the sense of sequence in the work problematic, judging it to have 'departed from the instinctual psychological model which holds for most of his music'.⁴⁹⁸ While the sketches cannot be expected to shed light on any such 'psychological' models, they do support the idea that Beethoven encountered structural problems during its composition that had to be resolved by a dramatic alteration to the quartet's overall design. Evidence of Beethoven's multimovement planning therefore suggests that the celebrated 'finale' problem in op. 130 was only one element of the structural problems encountered during the quartet's composition.

7.4—0p. 131

Beethoven's plans for op. 131 are perhaps the best known of all his multi-movement plans, having been transcribed and extensively examined in Robert Winter's

⁴⁹³ Kropfinger, 'Das gespaltene Werk', 305.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 328.

⁴⁹⁵ Cooper, *Creative*, 214, and 'The Two—or Two Dozen—Finales'.

⁴⁹⁶ Cooper, Creative, 214.

⁴⁹⁷ Kerman, The Beethoven Quartets, 370.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 373-4.

monograph on the sketches for the quartet.⁴⁹⁹ The plans for op. 131 are frequently cited as an example of Beethoven's compositional approach to multi-movement structures.⁵⁰⁰ Until now, however, it has not been possible to view these plans in the context of Beethoven's general approach to structural planning in the rest of his career (as demonstrated by the surviving multi-movement plans scattered throughout his sketches). The plans for op. 131 identified by Winter will therefore be revisited and contextualised within Beethoven's compositional process throughout his career.

Winter transcribed and analysed five plans from the Kullak desk sketchbook that outline the structure of the entire quartet (which he termed 'tonal overviews'); these are listed in Table 7.4. Also listed in Table 7.4 are two multi-movement plans relating to only part of the work (on Kullak folios 18r and 25r). Since Winter's study focuses on plans devoted to the whole work, these latter two plans are not classed as 'tonal overviews'; the plan on folio 25r is referred to only as 'an adjunct to the fifth and final tonal overview', ⁵⁰¹ whereas that on folio 18r is not mentioned at all.

Location	Description	
Kullak ff. 10r-v	Four-movement structure:	
(Tonal Overview 1)	1. op. 131/i	
	2. op. 131/iv	
	3. D major movement in 3/4	
	4. finale in common time	
Kullak ff. 10v-11r	Three-movement structure:	
(Tonal Overview 2)	1. op. 131/i	
	2. C sharp major movement in 3/4	
	3. finale in 2/4	
Kullak f. 16r	Five-movement structure:	
Tonal Overview 3)	1. op. 131/i	
	2. op. 131/ii	
	3. op. 131/iv	
	4. 4 th movement in F sharp minor ('4tes Stück in fis	
	moll', no thematic material indicated)	
	5. finale in 6/8	
Kullak f. 18r	Telescoped draft of op. 131/ii-iv	

Table 7.4—Multi-movement	plans for op. 131 ⁵⁰²
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⁴⁹⁹ Winter, Origins.

⁵⁰⁰ Lockwood, 'Earliest', 460-1; Cooper, *Creative*, 106-7.

⁵⁰¹ Winter, Origins, 144.

⁵⁰² The five 'Tonal Overviews' are transcribed in ibid., 116, 119, 122, 126 and 130. The plan on 'Kullak' folio 25r is transcribed in ibid., 144-5.

Kullak f. 20v-21r	Six-movement structure:	
(Tonal Overview 4)	1. op. 131/i	
	2. op. 131/ii	
	3. op. 131/iii	
	4. op. 131/iv	
	5. F sharp minor scherzo with trio in D major	
	6. theme and variations finale in $2/4$	
Kullak f. 24v	Seven-movement structure(?):	
(Tonal Overview 5)	1. op. 131/i	
	2. 5-bar linking passage: 'piu moto' in 2/4	
	3. op. 131/ii	
	[4. op. 131/iii? not indicated in the plan though may still	
	be included]	
	5. op. 131/iv	
	6. F sharp minor Presto (cf. op. 131/vii)	
	7. finale in $2/4$	
Kullak f. 25r	Draft of link from F sharp minor Presto to finale (as in Tonal	
	Overview 5), including cyclical return of the first movement	

The first two plans listed in Table 7.4 (the first and second 'Tonal Overviews') stem from the very beginning of work on op. 131 and follow immediately after sketches for the original finale of op. 130 (the Grosse Fuge).⁵⁰³ Beethoven's first idea seems to have been for a four-movement work, with the two interior movements being the A major theme and variations (which became the fourth movement in the finished work) and an unused scherzo movement in D major. In terms of movement-types, the last three movements in this scheme follow a regular symphonic structure, with a slow movement and scherzo as interior movements. In combination with the first movement, however, the resulting structure is highly unconventional: not only does the cycle begin with a fugue rather than a sonata-form movement, it also begins with two consecutive slow movements. The use of the Neapolitan key for the scherzo suggests that Beethoven was planning an unusual tonal design, and the appearance of this key within the initial plan of course foreshadows the D major Allegro molto vivace second movement of the finished work. As Winter observes, even at this early stage Beethoven was evidently planning the 'pivotal tonal areas' of the quartet (hence the term 'tonal overview').⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰³ The *Grosse Fuge* is sketched from the beginning of 'Kullak' until f. 10r; sketches for op. 131 begin on f. 10r. For a detailed inventory of 'Kullak' see Klein, *Autographe und Abschriften*, 74-89. ⁵⁰⁴ Winter, *Origins*, 115.

As observed in many of Beethoven's other multi-movement plans, this approach was not unique to op. 131; preliminary plans frequently outline secondary key areas that feature prominently in the finished work, though not always in the place initially indicated.⁵⁰⁵

Immediately after sketching this four-movement plan, Beethoven sketched an alternative plan across Kullak folios 10v-11r that outlines a three-movement structure with an interior movement in the tonic major. The fact that he so quickly sketched an alternative outline suggests some dissatisfaction with the original plan (Tonal Overview 1). A possible reason for this dissatisfaction might be the original projected sequence of the first two movements (a slow fugue followed by the A major theme and variations); Beethoven may have realised that the slow first movement demands a more lively contrasting movement immediately afterwards. The projected C sharp major scherzo movement in Tonal Overview 2 indeed provides such a contrast, as does the D major Allegro molto vivace of the finished work.

Winter draws a parallel between Tonal Overview 2 and the three-movement structure of the Sonata op. 27 no. 2 in the same key, which similarly has a slow first movement and an interior scherzo in the tonic major.⁵⁰⁶ It is curious that Beethoven here contemplated a homotonal scheme for op. 131, given the vast tonal range employed in the finished work (where all movements except the first and last are in a different key). Kerman points to the 'perfectly articulated tonal plan' of the finished work as being a 'sign of the integrative powers that Beethoven brought to bear' on op. 131,⁵⁰⁷ yet this tonal plan demonstrates that such a plan was not necessarily part of Beethoven's conception of the work throughout its composition.

Tonal Overviews 3, 4 and 5 suggest a gradual expansion of Beethoven's original plans for the work to a five-movement structure (Tonal Overview 3), a six-movement structure (Tonal Overview 4), and lastly a possible seven-movement structure (Tonal Overview 5). The structure indicated in Tonal Overview 5 is similar, but not identical to that of the finished work: an extra link is added between the first two movements which is not present in the finished version, and ultimately Beethoven replaced the F sharp minor Presto with the E major Presto of the finished

⁵⁰⁵ See especially the use of C major in the first plan for the Seventh Symphony (see Chapter 5), and, more recently, the use of E major in the first plan for op. 127 (see Table 7.1). ⁵⁰⁶ Winter, *Origins*, 120.

⁵⁰⁷ Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 328.

work (and adopted the theme of the rejected movement as the basis of the finale).⁵⁰⁸ The third movement of the finished work (the brief Allegro moderato that links the second movement with the theme and variations) is not indicated in Tonal Overview 5. It is therefore possible that this movement was no longer part of Beethoven's conception of the work, though it seems more likely that it was by now fixed in the work's design as it appears in Tonal Overview 4 and that this linking movement was simply not notated in Tonal Overview 5. The G sharp minor Adagio quasi un poco andante which precedes the finale in the finished version was evidently added at relatively late stage, once the multi-movement planning was otherwise finished. As with op. 130, therefore, the expanded multi-movement structure of op. 131 was not part of Beethoven's original conception of the work, but developed during the compositional process.

The additional movements in each expansion of the multi-movement structure are generally much shorter than the surrounding movements and have the nature of transition passages. It is debatable whether the five-bar passage between the first and second movements indicated in Tonal Overview 5 classes as an independent movement, as it is far shorter even than most slow introductions to sonata-form movements. Yet this passage (and indeed the very short third and sixth movements of the finished work) does not obviously belong with the movement directly before or directly after, instead functioning independently of both. In op. 132, as outlined above, Beethoven classed the Alla marcia and ensuing Più allegro as separate movements in a six-movement structure, which suggests that he would similarly have classed the 'più moto' of Tonal Overview 5 as a separate movement.

A number of observations can be made about the multi-movement plans for op. 131. Firstly, it is striking that Beethoven continued to include sketches for the earlier movements in the later plans for the work as a whole, after their position in the quartet had been established. Sketching for the first two movements was largely complete by Kullak folio 23v, yet both movements are still represented in Tonal Overview 5 on folio 24v. For previous works, by contrast, Beethoven's multimovement plans stemming from a later stage in the compositional process tend to omit the movements that were already complete (or at least established in the work's overall design). The last of the plans for op. 130, for instance, indicates only the two

⁵⁰⁸ Winter, Origins, 128.

'extra' movements that were to be added to the earlier four-movement structure (see Table 7.3). Given the difficulty Beethoven seems to have had with establishing the structure of op. 130, as indicated by his vacillations over the nature of the third movement and the late decision to include two additional movements (and, of course, the later removal of the *Grosse Fuge*), it may be that the detailed tonal overviews were partly sketched to avoid similar problems in op. 131. In any case, the tonal overviews suggest that Beethoven was more concerned than usual with keeping the whole in view throughout the composition of op. 131.

Another striking feature of the plans for op. 131 is that each of the multimovement plans in Table 7.4 includes a different idea for a finale. In fact, as Winter points out, Beethoven sketched over twenty different finale ideas during the sketching process.⁵⁰⁹ This demonstrates that the 'finale problem' was not confined to op. 130, but was perhaps a compositional issue that he faced to a greater extent at this point in his career than he had done in previous years.

It is also significant that all of the plans for op. 131 appear within the desk sketchbook Beethoven used in this period (Kullak). No plans seem to have been sketched in any of the four pocket sketchbooks used during the quartet's composition (or indeed any of the numerous surviving score sketches).⁵¹⁰ This suggests a more systematic approach to structural planning for op. 131 than for the Quartets op. 127 and op. 130, where multi-movement plans appear in both pocket sketchbooks and desk sketchbooks (and, in the case of op. 127, score sketches). All of the structural planning evidently took place at Beethoven's writing desk, and from an early stage in the compositional process, which perhaps allowed him the freedom to sketch individual movements on his customary long walks without having to take structural issues into consideration. Again, this may suggest a conscious endeavour to avoid the problems encountered during the composition of op. 130; a more decisive approach to structural planning might prevent him from being carried away by ideas for individual movements that perhaps do not fit very well within his conception of the work as a whole.

Although Winter suggests that the principal function of the multi-movement plans for op. 131 is to establish the main tonal areas of the quartet, ⁵¹¹ it is now clear

⁵⁰⁹ Winter, Origins, 193.

 $^{^{510}}$ For a description of the pocket sketchbooks and score sketches for op. 131 see ibid., 43-95.

⁵¹¹ Ibid., 113-4.

that such plans were a fairly regular feature of Beethoven's compositional process, even in works with less sophisticated tonal designs. The fact that the plans listed in Table 7.4 represent ever-expanding multi-movement structures suggests that another important purpose was to allow the composer to keep the whole in view as the quartet strayed further from the conventional four-movement structure. In any case, the more sophisticated approach to structural planning for op. 131 (compared with that for op. 130) supports the idea that Beethoven began the C sharp minor quartet with the intention of avoiding the problems evidently encountered in the structuring of the previous work.

7.5—Op. 135

Beethoven's last quartet (and indeed his last completed multi-movement work) returns to the symphonic design; as K. M. Knittel writes, 'its normal, four-movement form appears to break the experimental trajectory of the other four late quartets'.⁵¹² The sketches for op. 135, which have been examined in a doctoral dissertation by Laura Bumpass,⁵¹³ indeed confirm that this quartet involved none of the structural experimentation that took place even during the composition of op. 127, where a sixmovement structure was at one point considered. Only two multi-movement plans appear to have been sketched for op. 135, both of which stem from a relatively early stage in the compositional process (Table 7.5). Neither of these plans explicitly indicate that Beethoven considered anything other than a four-movement structure.

Location	Type of source	Description
Artaria 205/3, pp.	Pocket sketchbook	Preliminary ideas for the first three
14-15		movements
Kullak ff. 52v-53r	Desk sketchbook	Sketches for the last three
		movements

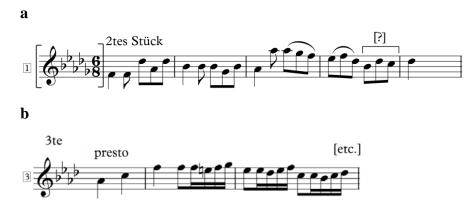
Table 7.5—Multi-moveme	ent plans for op. 135
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The plan in Artaria 205/3 represents some of Beethoven's earliest ideas for op. 135; the sketches on pages 14-15 are the first within the sketchbook that can be identified with op. 135, and appear amongst detailed work on the finale of op.

 ⁵¹² K. M. Knittel, "Late", Last, and Least: On Being Beethoven's Quartet in F Major, Op. 135', *Music and Letters*, Ixxxviii (2006), 16-51, 16.
 ⁵¹³ Bumpass, 'Beethoven's Last Quartet'.

131.⁵¹⁴ Page 15 has a number of sketches that can be identified with passages in the first movement of op. 135.⁵¹⁵ At the top of page 14, Beethoven notated ideas for a '2tes Stück' and a '3te' (Ex. 7.11). These sketches are particularly difficult to decipher as they are written in pencil (which has faded considerably); however, Bumpass's reading of the 'Erst[e]' instead of '2tes' above the first incipit is clearly incorrect.⁵¹⁶

Ex. 7.11—Artaria 205/3, p. 14



The pitches of the '2tes Stück' sketch are largely illegible, though, as Bumpass points out, its rhythm and contour clearly relates to the Lento assai third movement of the finished work (Ex. 7.12). As first pointed out by Winter, this movement was originally sketched as an extended coda to the finale of op. 131 before being rejected from that work at a very late stage.⁵¹⁷ It is therefore significant that this movement is represented in the preliminary plan for op. 135 on page 14, at a point when Beethoven was still working on op. 131/vii; this suggests that his initial conception of op. 135 may have arisen directly from having this slow movement at his disposal (having just decided to reject it from op. 131).

Ex. 7.12—Op. 135/iii, violin 1, bars 7-10



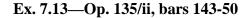
⁵¹⁴ A relatively detailed (but tentative) inventory of Artaria 205/3 is provided in ibid., 46-9.

⁵¹⁵ Transcription in ibid., 187.

⁵¹⁶ Bumpass, Beethoven's Last Quartet, 185.

⁵¹⁷ Winter, Origins, 121-4, 167-74, and 206-9.

Bumpass suggests that the '3te' sketch in F minor (Ex. 7.11b) may have been an idea for a finale in a projected three-movement structure,⁵¹⁸ though it seems unlikely that he would have intended a minor-key finale within a major-key work. It is, of course, not inconceivable that the finale would begin with an introduction in the minor mode before concluding in the major as occurs, for instance, in the *Eroica* and Ninth Symphonies. However, Beethoven's concept sketches generally indicate the overall tonality of the projected movement (rather than that of a separate introduction). It is more likely that the '3te' refers to a projected scherzo movement in the tonic minor. This is supported by the fact that the sequential pattern in the second and third bars foreshadows a prominent rhythm in the scherzo of the finished work; this rhythm forms the basis of an obsessive ostinato at the end of the trio section, where the same unison figure in the lower three voices continues for 47 bars (Ex. 7.13).

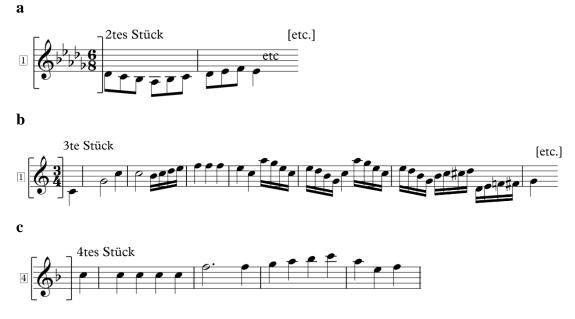




The sketches on page 14 therefore appear to outline the projected interior movements of a quartet appropriating the D flat major movement left over from op. 131. Although the first movement is sketched on page 15, no finale is yet represented in this plan. At this point the order of the interior movements is the reverse of that in the finished version, and the projected scherzo is in F minor rather than F major. In its most basic sense, however, this initial plan points forward to the finished version as it suggests a standard 'symphonic' design whose interior movements are a slow movement and scherzo.

⁵¹⁸ Bumpass, *Beethoven's Last Quartet*, 186.

The second plan for op. 135 (Kullak folios 52v-53r) seems to have been made once the first movement was almost complete, since sketches for this movement largely break off after folio 51r. The plan shows incipits for the last three movements, with the D flat major movement again placed second (Ex. 7.14).

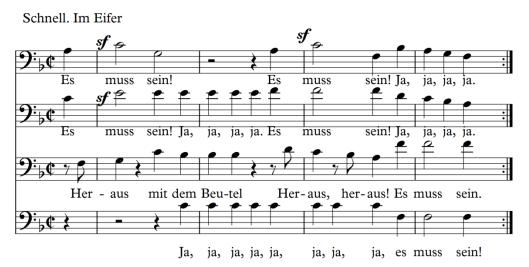




The plan is laid out across the top staves of the two facing pages in the systematic way demonstrated in a number of plans from earlier years (such as that for the 'Appassionata' Sonata). This plan shows a different, unused idea for a scherzo movement in C major, and an unused theme for a finale. Evidently Beethoven had not yet decided to incorporate the motif from his joke canon 'Es muss sein' (WoO 196), which was famously composed in response to the wealthy patron Ignaz Dembscher's reluctance to pay for the rights to the first performance of op. 127.⁵¹⁹ As Bumpass points out, however the finale sketch in the Kullak plan shares some features with the second and fourth voices of the canon (Ex. 7.15). The decision to incorporate WoO 196 would not, therefore, have involved a particularly significant change to Beethoven's conception of the work as represented on Kullak folios 52v-53r.

⁵¹⁹ Thayer-Forbes, 976.

Ex. 7.15—WoO 196 ('Es muss sein')



After the two multi-movement plans described above had been sketched, the structure of op. 135 in its finished form seems to have emerged without any particular problems. At no point did Beethoven make any sketches indicating anything other than a four-movement 'symphonic' work. After the structural experimenting that took place during the composition of the previous four quartets (particularly in op. 131), he evidently decided that the symphonic design still had its merits and was not rendered totally obsolete by his own innovations in multi-movement design.

Summary

Multi-movement plans play a far more prominent role amongst the sketches for the late quartets than at any other point in Beethoven's compositional career. Two or more plans were sketched for each of the quartets, stemming not only from the preliminary stages of composition, but also (in the case of op. 132, op. 130 and op. 131) from more advanced stages, after extended work on the earlier movements. More plans survive for op. 131 than for any other multi-movement work.

Op. 135 is the only one of the late quartets in which Beethoven apparently never considered straying from the four-movement symphonic design during the compositional process. Curiously, however, Beethoven's first plans for the other four quartets appear to indicate a four-movement structure in each case; the expanded structures of op. 132, op. 130 and op. 131 therefore evidently emerged later in the compositional process rather than being planned from the outset. The initial plans for op. 127 and op. 131 nevertheless indicate unconventional multi-movement structures: the initial jottings for op. 127 suggest that Beethoven was considering a fugal interior movement, while the idea of a slow-tempo fugue as the first movement of op. 131 was present from the initial stages. Thus he evidently had some sort of unconventional multi-movement structure in mind for those works, even if he was working within the bounds of a four-movement design.

Beethoven's multi-movement plans for the late quartets reflect a variety of compositional issues that he faced during their composition. The plan for op. 132 that first incorporates the 'Heiliger Dankgesang' (Ex. 7.7), for instance, suggests that the introduction of this programmatic element may have influenced his conception of the later movements of the work. The plan for two additional movements to op. 130 (Ex. 7.10), on the other hand, seems to have been a response to the compositional problems Beethoven faced regarding the balance of the earlier movements with the *Grosse Fuge* finale. Thus the large number of surviving plans from this period provide particular insights into the composition of each quartet, and highlight the individualistic nature of his approach to multi-movement structures in this group of works.

Chapter 8—Conclusions

This study has investigated Beethoven's approach to structuring his multi-movement instrumental works, drawing on the evidence of his sketching process. No single study can hope to provide a full picture of any one aspect of his creativity. By focusing on the multi-movement planning amongst the sketches from across his career, however, it is now possible to make some observations that could previously only be speculations.

8.1—The Role of Multi-Movement Plans within the Sketching Process

Frequency

One of the most significant outcomes of this study has undoubtedly been a new understanding of the role of multi-movement plans within Beethoven's sketching process. Whereas only a handful of these plans are to be found amongst Beethoven's earliest sketches, at least one multi-movement plan appears amongst the sketches for most works from the Sonata op. 22 (1800) onwards. For some works, notably the late quartets, he sketched several such plans. Before 1800, of course, the evidence is more limited since the surviving miscellaneous leaves and bifolios from the early period provide an incomplete picture of his sketching in these years. Yet the complete absence of such plans amongst the sketches for the Quartets op. 18 in Beethoven's first two sketchbooks (Grasnick 1 and Grasnick 2, 1798-9) suggests that they were not a standard part of his working methods at this point. From 1815 onwards, by contrast, the only completed multi-movement instrumental works for which no plans have survived are the Cello Sonatas op. 102 nos. 1 and 2 (whose sketches are mostly missing). By the late period, therefore, such plans appear to have become an essential aspect of his approach to the composition of multi-movement works.

Lockwood's hypothesis that they were more frequent in the years 1800-04 than in the years just before or after can now be reconsidered.⁵²⁰ Many plans were indeed sketched in those years, as was observed in Chapter 4, though this is more a

⁵²⁰ Lockwood, 'Earliest', 460-1.

reflection of the fact that Beethoven composed so many multi-movement works in this period than of the relative importance of this type of sketching.⁵²¹ Multimovement planning played the most prominent role in the sketching process in the last years of Beethoven's life, from the composition of the Ninth Symphony onwards. Whereas in 1800-04 Beethoven generally sketched one plan per work, in later years it was not uncommon for several plans to be sketched for a single work during the process of composition. This was first observed in the sketches for the Fifth Symphony (for which two preliminary plans survive), but became typical in the 1820s, with multiple plans having been sketched for the Ninth Symphony and each of the late quartets.

Purpose

Detailed examinations of multi-movement plans from across Beethoven's compositional career have indicated that they come in a number of different forms and perform a variety of functions in the sketching process. Most outline concept sketches for each of the projected movements (or each of the later movements after the first), indicating basic thematic material such as tempo and key. Preliminary plans of this type can be found amongst the sketches from across Beethoven's career, from the op. 22 Piano Sonata to each of the late quartets. These preliminary plans perform a similar function to individual concept sketches (which outline the 'germ of an idea for a number', in Tyson's definition),⁵²² though extended to the multimovement level.

Some multi-movement plans deal with only part of a work, such as the interior movements. These plans were usually made at a later stage in the compositional process, and often reflect a revision to an earlier conception of multimovement structure. Several such plans can be found amongst the sketches for the late quartets. During the composition of op. 130, for instance, Beethoven sketched concept sketches for the projected fourth and fifth movements at a point when he was considering expanding from a four-movement to a six-movement structure (see Ex. 7.10). And for op. 131 he made a brief draft of the last two movements (a projected F minor presto followed by a C sharp minor finale) indicating that he was at this point considering a cyclical return of the first movement (see Table 7.4). Plans

⁵²¹ A chart outlining the number of major instrumental compositions Beethoven composed by decade is given in Broyles, *The Emergence and Evolution of Beethoven's Heroic Style*, 63-4. ⁵²² Tyson, 'The 1803 Version of Beethoven's *Christus am Oelberge*', 570-1.

of this type were seemingly made in order to keep track of the changing aspects of the projected multi-movement structure (rather than focusing primarily on the content of individual movements).

While most plans consist of a combination of words and musical notation, a handful are expressed in purely verbal terms. Unsurprisingly, two such plans relate to works that involve an extra-musical narrative: the Piano Sonata *Das Lebewohl* (op. 81a) and *Wellingtons Sieg* (see Chapter 5). More interestingly, however, verbal plans were also sketched for two non-programmatic works: a projected 'symphony in the old modes' sketched in 1817/18 and the Ninth Symphony (see Chapter 6). These latter two plans seem to indicate the composer conceptualising the whole in terms of general concepts (such as instrumentation or the cyclical return of earlier material) rather than sound. This might suggest that the idea of an overall narrative was particularly important in his conception of these works, since he was expressing their overall structure in similar terms to the programmatic structures of op. 81a and *Wellingtons Sieg*. Since the present study focuses only on multi-movement instrumental works, further research would be needed in order to compare his conception of overall narrative in his instrumental works with that in vocal works, where the narrative was predetermined by the text.

Sketches are frequently characterised as improvisatory: Richard Kramer speaks of sketches '[preserving] those compositional improvisations, at once spontaneous and reflective, that a mechanical recording device might well have captured had it been privy to Beethoven's workshop'.⁵²³ An improvisatory process is indeed suggested by Beethoven's preliminary multi-movement plans, which capture a moment in which he allowed his imagination to turn to possibilities for the different movements of a work. Some of these 'improvisatory' plans give the impression that they helped to stimulate further ideas. This process was suggested, for instance, in the plan for the 'Appassionata' Sonata. As observed in Chapter 5, Beethoven initially sketched a plan for a projected slow movement and finale in which basic characteristics of the finished version can be observed, but with different themes. Ries claimed that the finale's theme occurred to Beethoven during a long walk and that he set about sketching it immediately afterwards: the next stage of finale sketches (which appear directly following the preliminary plan) indeed show a

⁵²³ Kramer, Unfinished Music, New York, 2008, 16.

theme already virtually the same as the finished version. What Ries did not report, however, was that according to Beethoven's multi-movement plan he had already sketched a primitive finale idea. The flash of inspiration the composer experienced on his walk may therefore have been stimulated by the basic outline for the movement sketched in the preliminary stages of work on the sonata

Another intriguing case of a preliminary plan stimulating later ideas was suggested by the proximity of a multi-movement plan for the Ninth Symphony (indicating an instrumental finale) to a sketch for an unrelated set of orchestral variations that was to include voices (see Exx. 6.13 and 6.14). Did this latter sketch act as a visual stimulus that helped to inspire the idea for the symphony's choral finale? If this hypothesis is correct, then the coincidental presence of the sketch for the *Saul* variations on the same page as a plan for the Ninth may have been an important stimulus in a pivotal moment of the symphony's development, when Beethoven first decided upon a vocal finale. These plans for the 'Appassionata' and the Ninth Symphony indicate that concept sketches for individual movements may have provided a basic template that guided his creativity at a later stage. This suggests that these plans may have had a purpose beyond simply recording moments of 'compositional improvisation': the plans themselves may have acted as a stimulus in the creative process.

Several plans for symphonies suggest the purpose of preserving ideas for future use, allowing Beethoven to continue at a later date from where he left off. Such plans were sketched for the *Eroica*, Fifth and Ninth Symphonies. Around the time of the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies Beethoven sketched three further plans for symphonies that were never completed, which are strikingly detailed: the plan for an E flat major work, for instance, includes thematic material and notes about instrumentation for all four movements (Ex. 5.22). These plans may similarly have been sketched to preserve ideas for future use, though ultimately they were abandoned. This seems to suggest that preliminary multi-movement planning played a bigger role in the composition of symphonies than in works of other genres. It is perhaps unsurprising that Beethoven would begin detailed work on a symphony only after careful consideration of the projected work as a whole, since such a work was a far bigger compositional commitment (particularly in terms of instrumentation) than a solo or chamber work. Opportunities to present orchestral academies were furthermore rare, and there would be little point in Beethoven embarking on an

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orchestral work at any given point if he did not foresee a possible performance at least in the near future.

In contrast with plans outlining preliminary ideas, certain multi-movement plans clearly suggest something other than a process of improvisation. As was observed in Chapter 4, some of Beethoven's plans from the period around 1800 give the impression of being notations of material already worked out at the keyboard. This is especially apparent in the plans for the Piano Sonatas op. 27 no. 1 and op. 28, which both outline incipits of later movements that are very close to the finished version, even including material for both hands. Although the incipits are very brief, they are clearly not concept sketches (which suggest improvisations on paper). Instead, they give the impression of the composer committing ideas to paper, perhaps bridging the transition between improvising at the keyboard and sketching the individual movements in detail.

Unsurprisingly, the surviving plans of this type are all for keyboard-based works. This type of plan also seems to have been mostly confined to the early period. It is tempting to link the decline of this type of plan with Beethoven's increasing deafness. Nicholas Marston has indeed suggested that 'the visible stimulus of notation increasingly compensated for the lacking aural stimulus of sound'.⁵²⁴ Beethoven's multi-movement plans can be seen to reflect Marston's proposal: whereas in his early years Beethoven may have improvised extensively at the piano before committing his ideas to paper, in later years the process of improvisation increasingly involved paper-based composition (as demonstrated in preliminary 'improvisatory' multi-movement plans).

A small number of multi-movement plans incorporate material that had already been sketched extensively. This type of plan seems to be a feature of Beethoven's later years. In earlier years, his plans tend to outline only those movements that had not yet been sketched: thus plans for later movements often omit the first movement, and the preliminary *Eroica* plan does not include a finale sketch (which was going to be based on pre-existing material). Several plans from the late period, however, incorporate both pre-existing material and preliminary ideas for other movements. Examples include the plan for the Ninth Symphony outlining brief incipits for all the movements (including the first and second, which

⁵²⁴ Nicholas Marston, 'Beethoven's Sketches and the Interpretative Process', *Beethoven Forum*, i (1992), 225-42; here, 229.

had both been sketched long before this point; see Ex. 6.15), the later plans for op. 131 which continue to include the earlier movements (see Table 7.4), and the plan for op. 135 that includes the slow movement recycled from op 131 (Ex. 7.14). Since Beethoven had no need to sketch new ideas for these movements, their inclusion in the plans suggest that he wished to visualise their position in the work as a whole. In later years, therefore, some multi-movement plans may have functioned as a visual aid in establishing the sequence of movements, indicating yet another purpose within Beethoven's sketching process.

In summary, multi-movement plans performed various functions that go beyond the standard image of Beethoven's sketches as improvisations on paper. Some preliminary plans may have been sketched in order to stimulate ideas later in the compositional process. Others (including those for op. 28 and other keyboardbased works) may have bridged the transition from improvisation at the piano to the detailed working-out of each movement on paper. Some later plans seem to have had a visual purpose, allowing Beethoven to visualise how pre-existing material might be incorporated into a larger multi-movement work. Thus a consideration of multimovement plans contributes to our understanding of the sophisticated and multifaceted nature of Beethoven's sketching process.

8.2—Beethoven's Approach to Multi-Movement Structure

Variable Aspects of Structure

One issue that emerged in discussions of a number of multi-movement plans is that Beethoven appears to have frequently vacillated over whether to include a minuet or scherzo movement into sonatas and related genres. Several preliminary multimovement plans outline a three-movement work (without minuet), whereas the finished work has four movements: examples include the Violin Sonata op. 30 no. 2 and the Piano Trio op. 70 no. 2. The opposite procedure is also known to have occurred in at least two cases: the sketches suggest that the Sonata op. 10 no. 1 and the 'Waldstein' Sonata were at one point going to have four movements, but that Beethoven decided at a relatively late stage to remove the scherzos (see Chapters 3 and 4).

Despite Beethoven's innovative approach in terms of applying the symphonic structure to sonata genres, it appears that he frequently vacillated over this issue during the compositional process. With this in mind, Schindler's assertion that Beethoven considered revising some of his earlier four-movement sonatas by removing the scherzos (outlined in Chapter 1) should be reconsidered. If the number of movements (i.e. with or without scherzo) was flexible during the compositional process, why should it not also be so afterwards? After all, he seems to have revised the op. 10 no. 1 and 'Waldstein' Sonatas in such a way at a late stage in composition. Although it was not Beethoven's usual procedure to revise a work after it had been published, he famously did so in the case of Fidelio, and his revision to the Quartet op. 130 took place after the work had already been performed to the Viennese public. It would not be inconceivable to do something similar in some of his sonatas. Ultimately, of course, Schindler's report may be of his own invention rather than coming from Beethoven. Yet it does appear to reflect an issue that can be observed in the sketches for some of Beethoven's sonata works; in this case, Schindler's account therefore seems to be corroborated by evidence of the composer's creative process.

Similar flexibility in terms of the projected number of movements was also observed in the late quartets. With the exception of op. 135, each of the last five quartets was at one point envisaged as having a different number of movements from the finished version. This fundamental aspect of multi-movement structure therefore seems to have been fairly fluid during the compositional process.

On a number of occasions multi-movement plans suggest that Beethoven's initial conception of the first and last movements was relatively close to the finished version, whereas the projected interior movements were entirely different; examples include the preliminary plans for the Violin Sonata op. 30 no. 2, the Seventh Symphony, and the Sonata op. 101. There are, of course, many more variables (such as key, tempo, and movement type) in interior movements than in outer movements. But plans of this type give the impression that even once the outer 'pillars' of the work were fixed, Beethoven could go in any number of compositional directions in the interior movements. The most notable exceptions to this are the late quartets, particularly op. 130 and op. 131, in which he seems to have struggled to decide upon the basic material of the finale, having considered a range of possibilities during the compositional process. This reflects the unique compositional problems encountered

during the composition of these particular works, which is further evidenced by the unusually high number of multi-movement plans sketched during their composition.

This changeability in Beethoven's conception of the basic aspects of structure (such as the number of movements, the substance of the interior movements, and the basic outline of the finale) casts a different light on his own assertion that he liked to keep 'the whole in view' during the compositional process.⁵²⁵ His habit of sketching multi-movement plans for most of his instrumental works supports the idea that he consciously considered the shape of the work as a whole before working out the later movements. Yet his conception of the 'whole' was evidently not one single fixed idea, but could be subject to fundamental change during the compositional process. Thus any claims to the integrity of a finished work in any one version (as observed, for instance, in arguments positing the *Grosse Fuge* as 'belonging' more to the Quartet op. 130 than its replacement, see page 237 above) may be seen to be overstated. The multi-movement structures of Beethoven's finished works represent just one version of the many possibilities often considered during the compositional process (though they are presumably what he ultimately considered the best version of the ideas previously sketched).

In focusing mainly on multi-movement plans, this study by no means provides a full account of Beethoven's approach to multi-movement structure in the sketching process. For instance, only one plan was sketched for the Sonata op. 111, which apparently outlines a three-movement structure (Ex. 6.11); the two-movement structure of the finished work was therefore established without the aid of a multimovement plan. The sketches therefore yield further potential for casting light on his compositional approach to structure beyond the scope of the present study.

Variety and Unity in Multi-Movement Structures

As outlined in Chapter 2, the principle of contrast between movements was a feature of instrumental music of the late 18th century, although this was denigrated by some contemporary theorists for being at odds with the aesthetic ideal of unity. Beethoven has sometimes been credited with solving the aesthetic problems presented by the inherent contrast within multi-movement works, either through the principle of organicism (as was recognised even within his own lifetime as underpinning works

⁵²⁵ A-479; BB-707.

like the Fifth Symphony), or through a sense of 'emotional unity' emerging from the work's overall narrative (as posited by A. B. Marx amongst others; see Chapter 1).

Beethoven's multi-movement plans generally adhere to the principle of contrast between successive movements. Although sketch scholars have identified aspects of thematic unity in a small number of plans (notably that for the *Eroica*), in general such unity is hard to find amongst Beethoven's preliminary ideas in multimovement plans. Initial ideas for later movements sometimes consists only of an indication of general characteristics (such as key, metre, or movement type), which might suggest that a primary aim in sketching the plan was to ensure that these basic characteristics were sufficiently contrasting between successive movements. Plans that reflect this process can be found from across Beethoven's compositional career, from the plan for op. 26 indicating a 'march in A flat minor' as a possible slow movement (Ex. 4.6), to the verbal plan for the Ninth Symphony that outlines only the keys and metres of the individual movements (see pages 210-11 above). The integrative aspects of Beethoven's completed works, such as the cyclical return of earlier material or motivic connections, therefore generally emerged later in the compositional process, after the work's basic outline had been established. An exception to this, however, is the idea of run-on movements, which increasingly featured in the initial plans for works particularly around the time of the Pastoral Symphony (see Chapter 5). This suggests that this particular integrative device was more fundamental to his conception of multi-movement structures than long-range motivic connections, which are less easily discerned in preliminary plans.

Although the focus of this study has been multi-movement instrumental works, a well-known preliminary sketch for the Piano Variations op. 34 indicates that in this work Beethoven explicitly endeavoured to create maximum contrast between successive variations. On folio 88v of the Kessler Sketchbook Beethoven sketched an incipit of the theme followed by the comment 'every variation in a different metre'.⁵²⁶ In the finished work the contrast is even more pronounced as each variation is also in a different key from the last. This supports the idea that contrast was an important principle in his conception of large-scale structures, though further research would be needed in order to establish whether he generally approached other variation sets in the same way.

⁵²⁶ 'jede V[ar]i[ation] in einer andern Taktart'. First transcribed in N 1880, 32-3.

Beethoven's multi-movement plans therefore tend to reflect a principle of contrast to a greater extent than the principle of unity. This might suggest that the importance of unity in his finished works has been overrated by analysts. Alternatively, it may suggest that Beethoven considered a sufficient level of contrast to be a prerequisite even in works which were ultimately unified through intermovement connections (such as thematic connections or the cyclical return of previous material). Such inter-movement connections may be all the more effective in a work with a high level of contrast between successive movements. Again, this principle is suggestive of 18th- rather than 19th-century aesthetic currents, recalling Sulzer's statement that 'The closer things cohere in their variety, the more delicate will be the enjoyment they provide'.⁵²⁷ This suggests that Beethoven's multi-movement structures (in the most general sense of the sequence of movements) were shaped primarily according to the practical musical principle of contrast between movements that is more easily traceable in 18th-century thought than in that of the early 19th century.

As discussed in Chapter 1, another aesthetic principle that has been associated with Beethoven's music is the emergence of the 'work concept', which places greater emphasis on music as text, and of musical works as objects of art (like paintings and sculptures). It has also been claimed that the idea that the musical work harbours a meaning independent of its performance was 'a new insight that Beethoven thrust upon the aesthetic consciousness of his age'.⁵²⁸ As has been observed, however, his conception of a work's structure was far more flexible during (and occasionally after) the process of composition than might be suggested by the idea of a musical work as 'object'. The idea of contrast between successive movements is also more suggestive of music as performance rather than music as text, since a series of contrasting movements may hold an audience's attention for longer than a work with less variety.

It is clear that the role of the 'work concept' in Beethoven's compositional approach is more complex than might be suggested by his finished works. The issue of how he might expect his works to be experienced in performance also raises further questions. For instance, did he wish audiences to hear the finale of the Fifth Symphony as the culmination of an epic journey after around 20 minutes of build-

⁵²⁷ Baker-Christensen, 47.

⁵²⁸ Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 10.

up? Or was his consideration of the work's overall structure primarily important in 'the work itself', independent of its performance and therefore more in line with the 'work concept' ideal? These are issues that would benefit from further research in future studies.

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