

Beethoven and Mozart's Requiem: A New Connection

BATHIA CHURGIN

For I always counted myself among the greatest admirers of Mozart and shall remain so until my last breath. Beethoven to the Abbé Stadler, 6 February 1826¹

The artistic relation between Beethoven and Mozart is a large subject. Mozart's achievement touched and influenced Beethoven's life and work in numerous ways, from Beethoven's earliest years, when he was inevitably compared to Mozart,² to the end of his life, as revealed in the quotation above.

Most of us are aware of some ties between the composers. We all know that the youthful Beethoven probably improvised for Mozart in April, 1787, and may have had a few lessons with him;³ and that Beethoven left for Vienna in November of 1792, in the words of Count Ferdinand Waldstein, "to receive *Mozart's spirit from Haydn's hands.*"⁴ Scholars have long pointed to the strong influence of Mozart on Beethoven's early works and the use of Mozartian models for the piano quartets WoO 36 (1785), the trio for strings, Op. 3 (before 1794), the piano-wind quintet, Op. 16 (1796), and the string quartet Op. 18, No. 5

¹ Emily Anderson, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Beethoven* (London, 1961) III, No. 1468.

² As in the first published notice about Beethoven written by his teacher Christian Gottlob Neefe. It was presented in Cramer's *Magazin der Musik* (1783) I, 394: "This youthful genius is deserving of help to enable him to travel. He would surely become a second Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart were he to continue as he has begun." See *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, rev. and ed. Elliot Forbes (rev. ed.; Princeton, 1967), pp. 65–66.

³ Thayer-Forbes, pp. 87–88.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

(1798–1800).⁵ The mature piano concertos of Mozart clearly served as models for Beethoven's concerto form. Beethoven even wrote cadenzas for the first and last movements of Mozart's d minor piano concerto, K. 466 (WoO 58, 1809);⁶ and he also quoted "Notte e giorno faticar" from *Don Giovanni* in the witty Variation 22 of the "Diabelli" variations, Op. 120.⁷

Beethoven penned four sets of variations on Mozart themes, drawing more on Mozart than any other composer. These variations are: (1) WoO 40, Twelve Variations for Piano and Violin on the theme "Se vuol ballare" from *Le Nozze di Figaro* (1792–93); (2) WoO 28, Variations for Two Oboes and English Horn on "Là ci darem la mano" from *Don Giovanni* (? 1795); (3) Op. 66, Twelve Variations for Piano and Violoncello on "Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen" from *Die Zauberflöte* (1796); and (4) WoO 46, Variations for Piano and Violoncello on "Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen" also from *Die Zauberflöte* (1801). Unlike Beethoven's early piano variations, which were primarily virtuosic treatments of popular operatic tunes, the Mozart variations were written for two and three instruments as chamber works in rather rare combinations.⁸

Even more telling, perhaps, are the many copies of Mozart's music Beethoven made by way of study. Beethoven actually studied and copied works by many composers and theorists. While such copies by J. S. Bach are well known to musicians, Beethoven's numerous copies are cited less often. Unfortunately, no comprehensive list yet exists for this evidence of Beethoven's lifelong self-education.⁹ Among the composi-

⁵ The proposed models for these works are, respectively, Mozart's violin-piano sonatas K. 379, K. 380, and K. 296 (published in Vienna, 1781; K. 296 dates from 1778); the divertimento for string trio, K. 563 (1788), the piano-wind quintet, K. 452 (1784), and the A major "Haydn" quartet, K. 464 (1785). With respect to WoO 36, Douglas Johnson has stated that "all three of the Piano Quartets WoO 36 were modelled on the violin sonatas of Mozart." See his article "1794–1795: Decisive Years in Beethoven's Early Development," *Beethoven Studies* 3, ed. Alan Tyson (Cambridge, 1982), p. 14, fn. 5.

⁶ Beethoven wrote these cadenzas for a performance of the concerto by his former student Ferdinand Ries. A sketch for another cadenza to the first movement is in the Bodmer collection, Beethovenhaus, Bonn. Beethoven himself played a Mozart concerto "after the first part" of a performance of Mozart's opera *La Clemenza di Tito*, organized by Constanze Mozart in the Burgtheater, 31 March 1795. See Thayer-Forbes, p. 175. Beethoven's enthusiastic reaction to the conclusion of Mozart's piano concerto in C minor, K. 491, was related by the widow of J. B. Cramer. See Thayer-Forbes, p. 209.

⁷ The variation was in the group of variations sketched in 1819 according to William Kinderman, "The Evolution and Structure of Beethoven's 'Diabelli' Variations," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXV (1982), 309.

⁸ One set, WoO 28, was never published, probably because of its unusual scoring, though the music was offered to various publishers at different times. Thayer suggests that the last Mozart set, WoO 46, was composed in response to the successful revival of *Die Zauberflöte* in Vienna in early 1801. See Thayer-Forbes, p. 298.

⁹ For the most detailed list of such copies, with extensive discussion, see Warren Kirkendale, *Fugue and Fugato in Rococo and Classical Chamber Music*, trans. Margaret Bent

tions he copied in addition to Mozart's, are those by J. S. Bach, W. F. Bach, C. P. E. Bach, William Byrd, Cherubini, A. Cornet and Carl Doblhoff-Dier (students of Salieri), J. J. Fux, Handel, Joseph Haydn, Gottlieb Muffat, Palestrina, and Salieri.

The largest number of copies are for works by J. S. Bach, Handel, and Mozart. The Mozart copies, of which thirteen are known at present, can be grouped into three categories: copies of chamber works, especially string quartets; copies of operatic excerpts; and copies of fugal, canonic, or contrapuntal sections or pieces. In addition, there are scattered quotations and references to Mozart's works in Beethoven's sketches. A list of copies is given in Appendix A. Most of the copies and pieces influenced by Mozart stem from Beethoven's earlier years, and it would seem that the study of Mozart's music fell off or ceased entirely in the late period.

This impression can now be corrected by the discovery of Beethoven's précis and analysis of the Kyrie fugue from Mozart's Requiem, K. 626, on a sketchleaf containing a draft for the Credo fugue, "Et vitam venturi" of the *Missa Solemnis* on the reverse side. The précis and analysis place this leaf in the group of fugal and contrapuntal copies Beethoven made, not only of works by Mozart, but also of several other composers, especially J. S. Bach and Handel. It is the third Mozart fugue that he copied (see Appendix A). Though the paper can be dated c. 1819–c. 1825, it seems probable that this Mozart copy was made for purposes of study during the composition of the *Missa Solemnis*, in particular with respect to the great fugues that conclude the Gloria and Credo, composed c. June 1819–c. July 1820¹⁰ (for further evidence on the dating, see below).

The leaf, which still remains unlisted and unnoticed in the Beethoven literature, is located in the General Manuscript Collection, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, and was pre-

and the Author (2nd rev. and exp. ed.; Durham, N.C., 1979), "Beethoven's Knowledge of Older Music," pp. 211–24. For Beethoven's study of theoretical works, see Kirkendale's section "Beethoven as Teacher of Archduke Rudolph: His Knowledge of Theoretical Writings," pp. 206–11. See also Richard Kramer's list of copies, with more authoritative dates, in "Das Organische der Fuge': On the Autograph of Beethoven's String Quartet in F Major, Opus 59 No. 1," in *The String Quartets of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, Studies of the Autograph Manuscripts*, ed. Christoph Wolff (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), pp. 228–30. See also Kramer's articles "Beethoven and Carl Heinrich Graun," *Beethoven Studies*, ed. Alan Tyson (New York, 1973), pp. 18–44; "Notes to Beethoven's Education," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXVIII (1975), 72–101; and Ernst Fritz Schmid, "Beethovens Bachkenntnis," *Neues Beethoven Jahrbuch* V (1933), 64–83.

¹⁰ Robert Winter, "Reconstructing Riddles: The Sources for Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*," *Beethoven Essays: Studies in Honor of Elliot Forbes*, ed. Lewis Lockwood and Phyllis Benjamin (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), p. 239.

sented to the university by Alberta M. Welch in 1953.¹¹ It was discovered in 1976 by an art historian and colleague at Bar-Ilan University, Hannah Abrahamson, who in the process of searching for a Beethoven sketch needed by this writer, found the sketchleaf and sent copies of it for verification¹² (see Plates 1 and 2 for the discussion that follows).

The Paper and Its Dating

The characteristics of this leaf identify it as paper-type 18 listed in *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*.¹³ In upright format, the sixteen-stave paper measures 30.2 × 21.6 cm. and it has a total span of 257 mm.¹⁴ The paper was trimmed, so that on the Mozart side the parentheses around the numbers 1 and 2 on the left margin are partly cut off, as is a word at the bottom of the page where Beethoven has added a staff. The watermark consists of a shield with three stars and crown (left side) and the initials VG (right side). The Columbia quadrant is 1a or 1b; unlike the example given on page 549, it contains only the bottom portion of the shield with the lowest star, probably because the rest of the watermark was cut off in the trimming process.¹⁵

The leaf is written entirely in pencil. A horizontal fold at the top of staff eight divides the paper in half. A vertical fold down the center seems to have been made by a second folding of the paper to the right. Additional oblique creases appear on the lower half of the paper; they are seen most clearly on the right side of the Credo draft. While the Credo draft fits neatly into the upper half of the leaf and could have been notated when the leaf was folded horizontally, the Mozart précis and analysis run across all the folds and seem to have been written down before the paper was folded.

On the left side of the Credo draft traces remain of notches in the paper where stitch-holes might have been made. These occur opposite staff eight and between staves eight and nine, as well as below staff 3. The leaf was hinged by one of its owners on the right side of the Mozart page; the imprint of the three spaced hinges is still visible. This was done

¹¹ Ms. Welch may have inherited the leaf from her brother's widow. Her brother, Alexander Welch (d. 22 September 1943), a New York banker and architect, was also a graduate of Columbia University. His wife died in 1951 and left no immediate survivors.

¹² The authenticity of the leaf was at first questioned by the Columbia Library. Though I immediately identified the Mozart précis and Credo sketch, I sent a copy of the leaf to Alan Tyson, who affirmed its authenticity.

¹³ Douglas Johnson, Alan Tyson, and Robert Winter, *The Beethoven Sketchbooks* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1985), p. 549.

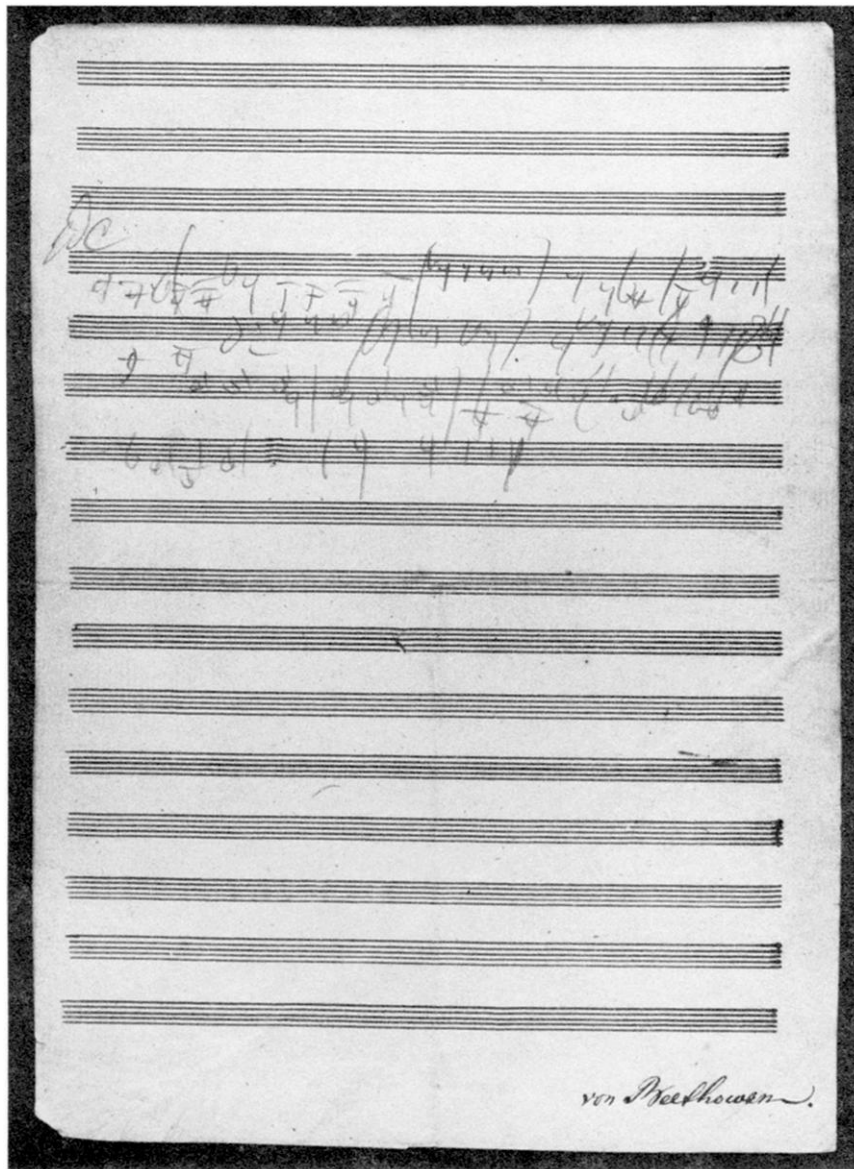
¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 420. The total span refers to the distance between "the top line of the top staff to the bottom line of the bottom staff" (p. 56).

¹⁵ The watermark was kindly traced by Hannah Abrahamson at the time she found the leaf.

PLATE I. Beethoven's précis and analysis of the Kyrie fugue from Mozart's Requiem, K. 626 (reproduced with the kind permission of Columbia University)

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation, likely a score for a fugue. The notation is on ten staves. The top staff is labeled 'C.' and 'Bass'. The second staff is labeled 'Tenor'. The third staff is labeled 'Bass C. alt.'. The fourth staff has the word 'da' written below it. The fifth staff has the word 'sicut in fine' written below it. The sixth staff has the word 'sicut in fine' written below it. The seventh staff has the word 'sicut in fine' written below it. The eighth staff has the word 'sicut in fine' written below it. The ninth staff has the word 'sicut in fine' written below it. The tenth staff has the word 'sicut in fine' written below it. The page is filled with various annotations, including circled letters 'a', 'b', 'c', 'd', 'e', 'f', 'g', 'h', 'i', 'j', 'k', 'l', 'm', 'n', 'o', 'p', 'q', 'r', 's', 't', 'u', 'v', 'w', 'x', 'y', 'z', and numbers '1', '2', '3', '4', '5', '6', '7', '8', '9', '10', '11', '12', '13', '14', '15', '16', '17', '18', '19', '20', '21', '22', '23', '24', '25', '26', '27', '28', '29', '30', '31', '32', '33', '34', '35', '36', '37', '38', '39', '40', '41', '42', '43', '44', '45', '46', '47', '48', '49', '50'. There are also various symbols, including asterisks, crosses, and circles, scattered throughout the page. The handwriting is in ink on aged paper.

PLATE 2. The draft for the Credo fugue on the reverse side of the Columbia leaf



in order to show the Credo draft, which has the words “von Beethoven [sic]” written in ink in the lower right-hand corner.

Additional indications by hands other than Beethoven’s include the following on the Mozart side (these are written in pencil unless otherwise indicated): (1) on the top left-hand corner the number 1 (in ink) and the initials “KEM”; (2) on the lower left-hand corner, “L. B. 1”;¹⁶ (3) on the lower right-hand corner, the (page ?) number 45. Oxidation on the edges of the sheet shows it was in a notebook of some kind.¹⁷

Paper-type 18 appears in two collections of sketches for the late quartets Opp. 127, 130, and 132. The first collection is Artaria 206, SV 18, now housed in Kraków, Poland, Biblioteka Jagiellńska (formerly Berlin).¹⁸ This collection consists of score sketches for Op. 127, where paper-type 18 was used for pp. 97–112 (pp. 106–112 are empty). A page of sketches for the Gloria of the *Missa Solemnis* appears as page 97. The main sketches contain early ideas for Op. 127 and can be dated in May/June 1824.¹⁹

A more intensive use of the paper occurs in the Moscow Sketchbook, SV 342.²⁰ This is a pocket sketchbook for the quartets Opp. 130 and 132. Housed in the Glinka Museum, Moscow, the sketchbook can be dated May or June to July 1825. The first sixteen leaves (pp. 1–28, A, B) are paper-type 18. Sieghard Brandenburg, in his discussion of the sketchbook, has pointed out that these leaves were “ruled originally with 16 staves in upright format . . . so that each oblong pocket leaf has 8 staves.”²¹ Significantly, a sketch for the Credo of the *Missa Solemnis* appears upside down on page 20. Brandenburg notes that the Credo sketch “suggests that this was paper left over from an earlier period.”²² The existence of the two additional leaves of this paper-type with sketches for the Gloria and Credo of the *Missa Solemnis* strengthens the

¹⁶ Sieghard Brandenburg has informed this writer that the inscription “L. B. 1” reminds him of the marking made by the nineteenth-century Beethoven collector Johann Nepomuk Kafka in the sketch miscellany British Library, Add. MS 29997 (containing sketches dating from 1799 to 1826), and in some manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. I am very indebted to Herr Brandenburg for his assistance with my transcriptions and other matters pertaining to the leaf.

¹⁷ This observation was made by Ms. Harris of the Columbia Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

¹⁸ *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, pp. 471–72. For the meaning of the SV listing, see fn. 51.

¹⁹ The date comes from Sieghard Brandenburg, “Die Quellen zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Beethovens Streichquartett Es-Dur Op. 127,” *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* X (1978–81), 235. This article, on pp. 261 and 264, specifies that the score sketches on paper-type 18 are in upright format, a fact omitted in *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*.

²⁰ *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, pp. 419–23.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

²² *Ibid.*

assumption that the Mozart copy was made during work on these portions of the Mass.

The Mozart Précis and Analysis

Surely the most important material on the leaf is the précis and analysis of the Mozart fugue.²³ Beethoven's interest in Mozart's Requiem is expressed in two earlier letters. The first mention of the Requiem occurs in a letter to Breitkopf & Härtel on 26 July 1809. In Beethoven's request for several scores, the Requiem heads the list: "I should be delighted if you would send me by degrees most of the scores which you possess, such as, for instance, Mozart's Requiem and so forth, Haydn's Masses, in short, all the scores you have, I mean, those of Haydn, Mozart, Johann Sebastian Bach, Emanuel Bach and so forth."²⁴ A few years later, in another letter to the same firm of 28 February 1812, Beethoven laments, "I never received Mozart's Requiem and Don Giovanni—never."²⁵

The one letter totally concerned with the Requiem is the letter that is quoted at the head of this article written in 1826. In this letter to the Abbé Maximilian Stadler, Beethoven supports Stadler's defense of the authenticity of Mozart's Requiem, which was published as a monograph in 1826. Stadler had sent a copy of his monograph to Beethoven and in turn published Beethoven's reply in a second monograph on the authenticity question in 1827.²⁶ The first monograph was written in response to an attack on the Requiem by the critic and theorist Gottfried Weber in an article entitled "Über die Echtheit des Mozart'schen Requiem," which was published in Schott's music journal *Cäcilia*.²⁷ Among his comments, Weber criticized especially the chromatic variation of the countersubject in the Kyrie fugue (mm. 34ff; p. 218), and he suggested that it might be performed by the cellos while the bass voices and double basses outlined the melody in quarter-notes. This revision is written down in Beethoven's letter and ridiculed for its faulty voice leading. Beethoven also quotes examples of Weber's poor text setting in his own Requiem, drawing examples from another Weber article in the same issue, "Meine Ansichten über die Composition des Requiem überhaupt,

²³ For the Credo draft, see Appendix B.

²⁴ Anderson, *Letters* I, No. 220. On 5 July 1806, Beethoven had also requested Breitkopf & Härtel "to send me your *printed* scores of Haydn and Mozart" (*Ibid.*, I, No. 132).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, No. 351.

²⁶ The monographs are cited in Anderson, *Letters* III, 1275, fn. 3.

²⁷ *Cäcilia* III (1825), 205–29.

und mit Beziehung auf mein Requiem.” Here Weber discusses ways of making a “correct” setting of the Requiem, using his music as a model.²⁸

That Beethoven eventually obtained a score of the Requiem is shown by the list of works in Beethoven’s library made for the sale of his estate. Lot 221 included “Mozart’s Requiem in score.”²⁹ It was probably this score that Beethoven used to make the précis found on the Columbia leaf.

In studying Mozart’s fugue, Beethoven was evidently concerned with three aspects of the fugue: the selection of voices for the presentation of the subject and countersubject, especially in the exposition; the position of the subject below or above the countersubject (that is, the use of double counterpoint); and the metrical placement of the subject and countersubject on beats one or three of the $\frac{4}{4}$ measure. The last is one of countless examples, especially common in fugal writing, of what has been called compound meter (in German, “zusammengesetzte Taktart”), in which two smaller meters are combined into a larger one so that the strong beat occurs at the beginning of each smaller metrical unit. This type of $\frac{4}{4}$ meter is therefore a combination of two $\frac{2}{4}$ measures; beats one and three are equally strong and therefore equally appropriate for the beginning of a fugue subject or a theme in a homophonic work. In fugal or contrapuntal textures, the equivalence of beats one and three produces a more fluid rhythmic style, in which half-measure units are added and deleted unpredictably. We are familiar with this type of $\frac{4}{4}$ meter from the music of J. S. Bach, but it actually has a long history and is found throughout the eighteenth century and even later.³⁰

Before Beethoven wrote out the précis itself, he jotted down the names of the voices in the order of entries at the start of the fugue. These names appear at the top of the page, and Beethoven added the abbreviation “C.” next to the voice bearing the countersubject. This probably stands for the word “Contrathema,” a term used for the countersubject by Beethoven’s counterpoint teacher J. G. Albrechtsberger.³¹

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 103–23.

²⁹ Thayer-Forbes, Appendix C, p. 1069. The first edition of the full score of Mozart’s Requiem was published by Breitkopf & Härtel c. 1800. A later edition of the same publisher has been dated 1812 by the Music Division of the New York Public Library.

³⁰ See the valuable article by Floyd K. Grave, “Metrical Displacement and the Compound Measure in Eighteenth-Century Theory and Practice,” *Theoria* 1 (1985), 25–60. I have used the term “combined meter” for this metrical effect in my writings on the music of G. B. Sammartini. For the homophonic treatment of this meter type, see this article and especially Grave’s earlier article, “Common-Time Displacement in Mozart,” *Journal of Musicology* III (1984), 423–41.

³¹ See Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, *Anweisung zur Composition* (Leipzig, 1790), ch. 24, “Von der Fuge,” p. 171: “Was dem Hauptsatze (*Thema*) wenn die zweyte Stimme

A	The original vocal presentation with the subject below the countersubject.
B	The vocal arrangement in double counterpoint, with the subject above the countersubject. This is indicated only after the exposition is completed.
A1	The original metrical placement of the subject on beat 1.
A2	The placement of the subject on beat 3.
X	The same as A, or used together with A.
#	The same as B, or used together with B.

The words “*anderer Takt*” appear at the first notated entry in compound meter (st. 6/7) to point up the shift in metrical position (it is the fourth entry in the exposition); they appear for entries on beat three later as well (as between st. 11/12). The words “*selbiger Takt*” seem to be used for entries on beat one (st. 11). However, later on “*selbiger Takt*” or “*selbiger*” seem to identify the “same” metrical shift on beat three, as found on st. 12/13, 14/15, and 16/17. The meaning of “*selbige Stimme*” is somewhat ambiguous. On st. 10/11, the words seem to indicate the original position of the subject; yet “*andere Stimme*” is notated for the fourth entry on st. 6/7, though the subject is in the lower voice. Thus, the terms are not completely consistent, but their meaning is generally clear.³⁴

Several aspects of the Mozart fugue and Beethoven’s analysis of it are connected with Beethoven’s late style, as well as with the Gloria and Credo fugues. First, there are connections with the subject itself. This subject, in minor, is an old Baroque formula that Kirkendale calls the “*pathotype*,” since it “always expressed deep grief.”³⁵ It typically contains the scale degrees 5-6-7-1 or 5-1-6-7(1) (in that order), with a characteristic leap of a diminished seventh between degrees 6 and 7. Sometimes the tonic is replaced by the third degree as in Mozart’s fugue, and other permutations are possible. Beethoven also copied out two other

³⁴ The word “*wie*” (end of st. 7) seems to be an anticipation of the “*wie*” at the beginning of st. 8/9. On st. 8/9, m. 2, “*d.*” apparently stands for “*diskant.*” The reference seems to be to the pairing of subject and countersubject in the tenor and the soprano in the fourth entry of the exposition and the voices in the entry at this point in F, but the top voice is the soprano, not the alto. Also on st. 8/9, the words “*glei [che]” stelle (?)*” (“*glei [che]*” is crossed out) may indicate the same displacement in the entry in F as in the previous entry. On st. 12, Beethoven has omitted another measure rest (the rests are 1/2-1-1-1/2 mm.).

The use of symbols in this analysis is related to Beethoven’s use of various signs in his sketches (besides the usual “*Vide*” indication) for connecting a sketch and its revision. I am grateful to Richard Kramer for this observation.

³⁵ Kirkendale, *Fugue and Fugato*, p. 91.

EXAMPLE 1. Transcription of Beethoven's précis and analysis of Mozart's Kyrie fugue from the Requiem, K. 626*

fugues using the pathotype as subject: Mozart's C minor fugue, K. 426 (see Appendix A), and Handel's choral fugue from *Messiah*, "And With His Stripes are We Healed,"³⁶ whose subject contains the same degrees as Mozart's Kyrie fugue (Handel's fugue was well known to Mozart, of course, since he arranged all of *Messiah* in 1789). Beethoven's familiarity with this subject type actually goes back very far. He may well have known the fugue in A minor from J. S. Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*, II (beginning as Mozart's Kyrie fugue), and Viennese examples, including

³⁶ Otto E. Albrecht, "Beethoven Autographs in the United States," *Beiträge zur Beethoven-Bibliographie*, ed. Kurt Dorf Müller (Munich, 1978), p. 10, Census 221.

EXAMPLE 1. (continued)

The musical score consists of four systems of staves. The first system (measures 12-13) shows a piano accompaniment in the bass clef and a vocal line in the treble clef. The vocal line has lyrics: "3te das nemliche wie bey". Below the piano part, the text "selbiger Takt" is written. The second system (measures 14-15) continues the vocal line with lyrics: "das nemlich hey", "alt wie bey B", and "et[c.]". The piano part has a "tenor" marking. Below the piano part, the text "anderer takt" and "selbiger takt" are written. The third system (measures 16-17) shows the vocal line with lyrics: "in *8va* vom alt", "vom A", "wie bey B". The piano part has a "selbiger [Takt?]" marking. The fourth system (measures 18-19) shows the piano accompaniment in the bass clef. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings.

*This transcription follows the direction of stems, and capitalization and spelling of words in the manuscript. Dotted lines and brackets indicate editorial additions. Oblique and wavy lines show that the notes, words, etc. are crossed out.

the fugal finale of Haydn's string quartet in F minor, Op. 20, No. 5.³⁷ The youthful composer introduced it as a new theme for a contrapuntal passage in his piano trio Op. 1, No. 2, first movement (development). He

³⁷ The incipit of the Haydn subject (with note 2 omitted) was written down in a Beethoven conversation book by Karl Holz sometime from mid-July to mid-August 1825. Holz remarked that Haydn had used the Requiem subject ("Thema") much earlier as a fugue subject ("Fugenthema") in a quartet. Holz played second violin in the Schuppanzigh string quartet at this time and he became a close friend of Beethoven's. See *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte*, ed. Karl-Heinz Köhler and Grita Herre, with the assistance of Günter Brosche (Leipzig, 1981), VIII, 19.

further sketched an idea similar to it (finally rejected) for the “Appassionata” piano sonata, Op. 57.³⁸ The pathotype ultimately became the basis of themes and subjects that Beethoven used in various permutations in four late works, two of them fugues. They are (in chronological order) the piano sonata, Op. 111, first movement (primary theme),³⁹ the string quartets Op. 132, first movement (primary theme), the *Grosse Fuge*, Op. 133, and Op. 131, first movement (fugue). Thus Beethoven’s intense involvement with the Kyrie fugue represents an important stage in his preoccupation with a traditional fugue subject that finds sublime expression in his late period.

That Beethoven developed a special symbol in his analysis of the Kyrie fugue to identify Mozart’s use of double counterpoint underscores his keen interest in this basic contrapuntal device. In his studies with Albrechtsberger, the subject was given intensive treatment.⁴⁰ Richard Kramer has shown that even before Beethoven’s work with Albrechtsberger, he had copied out passages concerning double counterpoint from Mattheson’s *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* and probably Kirnberger’s *Kunst des reinen Satzes*.⁴¹ While it is beyond the limits of this paper to trace Beethoven’s use of this technique in his music, it should be noted that it became an even more important component in his late style, which was so greatly enriched by contrapuntal thinking of all kinds.⁴²

We may ask ourselves whether the Mozart fugue has any relationship with Beethoven’s Gloria fugue, “In gloria Dei patris” and Credo fugue “Et vitam venturi” from the *Missa Solemnis*. Though the question cannot be fully answered without a study of the Gloria sketches and the autograph revisions of both fugues,⁴³ nevertheless some similarities can be found in the final versions (see also Example 2):

1. The Gloria subject features a fast-moving rising sequence heard twice, like the Mozart countersubject, and the subject is also first presented in the bass.

³⁸ See Martha Frohlich, “Sketches for a Curious ‘Imitative Motive’ for Beethoven’s ‘Appassionata’ Sonata,” *Israel Studies in Musicology* IV (1987), 27–30.

³⁹ I am grateful to Roger Kamien for this reference.

⁴⁰ See Nottebohm, *Beethovens Studien*, pp. 125–51.

⁴¹ Richard Kramer, “Notes to Beethoven’s Education,” pp. 86–94.

⁴² For late examples of double counterpoint, see Otto Zickenheiner, “Zur Kontrapunktischen Satztechnik in späten Werken Beethovens,” *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* IX (1973/77), 553–69.

⁴³ Many of the sketches for the Credo fugue are transcribed and discussed in Otto Zickenheiner, *Untersuchungen zur Credo-Fuge der Missa Solemnis von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Munich, 1984), pp. 99–262.

2. The Credo subject starts on the fifth degree and immediately descends to the third degree, like the Mozart subject. However, though this opening is the most frequent in the Credo sketches, Beethoven considered using different initial notes as well (as F-B \flat , F-G, B \flat -D).⁴⁴ This feature, therefore, is probably more coincidental than significant.⁴⁵ The subject, in fact, draws on a traditional subject type exploiting a chain of thirds.⁴⁶
3. Like the Mozart example, the Credo fugue is a double fugue, the countersubject presented together with the subject at the first entry.
4. Though the subject entries in the exposition differ in the Gloria and Credo fugues (B-T-A-S-B and S-A-T-B-S in Beethoven versus B-S-A-T in Mozart), the pairing of subject and countersubject in the Credo exposition involves the same voices: in Beethoven S-T, A-B, T-S, B-A; in Mozart B-A, S-T, A-B, T-S. This occurs because in both fugues the countersubject is invertible at the fifteenth rather than the octave.
5. Since the Credo subject is in $\frac{3}{2}$, it cannot be treated in compound meter. The reverse, however, is true of the Gloria subject, which is in $\frac{4}{4}$ (C meter). Indeed, extensive use of compound $\frac{4}{4}$ meter is made in this fugue. The subject begins on beat three in entries one, two, and four of the five entries in the modulation section (mm. 382, 389, 403), and the first two strettos of the stretto section, in dominant and tonic (mm. 412, 428, the latter with diminution of the first measure from four beats to an upbeat quarter).

We cannot know if Beethoven's study of the Mozart fugue occurred before or after his striking use of compound meter in the Gloria fugue, though one would like to think that it occurred before. His strong interest in this effect is shown by his comments and symbols in his analysis of the Kyrie fugue, which itself is a prime example of the use of this meter. Of twelve entries, eight occur on beat 3: two of the four exposition entries (for the answer), the second of two subject entries in the final tonic section, and five of the six subject entries in the modulation section (including a stretto in B \flat). Such metrical displacement would have a natural appeal for Beethoven in this period, when he greatly intensifies

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 135, 148–49.

⁴⁵ I have borrowed these words from Jan LaRue's important article "Significant and Coincidental Resemblance between Classical Themes," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XIV (1961), 224–34.

⁴⁶ See Kirkendale, *Fugue and Fugato*, pp. 98–100.

EXAMPLE 2. Initial entries in the Mozart and Beethoven fugues

Mozart: Requiem, Kyrie fugue

alto *f* countersubject
 subject *f*
 bass *f*
 Christe eleison, eleison, eleison

Beethoven: *Missa Solemnis*, Credo fugue

subject *ff* tenor *f*
 bass *ff*
 in gloria Dei patris

Beethoven: *Missa Solemnis*, Credo fugue

soprano *p* subject
 tenor *p* countersubject
 Et vitam venturissae culinae

rhythmic dissonance, and more often introduces extreme metrical shifts.⁴⁷

In his article on compound meter, Floyd K. Grave discusses important examples of Beethoven's use of this meter type in two late works:

⁴⁷ Examples of radical metrical displacements include the treatment of the fugue subject in the "Hammerklavier" piano sonata, Op. 106, where the subject, in 3/4, starts on a different beat or part of the beat in the first three entries after the exposition (and the fourth entry contains the rhythmic transformation effected by the presentation of the subject in retrograde). Another example occurs in the second half of the Credo fugue itself, where the diminution of the subject, with syncopated upbeat, completely changes its metrical accents (see mm. 378–80). A very long displacement occurs for most of the second part of the trio in the string quartet Op. 132, second movement.

Op. 111, first movement, and the fugue in Op. 131.⁴⁸ Additional examples may be cited in the concluding fugue of the overture *Die Weihe des Hauses*, Op. 124, and the opening fugue of the *Grosse Fuge*, Op. 133, both written after the completion of the *Missa Solemnis*, as were Op. 131 and essentially Op. 111.⁴⁹ In these late examples, as in the Gloria fugue, the compound metrical effect is reserved for the areas after the exposition, unlike Mozart's exploitation of the device throughout the fugue.

In Op. 133, because of the fierce rhythmic complexities in the opening fugue, metrical displacement of the subject and motives in the episodes is less noticeable than in the other late examples (see especially mm. 72–88, 93–110). The overture fugue, in contrast, offers the most intensive manipulation of the metric position of the subject found in the late Beethoven fugues using compound $\frac{4}{4}$ meter.

Here, Beethoven reverses the usual metrical placement by starting the subject on beat three, so that the displaced subject occurs on beat one. The rhythmic effect is further complicated by sforzandos on beats two and four. On the other hand, the tail of the subject (m. 92) first appears on beat one and is later displaced to beat three (Example 3). It is in the modulation section, with the entry in F (m. 126) where displacement of the subject is introduced, and where a jocular play with compound meter becomes a central issue. Strikingly, the final tonic section begins with the feeling of recapitulation on beat one. Though this seems to be a typical example of concinnity, the tonic return being coordinated with the subject moved back to the first beat, the effect of stabilization is undermined by a surprising *pianissimo* dynamic (the displaced entry in F was also *piano*). Both metrical positions recur in this area, but the first-beat placement predominates. In yet another turnaround, however, Beethoven reverts to the original metrical position for the final triumphant appearance of the subject (m. 243). Awareness of this metrical seesaw is surely essential for understanding the development of the subject and the rhythmic organization of the fugue. Significantly, in this

⁴⁸ Grave, "Metrical Displacement," pp. 56–60. Grave points out that in Op. 111, a movement in sonata form, the primary theme appears on beat three in the imitative transition and fugato-like section in the development, together with its unison preface. We might add that this movement was first sketched as a fugue, a fact also related to the choice of theme, with its pathotype character. See William Drabkin, "The Sketches for Beethoven's Piano Sonata in C Minor, Opus 111 (Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1977). With regard to the Op. 131 fugue, Grave emphasizes that the subject is displaced at the fugue's climax, the high entry in A major, starting in m. 63. Though the fugue's meter is C, Grave (p. 57) suggests that the diminution of the subject that introduces eighth-note motion before the climax effects an implied shift to compound $\frac{4}{4}$ meter.

⁴⁹ Winter, "Reconstructing Riddles," p. 239, indicates that Op. 111 was written after work on the Agnus Dei and Dona of the *Missa Solemnis* in c. March–July 1821. It was certainly composed after the main work on the Gloria and Credo was completed in 1819–20.

EXAMPLE 3. Fugue subject in the overture to *Die Weihe des Hauses*, Op. 124, and its treatment in compound $\frac{4}{4}$ meter

m. 88 beat 3
 ff
 sf
 sf
 sf
 sf
 sf

beat 1
 sf
 sf
 sf

m. 126
 p
 beat 1

beat 3

fugue and the other examples mentioned above, metrical displacement is coordinated with developmental and climactic effects.

Only one instance of this type of displacement appears in Beethoven's earlier vocal fugues. In the Mass, Op. 86 (1807), a modulating stretto in the "Cum sancto spiritu" fugue of the Gloria (mm. 298–307) adumbrates Beethoven's late usage. If we go back to Beethoven's fugal exercises for Albrechtsberger, we can discover further examples of compound $\frac{4}{4}$ meter.⁵⁰ In addition, we should remember that Beethoven was familiar with Bach's fugues from childhood on, and with fugues by other composers in which this device is found. Clearly, then, such metrical displacement was not unknown to Beethoven. The study of Mozart's Kyrie fugue, however, may have evoked a far deeper response. This response came at a time when Beethoven was striving for a more complex, subtle, and flexible treatment of rhythm, as well as a comprehensive synthesis of old and new procedures in his contrapuntal language.

Bar-Ilan University, Israel

⁵⁰ Nottebohm, *Beethovens Studien*, the fugues starting on pp. 132 and 158. In these fugues, the entries on beat three are reserved for the exposition and strettos of the subject almost exclusively. The question of Beethoven's homophonic use of this meter cannot be considered in this article. One striking instance, however, should be mentioned: the first transition theme in the string quintet Op. 29 (1801), which always starts on beat three of the $\frac{4}{4}$ measure. The meter sign in the autograph is ϕ , but it was altered to C in the first edition, probably in recognition of this metrical effect.

APPENDIX A

Beethoven's Mozart Copies

1. Chamber Works
 - a. String Quartets
 1. K. 387 (copied 1799–1800). The nearly complete score has survived in Bonn, Beethovenhaus NE 119, 12 leaves; SBH 602, 1 leaf. Another leaf, containing the last measures of the finale, is in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Cary Collection, item 74.⁵¹
 2. K. 464, second movement (copied c. 1800). Stockholm, Stiftelsen Musikkulturens främjande, collection of Captain Rudolf Nydahl.⁵²
 - b. Piano trio, K. 496, third movement, mm. 49–72. Bonn, Beethovenhaus, SBH 603, 1 leaf.⁵³
2. Operatic excerpts
 - a. *Don Giovanni*
 1. Terzet (Death of the Commendatore), end Act I, No. 1; and the quartet “Non ti fidar,” Act I, No. 9, 7 pp. The terzet is now in Bonn, Beethovenhaus, NE 149. The present location of the quartet is unknown.⁵⁴
 2. Extensive excerpts from Act I. Bonn, Beethovenhaus, NE 149.⁵⁵
 3. The last 89 mm. of the vocal parts, with German text, of the Finale ending Act I (copied 1803–04?). Divided between two libraries: East Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 15 151/20, 2 leaves; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Conservatoire collection, Beethoven autograph MS 42 and W 6 (7), 2 leaves.⁵⁶

⁵¹ A complete list of the extant Mozart copies is not given in the lists presented by Kirkendale and Kramer (see fn. 9). As Sieghard Brandenburg has observed in a letter to this writer, the list will never be complete, since many copies are undoubtedly lost. The dates of copies that are included here are the most reliable that can be found in various studies. For the dates of the quartet copies of K. 387 and K. 464, see Kramer, “Das Organische der Fuge,” p. 230. For K. 387, see Albrecht, “Beethoven Autographs,” p. 10, Census 227D; and *The Mary Flagler Cary Music Collection* (New York, 1970), No. 74. The abbreviation “SBH” refers to the listing in Hans Schmidt, “Die Beethovenhandschriften des Beethovenhauses in Bonn,” *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* VII (1969/70), vii–443. The abbreviation “SV” found with some items refers to the listing in Hans Schmidt, “Verzeichnis der Skizzen Beethovens,” *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* VI (1965/68), 7–128.

⁵² See the catalogue *Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, Förteckning över musikhandskrifter: musikalier, brev och biografica*, ed. Gunner Holst (Stockholm, 1972), p. 4.

⁵³ See Schmidt, “Die Beethoven Handschriften.”

⁵⁴ Albrecht, “Beethoven Autographs,” p. 10, Census 216. The information regarding the location of the terzet comes from Sieghard Brandenburg.

⁵⁵ Information from Sieghard Brandenburg.

⁵⁶ See Wilhelm Virneisel, “Kleine Beethoveniana,” *Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 60. Geburtstag* (Bonn, 1957), pp. 361–62. For the date, see Richard Kramer, “The

4. Score of the vocal parts, with German text, of the terzet “Ah taci, ingiusto core,” Act II, No. 2; and the sextet “Sola, sola in bujo loco,” Act II, No. 6. Some orchestral cues are included. Now located in Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University, Moldenhauer archive, 23 pp.⁵⁷
- b. *Die Zauberflöte*: Quintet, Act I, No. 5, fragment (SV 170; copied May or June 1804). Bonn, Beethovenhaus, BSK 17/65a.⁵⁸
3. Copies of contrapuntal works and passages
 - a. Canon “O du eselhafter Martin,” K. 560a (SV 185; copied 1796). London, British Library, Kafka Miscellany Add. Ms. 29801, fol. 142v.⁵⁹
 - b. Fugue for two pianos in C minor, K. 426. “An exact copy . . . of the last 42 bars of the Fugue in its original version for two pianos.” New York, Robert O. Lehman collection on deposit at the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1 leaf. There is another leaf, with mm. 42–77, in Bonn, Beethovenhaus, SBH 604.⁶⁰
 - c. Phantasie für ein Orgelwalze, K. 608. Copy of 35 mm. from the concluding fugue. Present location unknown, 1 leaf. The leaf was listed in the Stargardt (Marburg) auction catalogue 540 (1958), No. 127.⁶¹
 - d. A part of the development section, mm. 148–76, from Mozart’s Symphony No. 40, K. 550, last movement (SV 66; copied in early 1808). East Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Landsberg 12, M. 1862.8522, p. 67.⁶²
 - e. The Kyrie fugue from the Requiem, K. 626 (copied and analyzed c. 1819–20). New York, Columbia University, General Manuscript Collection, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 1 p.

Sketches for Beethoven’s Violin Sonatas, Opus 30: History, Transcription, Analysis” (Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1973), I, 101–02.

⁵⁷ Albrecht, “Beethoven Autographs,” p. 10, Census 216A.

⁵⁸ For the date, see Alan Tyson, “Das Leonoreskizzenbuch (Mendelssohn 15): Probleme der Rekonstruktion und der Chronologie,” *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* IX (1973/77), 489–91.

⁵⁹ The date is given in *Ludwig van Beethoven, Autograph Miscellany From Circa 1786 to 1799 . . . (The “Kafka Sketchbook”)*, ed. Joseph Kerman (London, 1970), II, 296 and confirmed in *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, p. 522. A facsimile of the copy can be found in Volume I.

⁶⁰ Albrecht, “Beethoven Autographs,” p. 10, Census 218B (source of quotation). See also Schmidt, “Die Beethovenhandschriften,” pp. 270–71, with corrections in the *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* VIII (1971/72).

⁶¹ *Beiträge*, ed. Dorf Müller, p. 360; Kirkendale, *Fugue and Fugato*, p. 218.

⁶² The date is suggested in Gustav Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana* (Leipzig, 1887; reprint 1970), pp. 531–32, because the copy appears together with advanced sketches for the Fifth Symphony. For the contents of the miscellany Landsberg 12, see Eveline Bartlitz, *Die Beethoven-Sammlung in der Musikabteilung der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek* (Berlin, 1970), p. 113.

EXAMPLE 4. Transcription of the draft for the Credo fugue

[staff]

4 = de

5

6

7

APPENDIX B

The Draft for the Credo Fugue, “Et vitam venturi”

The draft (see Plate 2 and Example 4) is a revision of an earlier draft or sketch, as indicated by the connective “= de” (from the word “Vide”) at the start of the passage. It presents a shorter and simpler version of the modulation section in $A\flat$ and $D\flat$ found in the first part of the fugue, mm. 337–58; and it ends with the subject entry in $B\flat$, beginning the final tonic area of this fugal portion. In addition to containing a different set of vocal entries, the draft lacks the striking inversion of the subject and the final forceful modulation to the tonic. The drive to the tonic is deflected in two ways. First, the sequential episode starts with the less effective larger modules of two measures (st. 5, last beat–st. 6, mm. 1–4, beat 2), though it ends with the same one-measure modules of the final version. Second, the melodic line of the episode does not have the dramatic rise of the final version but instead descends and remains weakly within the orbit of $A\flat$ and $D\flat$. The empty measure stands for the missing continuation to $B\flat$.