

**Beethoven's Interest in Greco-Roman Antiquity
and its Impact on his Life and Music**

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Humanities

2020

Jos van der Zanden

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Table of Contents

List of Figures	4
Abbreviations	5
Abstract	6
Declaration and copyright statements	7
Acknowledgements	8
Chapter 1 Introduction	9
1.1 Aims and Objectives	10
1.2 The Quest for <i>Bildung</i>	12
1.3 Scholarly Writing	15
1.4 Methodology and Structure	21
Chapter 2 Influences I: Bonn	24
2.1 Bonn Politics	24
2.2 The French Revolution and Ancient Rome	26
2.3 Brutus and Republicanism	28
2.4 The Czerny Enigma	33
2.5 Nepos	35
2.6 Cicero and Feder	37
2.7 German <i>Grossmannsucht</i>	39
2.8 The Creed of the Illuminati: ‘Read the Ancients’	40
2.9 Summary	44
Chapter 3 Influences II: Vienna	46
3.1 Winckelmann and German Classicism	47
3.2 Goethe and Schiller	48
3.3 Ancient Texts Available in German	53
3.4 Educational Material	59
3.5 Antiquity in Opera	63
3.6 Painting and Sculpture	65
3.7 Summary	70
Chapter 4 Greek Literature I: Homer	72
4.1 The Translations by Johann Heinrich Voss	72
4.2 References in Primary Sources	74
4.3 The Canon in Egerton 2795	80
4.4 Nephew Karl’s Studies	83
4.5 Beethoven’s Copy of the <i>Odyssey</i>	86
4.6 Passages that Caught Beethoven’s Eye	89
4.7 The Role of Schindler	95
4.8 Summary	96
Chapter 5 Greek Literature II: Xenophon, Euripides and Greek Poetry	98
5.1 Xenophon and Platonism	98
5.2 Euripides	103
5.3 The Greek Anthology	111
5.4 Summary	115

Chapter 6 Literature from Imperial Rome: Plutarch, Horace and Tacitus -----	116
6.1 The Schirach Edition -----	117
6.2 References in the Sources -----	119
6.3 Plutarch's Characters -----	131
6.4 Some Effects on Beethoven -----	132
6.5 Horace -----	135
6.6 Tacitus -----	137
6.7 Summary -----	140
Chapter 7 The Role of Hellenistic Philosophy -----	142
7.1 Platonism and Stoicism -----	142
7.2 Beethoven's Reading-----	145
7.3 Passions -----	147
7.4 Moral Issues -----	150
7.5 Summary -----	158
Chapter 8 Antiquity in Beethoven's Music -----	161
8.1 A Survey of the Works -----	161
8.2 Bacchus -----	162
8.3 Unresolved Dissonances -----	167
8.4 Other Opera Plans -----	169
8.5 Socrates -----	174
8.6 The Problem of <i>Der Sieg des Kreuzes</i> -----	179
Chapter 9 Closing Observations -----	187
9.1 Analysis of the Findings -----	187
9.2 Implications of the Source Findings -----	190
9.3 Possible Ramifications for the Music -----	191
9.4 Conclusions and Recommendations -----	193
Literature Cited -----	195
Appendices A-F -----	206
Appendix A - The Letters -----	206
Appendix B - The Conversation Books -----	209
Appendix C - Recollections by Contemporaries -----	215
Appendix D - Sundry Documentary Material -----	220
Appendix E - Compositions -----	222
Appendix F - Markings in Homer's <i>Odyssey</i> -----	224

Word Count: 79,998

List of Figures

Fig. 1	Josef Schreyvogel (1768-1832), depicted in the ZEW from 29 September 1818 -----	15
Fig. 2	The statuette of Lucius Junius Brutus, arguably from Beethoven's possession. Beethoven-Haus, Bonn -----	32
Fig. 3	Tentative reconstruction of Beethoven's portrait after Carl Czerny's description -----	35
Fig. 4	The house of Johann Philipp von Breuning in Kerpen, carrying a plaquette that refers to Beethoven's stayings (photos July 2020) -----	45
Fig. 5	Johann Nepomuk Hoechle, <i>Beethovens Schlaf- und Sterbezimmer</i> <i>im "Schwarzspanierhaus", 30 March 1827 (25,6 x 21,0 cm). Historisches</i> <i>Museum der Stadt Wien (fragment) -----</i>	68
Fig. 6	Omphale holding the club of Hercules. Statue by Johann Wilhelm Beyer, Schönbrunn Gardens -----	70
Fig. 7	Johann Heinrich Voss, <i>Homers Ilias</i> (Vienna: Haas, 1814), fragment of page 357 -----	78
Fig. 8	Beethoven's underlining of 'des edlen Thitanos Lager' in his <i>Odyssey</i> . Photo December 2018 -----	79
Fig. 9	Sketchbook <i>Scheide</i> , p. 49, with jottings for a possible canon on a text from Homer's <i>Iliad</i> , with transcription by the author -----	80
Fig. 10	Beethoven's copy of the <i>Odyssey</i> , with an alla breve mark on p. 266. Photo December 2018 -----	81
Fig. 11	Pocket sketchbook <i>Egerton 2795</i> , fol. 10r, with sketches on a text from the <i>Odyssey</i> , with transcription by the author -----	82
Fig. 12	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, <i>Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven</i> , <i>L. v., Grasnick 35,1 -----</i>	85
Fig. 13	Schindler's comment in Beethoven's copy of the <i>Odyssey</i> . Photo December 2018 -----	88
Fig. 14	Metrical signs applied by Beethoven to names (<i>Odyssey</i> , page 24). Photo December 2018 -----	90
Fig. 15	An added 'P' to the text 'Denn der ist mir verhasst, wie die Pforten der untersten Tiefe, von Mangel verführt, welcher, mit leeren Erdichtungen schmeichelt!' (Voss, <i>Odyssee</i> , XIV, 157) -----	93
Fig. 16	Adolphe Mende, satirical cartoon of Anton Schindler, 1852 (Städel Museum, Frankfurt) -----	96
Fig. 17	Sketchbook <i>Artaria 195</i> (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz), page 75, staves 1-4. Sketch for a two-voiced vocal piece on the text 'Thut auf' -----	109
Fig. 18	Lines 306-7 from <i>Die Trojanerinnen</i> by Euripides, in volume 4 (page 305) of Friederich Heinrich Bothe's <i>Euripides' Werke verdeutscht</i> (1802) -----	109
Fig. 19	Beginning of the <i>Pränumerationsliste</i> in Johann Erichson's <i>Griechischer</i> <i>Blumenkranz</i> (1810), comprising Beethoven's name -----	112
Fig. 20	Excerpt from Plutarch's <i>Life of Pelopidas</i> in Schirach's translation -----	122
Fig. 21	Excerpt from Plutarch's <i>Life of Solon</i> , in Schirach's translation -----	123
Fig. 22	The call for <i>Pränumerationsliste</i> to the translation of Tacitus by Carl Friedrich Bahrtdt, in volume 7 of Schirach's Plutarch edition -----	139
Fig. 23	First page of Horace's 'Lob des Bacchus' in Ramler's translation -----	163
Fig. 24	Fragment of page 37 of the libretto of <i>Der Hechelkrämer</i> , published in 1813 -----	168
Fig. 25	Excerpt from the 'Teplitzer Kurlisten vom Jahre 1811', with the arrival dates of Friedrich August Wolf (25 July) and Beethoven (4 August) -----	179
Fig. 26	Engraving of the <i>Laocoon</i> in <i>Le Musée français</i> (1803-11) -----	193
	Musical example 1. Performing edition of 'Thut auf' for two voices (WoO 223), possibly on a text from <i>Trojan Women</i> by Euripides -----	110

Abbreviations

- AMZ *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung.*
- BBS *Bonner Beethoven-Studien.*
- BGA *Ludwig van Beethoven: Briefwechsel Gesamtausgabe*, Sieghard Brandenburg, ed., 7 vols. (Munich: Henle, 1996-98). References are to letter numbers.
- BIB *Bönnisches Intelligenz-Blatt*
- BKBe *Bericht über den internationalen Beethoven-Kongress 10-12 Dezember 1970 in Berlin*, Heinz Alfred Brockhaus and Konrad Niemann, eds. (Berlin: Verlag neue Musik Berlin, 1971).
- BKh *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte*, Karl-Heinz Köhler et al., eds., 11 vols. (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1968-2001).
- BL *Beethoven liest*, Bernhard R. Appel and Julia Ronge, eds. (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2016).
- CD Peter Clive, *Beethoven and his World. A Biographical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- CP Caroline Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben* [1844] 2 vols. (Munich: Müller, 1914).
- JAMS *Journal of the American Musicological Society.*
- JGG *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft.*
- JLM *Journal des Luxus und der Moden.*
- JST *Josef Schreyvogels Tagebücher*, Karl Glossy, ed., 2 vols (Berlin: Verlag der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, 1903).
- JTW *The Beethoven Sketchbooks. History, Reconstruction, Inventory*, Douglas Johnson, Alan Tyson and Robert Winter, eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).
- KC *Beethoven aus der Sicht seiner Zeitgenossen in Tagebüchern, Briefen, Gedichten und Erinnerungen*, Klaus Martin Kopitz and Rainer Cadenbach, eds., 2 vols. (Munich: Henle, 2009). References are to page numbers.
- LvBWV *Ludwig van Beethoven: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, Kurt Dorfmueller et al., eds., 2 vols. (Munich: Henle, 2014).
- Mf *Die Musikforschung.*
- ML *Music & Letters.*
- MQ *The Musical Quarterly.*
- MST Maynard Solomon, *Beethovens Tagebuch* (Mainz: Hase & Koehler Verlag, 1990).
- NGA *Beethoven Werke: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Munich and Duisburg: Henle, 1961-).
- Sch40 Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1840).
- Sch45 Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1845).
- Sch60 Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, 2 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1860).
- SW *Schillers sämtliche Werke* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1838).
- TDR Alexander Wheelock Thayer, rev. Hermann Deiters and Hugo Riemann, *Ludwig van Beethovens Leben*, 5 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1917-23).
- WR(N) Franz Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Coblenz: Radeker, 1838); *Nachtrag* by Franz Wegeler (Coblenz: Radeker, 1845).
- WZ *Wiener Zeitung*
- ZEW *Zeitung für die elegante Welt.*

Abstract

Beethoven had a life beyond his vocational activities. He considered it his duty to spend leisure-time improving his *Bildung*. A significant element of this was familiarizing himself with tangible manifestations of Greco-Roman antiquity. This study demonstrates that his engagement with this culture was deep and ongoing, and that it ventured beyond the non-committal. Reading about it was a pleasant pastime, but the serious aspect was that he considered it in many aspects as paradigmatic and that it informed his moral compass.

Drawing on a comprehensive investigation of primary sources it examines to what extent Beethoven was conversant with Greco-Roman history, art, politics and philosophy. It scrutinizes what he learned about it in Bonn and in Vienna, cities where the focus differed. It interrogates which editions he consumed of such writers as Homer, Plutarch, Horace, Tacitus, Euripides, and Greek poets. German translations, it will be shown, were available to Beethoven through the shop of publisher Franz Haas in Vienna, plausibly his most significant supplier.

It is argued that Beethoven treated ancient writings as morally uplifting and advantageous for character-building. He regarded Greco-Roman culture as the epitome of intellectual, moral, and artistic perfection, as an ethical ideal he could derive benefits from. This, it is claimed, informed Beethoven's thoughts, and it now holds one of the keys to a proper assessment of the composer's steadfast, resolute, manly and Stoic outlook, the imperative for a 'great man' to carry out his duty. In addition, the study inquires into the conundrum of the extent to which Beethoven adhered to and valorized basic premises of Hellenistic dogmatic philosophy, and whether or not he entertained sentiments propagated by Platonism and Stoicism.

New findings are presented about Beethoven's republicanism, his alleged familiarity with the works of Plato, his admiration of the elderly Brutus, and his plan to utilize 'unresolved dissonances' in an unknown piece of music. The study discloses hitherto unknown facts about Beethoven's subscription to a book about ancient Greece, and it introduces for the first time the performing edition of a brief vocal piece (1820) on a text by Euripides. It concludes with a comprehensive survey of compositions by Beethoven on Greco-Roman subjects, together with a hypothesis about why a projected oratorio did not come to fruition. In a concluding section ideas are ventured about tendencies and precepts that Beethoven encountered while reading the ancients in relation to his well-known disregard for formal rules and strictures in compositional practice.

Declaration

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

Copyright Statement

i. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) owns certain copyright or related rights in it (the “Copyright”) and he has given The University of Manchester certain rights to use such Copyright, including for administrative purposes.

ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may be made only in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issued under it or, where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the University has from time to time. This page must form part of any such copies made.

iii. The ownership of certain Copyright, patents, designs, trademarks and other intellectual property (the “Intellectual Property”) and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.

iv. Further information on the conditions under which disclosure, publication and commercialisation of this thesis, the Copyright and any Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP Policy

(see <http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/DocuInfo.aspx?DocID=24420>), in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, The University Library’s regulations (see <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/about/regulations/>) and in The University’s policy on Presentation of Theses.

Acknowledgements

Many years have passed since the late Sieghard Brandenburg advised me to convert my enthusiasm for Beethoven's life and works into the study of one particular topic. I found a suitable topic, but it still continued to slumber for quite a while, until one of the world's leading experts in the field of Beethoven scholarship encouraged me to write a dissertation on it. Barry Cooper supervised my work on Beethoven and Classical antiquity with unflagging devotion, always ready to provide help and to correct my preliminary drafts with utmost accuracy. My brainstorm sessions with him were hugely inspiring, and I look back with great joy on discussions about themes and conundrums that intrigued and puzzled us both. I am also grateful that Barry allowed me to participate in the regular Beethoven symposiums he organized in Manchester for students, graduates, and invitees. These opened my eyes to a range of actual topics, perspectives, and methods of investigation.

Valuable critical suggestions by other members of the School of Arts's supervisory team, David Fanning and James Garratt, were also much appreciated: their insightful comments about critical thinking, methodology, grammar and many other subjects have given a boost to my text. Of other persons who were of great help to me I single out Artur Pereira and Marten Noorduyn, who kindly shared their experiences as former PhD students. My appreciation also goes to the staff of the Main Library, particularly for the task of supplying me with material through Interlibrary Loans, which was not always easy. A travel fund from the School of Arts, Languages and Cultures that allowed me to study Beethoven's *Odyssey* copy in Berlin was received with gratitude. I thank Erica Buurman for procuring a typeset version of the music example in Chapter 5.

Last but not least, thanks goes to my wife Thea, for her continual encouragement and help, and her patient and attentive proofreading. Without her, I would probably not have embarked on the project in the first place. Her assistance in so many practical matters was indispensable. As was, for that matter, the companionship of our cat Myus - an inspiring beacon of tranquillity and peace during the continual process of studying and writing.

Introduction

*The attractiveness of Antiquity for powerful souls
is probably the most sophisticated and imperceptible of all enticements.*
Friedrich Nietzsche, *Fragmente* 1885 (34, 176)

In March 1827, when Beethoven was lying on his deathbed, the thirteen-year-old Gerhard von Breuning wrote in a conversation book: ‘Do you like to read about the artefacts of the Romans and the Greeks? If you do, I will bring illustrations of them tomorrow, together with the explanation, and also another more general book about these ancient artefacts’.¹ The boy had evidently overheard that Beethoven had requested his helpers to supply him with Classical literature. Anton Schindler had borrowed Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* from a library, but had failed to obtain what the sick man had asked for, the writings of Tacitus and Plutarch.² The volumes that Beethoven needed were not readily available, which was why Gerhard offered to bring his school books on the Romans and the Greeks, as temporary replacements.

Schindler recollected in his biography that the dying Beethoven was surrounded by ‘Plutarch and other Greek favourites’.³ He informed Moscheles in London that ‘when alone, he entertains himself with reading the ancient Greeks’.⁴ Conversation books and letters corroborate this claim: on his deathbed Beethoven indeed had at his disposal at least Homer, Plutarch, Ovid, and Epictetus.⁵ One might say that he departed from the world while immersed in ancient wisdom, and this lends credence to the story that one of his final utterings was: ‘Plaudite amici comoedia finita est’ - a Hellenistic life-trivializing expression reportedly used by Emperor Augustus.⁶

¹ BKh xi, 277. All translations in this thesis are by the author, unless mentioned otherwise.

² BKh xi, 179 and 254-57. In BKh xi, 263 Schindler wrote: ‘The others [Plutarch’s volumes] are still in circulation’, implying that he had obtained at least some of them. For a survey of the repertoire of ancient literature offered by the library that Beethoven had joined (Armbruster) see Frederike Grigat, ‘Die *Odysee*, Leitbild für Kunst und Leben. Beethoven im Sog der Homer-Begeisterung’, in BL, 203-50, at 216-7.

³ Sch60, vol. 1, xviii.

⁴ BGA, 2261.

⁵ BKh xi, 180 and 257.

⁶ The source of this was actually Suetonius, in *De Vita Caesarum*. For the origin of the phrase see Angelos Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World* (Malden: Blackwell, 2005), 207. For Beethoven literature on the subject see KC, 484-86, and also *Erinnerung an Ludwig van Beethoven und die Feier der Enthüllung seines Monumentes zu Bonn am 10., 11. und 12. August 1845* (Bonn: B. Pleimes, 1845), 26 (where the phrase was discussed in relation to Beethoven receiving the last rites). Incidentally, the German term ‘das Plaudite zurufen’ seems to have been common parlance; see for instance AMZ (1802), 470, footnote. Between

The conclusion must be that very late in life Beethoven set much store by ancient writings. He was intent on studying them even at a time when enthusiasm was no longer widely shared. When, for example, Franz Schubert was fatally ill not very much later, he entertained himself with novels by James Fenimore Cooper⁷ - the contrast in preference was perhaps symbolic for a clash of generations.⁸

Beethoven's choices and preferences raise various questions. What was the origin of his fascination? Was it a long-time engagement, or was it restricted to the final years? What writings did he consume from and about antiquity, and what was the outcome of these activities? More generally: how significant was Greco-Roman antiquity for Beethoven, as a man and as a composer? These and related issues are broached here.

1.1 Aims and Objectives

This opening chapter charts the areas of investigation of the study and, following a conspectus of current scholarship in the field, the applied methodology. The primary objectives are these: to reveal the extent to which Beethoven was conversant with Greco-Roman culture, in the broadest sense; to investigate which steps he took to broaden his purview; to inquire into the motives behind his determination to become knowledgeable about texts by ancient writers; and to elaborate how the information that he gathered had a bearing on his thoughts and world view, and, additionally, on his musical output. The justification of these objectives lies in the composer's towering and canonical status in Western culture: an unravelling of Beethoven's psychic configuration, including what goes beyond his vocational activities, may contribute to an understanding of his extraordinary achievements, which is after all constantly in flux. A dangerous aspect of the described objectives is, that they may easily stretch in various directions - biographical, historical, and musical lines of investigation present themselves. In order to pare things down and place useful constraints on the research, priorities have been established and concrete targets set. The study aims at exploring the following fields of inquiry:

1) The cultural-historical background of Beethoven's involvement with antiquity, part of which can be subsumed under the generic. During Beethoven's lifetime, particularly the earlier part,

sketches for the *Et vitam venturi* fugue of his *Missa solennis* Beethoven jotted 'Applaudite amici!', which was apparently a self-approving remark; see Joseph Schmidt-Görg, 'Missa solennis. Beethoven in seinem Werk', in Carl Dahlhaus et al., *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn 1970* (Kassel: Bärenreiter), 13-25, at 18.

⁷ Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert. Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964), 546.

⁸ To be sure, this calls for an assessment independent from traditional stereotypes of the two composers as discussed by David Gramit, 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography, and Cultural Values, in *19th Century Music* (1993-94), 65-78.

fresh attention was lavished on Greco-Roman culture, which was seen by many as the birthplace of modern civilization. A cultural perspective is needed for assessing how far Beethoven went with this flow and what was particular and idiosyncratic. Beethoven lived within the confines of Bonn and Vienna, where political, cultural and social conditions were dissimilar. These periods will therefore be treated separately.

2) The publications that Beethoven acquired and consulted. As will be seen, he imputed significance to the works of such writers as Homer, Xenophon, Plutarch, Horace, Euripides and a number of Greek poets, in German translation. Except for Homer's *Odyssey*, scholarly research into what he read is still wanting. Since the editions of Beethoven's choice encompassed prefaces, elucidations, footnotes, end notes, and evaluative interpretations, it seems useful to scrutinize what texts passed through his hands. Moreover, some of the translations were of high literary quality, approaching the artistic. Beethoven may have taken an interest in the language proficiency of individual translators. This second section also covers novels or educational material about antiquity, such as textbooks. Some were demonstrably studied by Beethoven, others were at least designated by him as worthy of acquiring.

3) The identification and evaluation of memoranda and excerpts that Beethoven made with regard to antiquity, in order to examine how Greco-Roman wisdom affected him. In his *Tagebuch* he spotlighted sayings and aphorisms that impressed him and required thoughts. Analysis of these may shed light on what he expected to find in ancient writings in the first place. A special case in this category is his copy of the *Odyssey*, which comprises dozens of underlinings and marginal notations in pencil. These are listed, categorized, evaluated, and commented upon.

4) The role that ancient philosophy may have played for Beethoven. Since ancient writers that he read were committed to a specific school of Hellenistic philosophy (like Platonism, Stoicism, Epicurism), the premises of which were fundamentally different, he must have come across preferences that pervaded their texts. It seems reasonable to assume that Beethoven noticed them. It may be worthwhile to explore how they affected him - wittingly or subliminally - and to interrogate whether or not they were in any way serviceable to him and lessons could be gleaned.

5) A comprehensive overview of compositions, sketches and plans by Beethoven betraying features of antiquity. Throughout his life Beethoven encountered Greco-Roman antiquity by virtue of his profession, and this resulted in a series of works on texts from or subjects linked to these cultures, from large-scale stage music to brief canons. Since Beethoven tended to interrogate texts closely before composing, the texts of his choice will be evaluated, with a side way glance to unfinished works and mere plans.

A focus on these areas necessarily entails that various other strands of investigation must necessarily be ignored. Discounted, for instance, are other subjects that Beethoven took an interest in, such as ancient Indian culture or a genre called the *Schicksalstragödie* (which continued to occupy minds for years).⁹ What also remains undiscussed is the sensitive topic of Beethoven's religious convictions, although there is a link with moral issues related to Hellenistic philosophy. The theme is briefly touched upon in Chapter 8, where Beethoven's dismissal of an oratorio text is debated. What stands outside the limits of this study as well is an analysis of the (antiquity-related) music, together with issues that have a bearing on musical reception, like possible hermeneutic implications (see Chapter 9). Nor is there room for the arresting topic whether the Classical world's ideals, such as neoclassical symmetry and balance, structural cohesion, the application of ornaments, etcetera, had a bearing on Beethoven's musical style. The first-period works, if anything, seem to embody aesthetic concepts of what is now called Viennese Classicism, a style in which drama and expression are defined by the tension between key regions and by carefully designed features of weight and proportion. It is tempting to make comparisons with Winckelmannian interpretations of Classical art. The topic is touched upon in Chapter 3, but is not elaborated in any depth. These and similar themes require separate and more firmly investigations than will be fruitful to pursue for present purposes.

1.2 The Quest for *Bildung*

The general context of this study is defined by Beethoven's quest for *Bildung*, or rather *Geistesbildung* - man's intellectual, spiritual, and emotional cultivation through the acquisition of knowledge.¹⁰ A passage from an 1809 letter to his publisher Breitkopf & Härtel is often invoked in the literature as proof of the task that Beethoven set himself:

There exists no text that should all too soon be called too learned for me. Without attempting in any way to claim to be erudite, I can say that ever since childhood I strove to comprehend what good and wise people of every age have meant to express. It is a disgrace if an artist does not consider it his duty to achieve at least the same in such matters.¹¹

The issue he addressed here was a sensitive one. Musicians and composers were generally regarded as unsophisticated and poorly educated. The AMZ regularly advised musicians to educate themselves in order to avoid the bias of criticism, 'lack of *Bildung*'.¹² Caroline Pichler (1768-1843),

⁹ See, for example, ZEW (1817), 1631-32.

¹⁰ Jürgen Oelkers, 'The Origin of the Concept of "Allgemeinbildung" in 18th Century Germany', in *Studies in Philosophy and Education* xviii (1999), 25-41. For a contemporary account see 'Was ist deutsche Bildung?' in ZEW (1814), 577-80 and 585-88.

¹¹ BGA, 408.

¹² See for instance AMZ (1800), 63-69 and 502. Comments about 'lack of sophistication' (Mangel an Kultur)

a Viennese contemporary of Beethoven who had met Mozart, Haydn, Paisiello, Cherubini, Schubert and others personally, reported in her memoirs that composers were ‘individuals who beside this gift from heaven [music] showed few intellectual capacities or in any case little *Bildung*’.¹³ She was particularly critical of Mozart and Haydn, who had shown ‘no erudition whatsoever’.¹⁴ Indeed, according to the AMZ Mozart had ‘not particularly been born for science and philosophy’¹⁵ and the meagre education of Haydn was still discussed in Beethoven’s conversation books (‘Haydn didn’t have much culture’).¹⁶

Within this context it should not surprise that Beethoven set great store by the improvement of his education, which had been very poor in his youth. In Bonn, the formative gymnasium period that was allowed to almost all of his friends, had been denied to him.¹⁷ He therefore lost no opportunity of perfecting himself, forestalling the impression of being illiterate (and sometimes even tilting the balance by displaying a false erudition).¹⁸ As he articulated in the letter to Breitkopf, it was an artist’s duty to be intellectually curious. It will not have been coincidence that he showed concern for the topic at a time when he was starting to enjoy great renown: in 1809, he had reached a pinnacle of acclaim and was widely recognized as one of Europe’s leading composers. His repute having accumulated he may have sensed that he was becoming a role model in his profession and that this invested him with responsibilities. In a similar vein he saw Goethe as ‘one of the foremost teachers of the nation’.¹⁹ Within this self-imposed quest for *Bildung* he concentrated on the ancients. As will be seen (Chapter 5) 1809 was the year when he commenced studying the tragedies of Euripides. Like a range of his literary idols - Schiller, Goethe, Wieland, Herder, Voss, Humboldt - in Beethoven’s mind kindled the idea that antiquity had been a domain of wisdom, high-standing morals and artistic perfection. Contact with it was conducive to elevating a person above the ordinary. This explains expressions like ‘the venerable intellectual treasures of the Romans and the

will hardly have pleased musicians who read the journal. The topic was extensively discussed in ‘Über die Bildung eines Tonsetzers’, in *Wiener Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (1820), 596-611.

¹³ CP, vol. 1, 384. In the *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Prague: Schönfeldischen Verlag, 1796), 19, Pichler was adduced as ‘one of the most prominent female pianists of Vienna’. Her memoirs will be regularly invoked in this study.

¹⁴ CP, vol. 1, 293-94.

¹⁵ AMZ (1800), 30. In 1802, 133, it was noted that, although he had composed *Idomeneo*, Mozart actually known very little about antiquity. In 1825, Holz wrote in a conversation book (BKh viii, 85): ‘Besides his talent as a musical artist he was a nobody’ (war er *null*).

¹⁶ BKh ix, 215. Interestingly, when Beethoven wrote the above quoted lines to Breitkopf in 1809, Haydn had just died. This may give special significance to the underlining of the words ‘for me’: perhaps Beethoven was referring to Haydn, whom Breitkopf may have mentioned in a previous (lost) letter.

¹⁷ Jacques-Gabriel Prod’homme, ‘Beethoven’s Intellectual Education’, in MQ xiii (1927), 168-82.

¹⁸ For examples of this see Prod’homme, ‘Intellectual Education’, 173. Allegations that he lacked *Bildung* were legion, already during Beethoven’s lifetime, but efforts to correct himself were also noted: in 1824, *The Harmonicon* (202) wrote: ‘Though his early education was neglected, yet he has made up for the deficiency by subsequent diligence and industry’.

¹⁹ BGA, 591.

Greeks' and 'the rich domains of Greekness'.²⁰ When a tutor was found for the education of his nephew, he agreed that it was best 'to start with the ancients'.²¹ Other examples of deferential reverence will be given below. The main argument here is that knowledge of Classical antiquity was perceived by Beethoven as a portal to an advanced level of culture, a means to become a more accomplished and better person.

This view was widely shared. The mentioned memoirs by Pichler, written down in the 1830s, contain the contemplation: 'What has happened with the intense veneration by the cultivated world for Classical antiquity, a good twenty years ago?'²² Times had changed, and the author looked back with nostalgia on earlier decades when Germany had indulged a cultural and artistic glorification of antiquity, a time when Wilhelm von Humboldt had formulated a university curriculum predicated on knowledge of the ancients (1808).²³ This one-time enthusiasm can be externally illustrated: an acquaintance of Beethoven in Vienna, Josef Schreyvogel (see Figure 1), showed a compulsive desire for the ancients.²⁴ According to his comprehensive diaries, he devoured the whole gamut of Classical literature within the period of 1811 to 1814, with the aim of 'becoming a better person'.²⁵ Schreyvogel afforded himself the musing: 'What you can yourself learn from the Greeks and Romans for private life? The same as nations and their leaders [can learn]: that wisdom, virtue, courage, prudence and perseverance can overcome all hindrances and that only these make a man free and happy. (...) Be firm, moderate, wise! Exercise in your private environment, limited as this may be, all those virtues that you encounter with great historical models! Your house, your occupation, are your own Athens, Sparta, and Rome'.²⁶ He was explicit about why he took on this lofty literature: 'What are we in comparison to the ancients? It was not so much talent but character that gave them this supremacy'.²⁷ He considered the ancients in various aspects to be paradigmatic and this gives context to Beethoven's appreciation, for as will be seen both men read similar books, sometimes even similar editions.²⁸ Schreyvogel's comments are serviceable in that illuminating

²⁰ BGA, 1571 and 1562.

²¹ BKh i, 357-8.

²² CP, vol. 1, 384.

²³ *Die Idee der deutschen Universität: Die fünf Grundschriften aus der Zeit ihrer Neubegründung durch klassischen Idealismus und romantischen Realismus*, Ernst Anrich, ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), 376.

²⁴ Schreyvogel worked for the Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir that published many of Beethoven's works. From 1814 on he was employed as a theatre agent. Beethoven made fun of his name, which was a mix of 'schreien' (to yell) and 'vögeln' (to screw): 'He can neither yell nor screw' (BGA, 2028). Thayer (Deiters) was appalled by this ribald expression and censured it (TDR, vol. 5, 230).

²⁵ JST, vol. 2, 124 (1815).

²⁶ JST, vol. 1, 103 (1811).

²⁷ JST, vol. 1, 237 (1813).

²⁸ Schreyvogel also consumed (with disgust) anti-dogmatic texts that were regarded as immoral and execrable, by Petronius (*Satyricon*), Voltaire (*Essai sur les mœurs*) and La Mettrie (*Anti-Seneca*, although not specified); JST, vol. 1, 188-90 and 250. There are no indications that Beethoven read these s well.

material can be gleaned from them.



Figure 1. Josef Schreyvogel (1768-1832), depicted in the ZEW from 29 September 1818.

1.3 Scholarly Writing

The topic under discussion has been researched on a modest scale. Nowadays, in most biographical writing it is touched upon peripherally in a passing reference, often as a reinforcement of Beethoven's supposed political ideas - in particular his humanist values and principles. Tangential connections are suggested between ancient figures known to Beethoven and such themes as German idealism, heroism, republicanism, rebelliousness etcetera, and these go back to the nineteenth century.

The earliest biographers - Schlosser, Seyfried, Wegeler, Ries, and Czerny - had actually little to say on the subject. According to Ries, Beethoven saw Bonaparte as a Roman consul and he had composed the funeral march of the Piano Sonata Opus 26 with Fernando Paër's opera *Achille* in mind.²⁹ Wegeler mentioned a whimsical conversation about Livy.³⁰ Czerny suggested that the second movement of the Fourth Piano Concerto depicted 'an ancient tragic scene'.³¹ The first biographer who specified Beethoven's reading activities was Schindler, who in 1840 emphasized that he had 'possessed in the best translations (...) He was as much conversant with many of the Greek authors as he was with his own scores'.³² When composing the *Eroica* symphony, he had had Plato's *Republic* in mind, Schindler claimed.³³ He had admired Lucius Junius Brutus and had read

²⁹ WR, 78 and 80.

³⁰ WR, 210-1: '... vino, cuius avidum ferme id genus est' ('wine, of which people of that profession [musicians] are generally greedy'). This seems to have been a common bias; see ZEW (1814), 37.

³¹ Carl Czerny, 'Die Kunst des Vortrags der älteren und neueren Klavierkompositionen', in *Carl Czerny. Über den richtigen Vortrag der sämtlichen Beethoven'schen Klavierwerke*, Paul Badura-Skoda, ed. (Vienna: Universal Edition, [1842] 1963), 112.

³² Sch40, 266.

³³ Sch40, 56. For the impact of this assertion on belletristic literature, see the fictitious conversation between Beethoven and Haydn in Heribert Mann, *Beethoven - Historischer Roman*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Meidinger Sohn u. Comp., 1859), vol. 1, 243-51.

Plutarch.³⁴ In his 1845 edition, Schindler claimed that he had discussed Aristotle with Beethoven.³⁵ In the 1860 edition, he expanded on this: Beethoven had possessed statuettes of ancient Greek and Roman heroes, had Homer's epics on shelf, had studied ancient art, and the philologist Karl Pinterics had summarized for him books by Aristotle, Lucian, Quintilian, and Boethius. He had been well acquainted with Aristotle's *Politics* and could cite from memory passages from Horace's *On the Art of Poetry*. His oldest friends and teachers had been 'Plutarch, Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and other such guests'.³⁶ This information would thoroughly shape Beethoven biography. It still does today, Schindler's poor status as a witness notwithstanding.³⁷

Lenz and Marx echoed Schindler at face value. Lenz added that Beethoven had read Greek tragedies,³⁸ and Marx transformed Czerny's 'ancient tragedy' (Fourth Piano Concerto) into the story about Orpheus and Euridice; remarkably, he devoted much space to *Die Ruinen von Athen*.³⁹ Thayer and Nohl, who ushered in an era of serious scholarship, held opposing views. Thayer conceived Beethoven's affinity with antiquity as 'romantic-sentimental worship' typical of his generation, linking it to his youth in a frenchified region.⁴⁰ He was critical of Beethoven's lack of *Bildung*, the cause of his raffish manners, erratic behaviour and deficient equanimity. This provoked Nohl to contend that a non-German scholar like Thayer, with 'narrow-minded ethical convictions', was unable to understand Beethoven's truly German spirit.⁴¹ According to him, Beethoven's occupation with the Classics - he specified Lucian, Cicero, Horace, Isocrates, Xenophon, Aristophanes, and Euripides in Wieland's translations - reflected traits in his typical German character.⁴² Nohl was the first to study Beethoven's markings in his *Odyssey* copy (see Chapter 4).⁴³

Influential biographers like Paul Bekker, Thomas San-Galli, Leopold Schmidt and August

³⁴ Sch40, 3-4.

³⁵ Sch45, 282-83 and 290-92.

³⁶ Sch60, vol. 2, 188, 181, 162-63, 163, 163 Note 2, and 136, respectively.

³⁷ Already in *Bäuerle's Theater Zeitung* from 1831, 5 ('Etwas über Beethovens 7. Sinfonie in A dur') Schindler contemplated that Beethoven's music was about 'a moral hero who wins the battle with fate, and I am thinking here of Oedipus, Orestes and Medea'. In his struggle to handle criticism, Schindler resorted to overstatement, false suggestions and ultimately forgery.

³⁸ Wilhelm von Lenz, *Beethoven. Eine Kunststudie*, ed. Alfred Kalischer (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, [1855] 1921), 108. The claim was not substantiated, but he may have read Schindler (see previous note).

³⁹ Adolf Bernhard Marx, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen* [1859] 2 vols. (Leipzig: Gebrüder Reinecke, 1902), at vol. 2, 78-9 and 139-50.

⁴⁰ TDR ii, 140-1.

⁴¹ Ludwig Nohl, 'Biographische Werke' (review of Thayer's vol. 2), in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* xxxviii (1871), 477-79 and 489-93, at 491.

⁴² Ludwig Nohl, *Beethovens Leben* (Berlin: Schlesische Verlagsanstalt, 1913), vol. 3, 338.

⁴³ Ludwig Nohl, *Beethovens Brevier*, ed. Paul Sakolowski (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1902), 85-100. This edition differs from the original 1870 version. Alfred Kalischer noted ('Bücher', in *Die Musik* ii (1902), 1107-10) that editor Sakolowski, who resented Nietzsche, personally changed Nohl's 'Verirrungen Napoleons' (aberrations of Napoleon) into 'Wahnwitz des Übermenschentums' (delusional ideas about the Übermensch).

Halm added little on the subject; here, references to antiquity were limited to name-dropping.⁴⁴ Bekker claimed that Beethoven was ‘ever again enthused about Plutarch and Xenophon’⁴⁵ and Schmidt mentioned an aborted opera ‘about Alexander the Great’ (which was actually *Vestas Feuer*).⁴⁶ A publication with an air of scholarly credibility was Ludwig Schiedermair’s *Der junge Beethoven* (1925). It was peremptorily averred here that it had been at Bonn University that Beethoven had first learned about antiquity:

This was the place where he came into contact with the ancients, where Plutarch taught him ‘Resignation’, and Homer’s joy and wisdom - ‘like the wise Odysseus I also know how to help myself’ - and where he heard about Plato, Tacitus, Cicero and others and where he developed an understanding of the “rich writings of the Greeks”.⁴⁷

This gained a foothold in German academic circles, and the assertions were taken as a vantage point for further interpretative assessments. Nonetheless, Schiedermair did not provide sources and he should have intimated rather than asserted it. Very influential in English-speaking countries was a study of Edward Dannreuther (1876),⁴⁸ which would resonate in the works of Donald Francis Tovey (and still in those by Scott Burnham and Charles Rosen of much later).⁴⁹ According to Dannreuther, Beethoven read Plato, Quintilian, Plotinus, Pliny, and Ovid - again, with no sources given.

The centenary of 1927 called Beethoven’s greatness to vivid recollection and this provoked a flurry of literature. It led to a surge of attention paid to primary sources, and much systematic examinations was carried out, yielding new insights. Walther Nohl scrutinized the conversation books for jottings on reading materials from magazines and newspapers.⁵⁰ The diligent Jacques-Gabriel Prod’homme delved into Beethoven’s intellectual education, devoting several pages to his readings of the Classics (Homer, Plutarch, Plato) and concluding that ‘he had acquired a total sum of knowledge very superior to that possessed by many musicians of the day’.⁵¹ He cautioned, though, against taking loose citations as proof that Beethoven had read works to the full. The

⁴⁴ Thomas San-Galli, *Ludwig van Beethoven* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1912); August Halm, *Beethoven* (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1927).

⁴⁵ Paul Bekker, *Beethoven* (Stuttgart-Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1922), 69.

⁴⁶ Leopold Schmidt, *Beethoven. Werke und Leben* (Berlin: Wegweiser-Verlag GmbH, 1924), 152.

⁴⁷ Ludwig Schiedermair, *Der junge Beethoven* (Leipzig: Verlag Quelle & Meyer, 1925), 331.

⁴⁸ Edward Dannreuther, ‘Beethoven and His Works, A Study’, in *Macmillan’s Magazine* xxxiv (1876), 193-202.

⁴⁹ Dannreuther on the *Eroica*: ‘We feel that we are in the presence of something’ - in Burnham’s *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) the concept of ‘presence’ is pivotal. Rosen derived from Dannreuther analytical viewpoints regarding descending thirds in the *Hammerklavier* Sonata (*The Classical Style. Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1971), esp. 407.

⁵⁰ Walter Nohl, ‘Bücher-Notizen Beethovens aus Zeitungen und Zeitschriften’, *Neue Musik Zeitung* xcvi (1926), 122-24 and 143-46.

⁵¹ Prod’homme, ‘Intellectual Education’, 181, 173.

insightful John Sullivan argued that ‘the names of Bacchus, Hercules, and the rest of them, had not for him the flat, trite, artificial associations they have for the ordinary sophisticated reader. To Beethoven these names stood for vivid and energetic embodiment of life’s fundamental forces and principles’.⁵² Like Prod’homme, Sullivan accepted that Beethoven had read Plato.⁵³ These views were given sympathetic consideration by Martin Cooper, one of the rare studies taking Beethoven’s commitment to Stoicism seriously.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, Arnold Schmitz provided valuable insights in a 1950 study about Beethoven’s notion of ‘virtue’, in a more general attempt to understand what concepts like resignation, vice, humanism, fate, suffering etcetera had meant to him.⁵⁵

A first all-encompassing approach of the topic under review was ventured in 1971 by Günther Fleischhauer, who gave an elaborately referenced overview of conversation book topics, aphorisms and citations in the *Tagebuch*, Beethoven’s reading materials, references in letters, recollections by contemporaries and a survey of antiquity-related compositions.⁵⁶ This was the first major account, albeit an encyclopedic one. It showed sufficient critical distance to Schindler and can therefore still be referenced today, in spite of its conciseness. Fleischhauer soon launched several follow-ups, like Eleanor Selfridge-Field’s ‘Beethoven and Greek Classicism’ (1972)⁵⁷ and Renate Reschke’s expanded investigation of Beethoven’s ‘visions’ of antiquity (1976).⁵⁸ Both threw into relief Beethoven’s ‘Humanität’, a term traditionally linked (by Schiller, Herder, Goethe and others) to the Greek’s pursuit of improving ‘humanity’: glorious actions and splendid virtues of ancient heroes were conceived as the highest standards of behaviour and perfect models for the young to develop character and personality. Also belonging to this ‘Humanität’ category was Martin Geck and Peter Schleuning’s argument that Beethoven’s neo-humanistic ideals resonated in the *Eroica*, which was to all intents and purposes a ‘Prometheus symphony celebrating ancient greatness and virtue rather than the political ideology of Napoleon’.⁵⁹ The Third and Ninth symphonies have regularly been interpreted in terms of a conscious homage to humanism. According to Scott Burnham the listener perceives the Third as a ‘personal victory’⁶⁰ and Robert Pascall and Lawrence Kramer have argued

⁵² John Sullivan, *Beethoven, His Spiritual Development*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936), 117. Scholars such as Alan Tyson, Maynard Solomon and Lewis Lockwood were much indebted to Sullivan.

⁵³ Sullivan, *Spiritual Development*, 120.

⁵⁴ Martin Cooper, *Beethoven. The Last Decade 1817-1827* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 116.

⁵⁵ Arnold Schmitz, ‘Beethovens Begriff der Tugend’, in *Das Musikleben*, iii, part 12 (1950), 337-41.

⁵⁶ Günther Fleischhauer, ‘Beethoven und die Antike’, in *BKBe*, 465-82.

⁵⁷ Eleanor Selfridge-Field, ‘Beethoven and Greek Classicism’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* xxxiii (1972), 577-95. This study is problematic because of scant engagement with musicology.

⁵⁸ Renate Reschke, ‘Selbst- und Weltverständnis in antiker Dimension. Anmerkungen zum Antikebild Ludwig van Beethovens’, in *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* xviii (1976), 69-106.

⁵⁹ Martin Geck and Peter Schleuning, *Geschrieben auf Bonaparte’. Beethovens ‘Eroica’: Revolution, Reaktion, Rezeption* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1989).

⁶⁰ Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*.

that the Ninth is a blending of the pagan-antique and Christian-modern,⁶¹ a conjoining of ‘Dionysian ecstasy and Christian enthusiasm’.⁶²

More down-to-earth research focused on the origins and analysis of antiquity-related compositions. The aborted opera *Vestas Feuer*, set in Roman republican times, was discussed by Willy Hess and Lewis Lockwood, editor of the later published sketchbook Landsberg 6 that carries sketches for the work;⁶³ both built upon preliminary investigations by Raoul Biberhofer in 1930.⁶⁴ The overture *Coriolan*, a work featuring one of the forty-eight heroes in Plutarch’s *Lives*, was analysed from a postmodern perspective by Lawrence Kramer, who also supplied its reception history.⁶⁵ Egon Voss delivered an in-depth study of the *Prometheus* ballet.⁶⁶ The successive stages of the planning of a never written work, the oratorio *Der Sieg des Kreuzes*, were outlined by Michael Ladenburger on the basis of material at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna.⁶⁷ New insights into the theatre music *Die Ruinen von Athen* were supplied by Helmut Hell.⁶⁸

Recent contributions to the theme are Maynard Solomon’s study of what Beethoven lifted from Pliny, Homer, Plutarch, possibly Seneca and some unidentified sources in his *Tagebuch*.⁶⁹ He perceived these quotations against the backdrop of freemasonry ideology, of which a split-off section (Illuminati) was active in Bonn in the 1780s (see Chapter 2). In the same year (2000) Elisabeth Brisson published a dissertation in French on Beethoven and antiquity, covering much pertinent material. Its value, however, was reduced by oversights, insufficient regard for primary sources, overlooked Anglo-American scholarship, and above all a deficient treatment of the editions

⁶¹ Robert Pascall, ‘Beethoven’s Vision of Joy in the Finale of the Ninth Symphony’, in *Beethoven Forum* 1 (2007), 103-28.

⁶² Lawrence Kramer, ‘The Harem Threshold: Turkish Music and Greek Love in Beethoven’s “Ode to Joy”’, in *19th-Century Music* xxii (1998), 78-90.

⁶³ Willy Hess, ‘“Vestas Feuer” von Emanuel Schikaneder’, in *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* iii (Bonn: Beethovenhaus, 1959), 63-106. Lewis Lockwood, ‘Vestas Feuer. Beethoven on the Path to Leonore’, in Robert Curry, David Gable and Robert L. Marshall, eds. *Variations on the Canon. Essays on Music from Bach to Boulez in Honor of Charles Rosen on His Eightieth Birthday* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 78-99. *Beethoven’s ‘Eroica’ Sketchbook: A Critical Edition*, Lewis Lockwood and Alan Gosman, eds. (Champaign and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

⁶⁴ Raoul Biberhofer, ‘“Vestas Feuer” Beethovens erster Opernplan’, in *Die Musik* xxvii (1929-30), 409-14.

⁶⁵ Lawrence Kramer, ‘The Strange Case of Beethoven’s *Coriolan*: Romantic Aesthetics, Modern Subjectivity and the Cult of Shakespeare’, in *MQ* lxxix (1995), 256-80.

⁶⁶ Egon Voss, ‘Schwierigkeiten im Umgang mit dem Ballett ‘Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus’ von Salvatore Viganò und Ludwig van Beethoven’, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* liiii (1996), 21-40.

⁶⁷ Michael Ladenburger, ‘Beethoven und die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien - Mitteilungen zum Oratorium “Der Sieg des Kreuzes” oder: Das Verdienst der Geduld’, in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* xlix (2002), 253-97.

⁶⁸ NGA, Abt. IX, vol. 8, *Beethoven Werke. Festspiele von 1812 und 1822*, Helmut Hell, ed. (Munich: Henle, 2014), 334-426.

⁶⁹ Maynard Solomon, ‘Beethoven, Freemasonry, and the *Tagebuch* of 1812-1818’, in *Beethoven Forum* viii (2000), 101-46; see also MST and Maynard Solomon, ‘Beethoven’s *Tagebuch* of 1812-1818’, in Alay Tyson, ed. *Beethoven Studies* 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 193-285.

that Beethoven consulted.⁷⁰ A significant contribution to the topic was Reinhard Witte's 'Beethoven, Homer und die Antike' (2003), concentrating primarily (but not exclusively) on Beethoven's *Odyssey* copy.⁷¹ A sequel to this was Frederike Grigat's investigation of the general context to Beethoven's enthusiasm for Homer (2016), incorporating an unfinished libretto written for Beethoven by Theodor Körner, *Ulysses Wiederkehr*.⁷² Worth mentioning also, although it is somewhat compromised by overstatements, is John Clubbe's 'Beethoven and Brutus' (2010).⁷³

In sum, the topic forms a recognizable thread of continuity in Beethoven scholarship. But many imponderables and loose ends remain, particularly with respect to the vexing problem of what Beethoven did and did not read. Over the years, the list of adduced authors has continuously expanded. Even in scholarly literature one finds the names Quintilian, Lucian, Aeschylus, Aristotle, Pliny, Plato, Sophocles and Virgil, with the suggestion that Beethoven delved into these writings in any depth.⁷⁴ Sometimes authors were invoked for political reasons, when attempts were made to enlist Beethoven in one or other ideological service. Marxist scholars, for example, liked to enhance Beethoven's dislike of bourgeois and nonconformist attitudes, and engagement with Plato (as a celebration of proto-socialist ideas) was bandied about extensively.⁷⁵ The essays of Fleischhauer, Köhler and Reschke appeared in communist-oriented journals and congress reports, one of which was prefaced by a minister of state condemning the 'abominable crimes of American imperialism'.⁷⁶ Fleischhauer extensively cited Marx, and Reschke both Marx and Hegel.⁷⁷

French writers from the beginning of the twentieth century took their bearings from engagement with Plato as well. Driven by a desire to promote republicanism they praised in 'republican' Beethoven the overly masculine, determined, French-revolutionary 'great man' who seized fate by the throat. For Romain Rolland it was a fact that Beethoven had heaped laurels on

⁷⁰ Elizabeth Brisson, *Le Sacre du Musicien. La référence à l'Antiquité chez Beethoven* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2000).

⁷¹ Reinhard Witte, 'Beethoven, Homer und die Antike', in *Das Altertum* (Sonderdruck, 2003), 3-54.

⁷² Grigat, 'Odyssee'. See also Hans Boettcher, 'Beethovens Homer-Studien', in *Die Musik* xix (1926-27), 478-85.

⁷³ John Clubbe, 'The Mask of Beethoven. Brutus, Revolution, and the Egyptian Mysteries', in *The Beethoven Journal* xxv/i (2010), 4-17.

⁷⁴ See for instance Leilani Kathryn Lutes, *Beethoven's Re-Uses of his Own Compositions (1782-1826)* (Phil. diss. University of Southern California, 1974), vol.1, 150. Mieczyslaw Tomaszewski claimed that 'Still in Bonn he read Homer, Virgil's Eclogues and Plutarch's Parallel Lives and immediately in Vienna the tragedies of Euripides, Aeschylus and Sophocles'; see 'Beethoven zwischen Musik des Nordens und des Südens', in *Beethoven. Studien und Interpretationen 3*, Mieczyslaw Tomaszewski ed. (Craców: Akademia Muzyczna, 2006), 267-273, at 273.

⁷⁵ See for instance Jürgen Mainka, 'Das Weltbild des jungen Beethoven', in *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* xxii (1970), 199-251. For a survey of these attempts see David B. Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870-1989* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁷⁶ BKBe, 5.

⁷⁷ Fleischhauer, 'Antike', 470-1; Reschke, 'Weltverständnis', 73-4 and 81.

Plato and that the motto ‘joy through suffering’ was the voice of Plutarch’s heroes. This had a marked effect on Beethoven myth making.⁷⁸ There were also Western-liberal attempts to claim Beethoven. As one commentator wrote: ‘Beethoven can evidently accommodate a range of competing political ideologies at any given time’.⁷⁹ If there is any theme that prompts further examination, it seems, it is that of Beethoven’s familiarity with Plato; this topic shall be conducted in Chapter 5.

1.4 Methodology and Structure

This thesis undertakes to accomplish a comprehensive overview of Beethoven’s involvement with antiquity, with special focus on his readings. Following this introductory chapter, it starts with an interrogatory orientation. In order to progress systematically, Chapters 2 and 3 proceed chronologically: the first investigates Beethoven’s surroundings in Bonn with respect to antiquity, the next those in Vienna, particularly in the 1790s and 1800s when interest was widely shared. Because the nature of the influences in Bonn and Vienna differed, the topics dealt with here vary in scope, from a survey of the Bonn University curriculum to an inventory of a statue gallery in Vienna.

Succeeding chapters (4-6) offer identifications and descriptions of the German translations that were provenly studied by Beethoven, with a special emphasis on Homer’s *Odyssey*. Chapter 7 deals with the conundrum of what strands of ancient philosophical thinking had a bearing on Beethoven’s mindset. Chapter 8 consists of an overview of antiquity-related compositions, sketches and plans, with a discussion of their background. In a closing chapter previous observations are summarized, with concluding remarks about myths that should perhaps no longer be perpetuated.

From Chapter 3 on, the focus is exclusively on primary sources: the research rests on accumulated data drawn from such documents as letters, conversation books, diaries, autographs, sketchbooks, recollections of contemporaries, and a few minor ones. These data are assembled in five Appendices (A-E), which are the actual linchpin of the investigation. Appendix A is the result from scanning the collected correspondence, consisting of 2292 letters from and to Beethoven as published in 1996-98.⁸⁰ Selected wee items that to any appreciable degree are related to Greco-Roman culture, including peripheral ones (Latin expressions, Classical sayings, popular allusions to mythology, references to persons who maintained a close association with antiquity - Wieland, Goethe, Herder, Voss - and other subjects). Appendix B is the outcome of combing through the

⁷⁸ See Alessandra Comini, *The Changing Image of Beethoven. A Study in Mythmaking* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 341. Rolland was strongly influenced by Alexandre Oulibicheff, *Beethoven, ses critiques et ses glossateurs* (Paris: Gavelot, 1858), 174, 275 and 316.

⁷⁹ Sanna Pederson, Review of *Beethoven in German Politics*, in *JAMS* 50 (1997), 483-90, at 489.

⁸⁰ BGA.

conversation books: the notebooks that convey what friends and visitors would normally have spoken to Beethoven had he not been deaf. These were published in their entirety from 1968 to 2001 in a scholarly edition.⁸¹ Predominantly used by Beethoven in a relaxed environment (mostly at home) they tend to reflect leisure, a time when he did not feel the obligation to be musically creative. Sometimes he made entries in the books himself, for instance when jotting down advertisements from newspapers - not seldom about the availability of second-hand books on antiquity. As is well known, Schindler tampered with the texts, which necessitates a check and double-check, and in case of a forgery an appraisal of Schindler's motivations.⁸²

Appendix C is a teasing out of references from notes left by Beethoven's friends, acquaintances and visitors. The guiding publication here was the richly annotated German edition of Kopitz/Cadenbach, which nowadays counts as most authoritative.⁸³ The data collated in this appendix are of special value, for Beethoven sometimes shared with friends and guests what concerned him beyond his profession. They should not be taken at face value, though, and require verification with a view to the person in question.⁸⁴ Those contemporaries who wrote whole books with recollections (such as Gottfried Fischer, Franz Wegeler/Ferdinand Ries, Ignaz von Seyfried, Anton Schindler, Gerhard von Breuning) were separately referenced (see the introductory remarks to the Appendices). Appendix D results from searching through a collation of various unrelated source materials, such as Beethoven's diaries, family albums, a *Stammbuch* (made by friends for his departure for Vienna in 1792), books found in his estate when he died, and loose memoranda. Beethoven kept a diary twice (the first during his early Vienna years (1792-4) and the second in 1812-18) for collecting notes, citations, soliloquies and memoranda. The latter is commonly referred to as the *Tagebuch* (it is not a conventional diary, though) and is of paramount importance for the topic at hand, for it contains references to various books from antiquity. No less important is Beethoven's personal library, although this merely renders what was present when he died (he must have possessed far more during his lifetime). Appendix E, finally, transmits data emerging from

⁸¹ BKh. Some items concerning antiquity were already discussed by Karl-Heinz Köhler in 'Beethovens literarische Kontakte - Ein Beitrag zum Weltbild des Komponisten', in BKBe, 483-88.

⁸² Scholarly debate about the tampering was incited by Peter Stadlen: 'Schindler's Beethoven Forgeries', in *The Musical Times* cxviii (1977), 549-52, at 552. See also Theodore Albrecht, 'Anton Schindler as Destroyer and Forger of Beethoven's Conversation Books: A Case for Decriminalization', in *Music's Intellectual History*, Zdravko Blažeković and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie, eds. (New York: RILM, 2009), 169-81.

⁸³ KC. Earlier editions were Ludwig Nohl, *Beethoven. Nach den Schilderungen seiner Zeitgenossen* (Stuttgart: Verlag Cotta, 1977), Friedrich Kerst, *Die Erinnerungen an Beethoven* (Stuttgart: Verlag Julius Hoffmann, 1913) and Albert Leitzmann, *Beethovens Persönlichkeit; Urteile der Zeitgenossen* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1914). The English *Beethoven: Impressions of Contemporaries* by O.G. Sonneck (New York: Schirmer, 1926) is incomplete and of a lower quality.

⁸⁴ See for example Maynard Solomon, 'On Beethoven's Creative Process: A Two-Part Invention', in *ML* lxi (1980), 272-83. Solomon doubted the reliability of Friedrich Rochlitz, but his arguments for doing so do not seem very convincing.

(texts of) Beethoven's music. It lists antiquity-related references as they appear in the recently published two-volume work catalogue.⁸⁵

A cursory survey of the Appendices reveals with sufficient confidence that Beethoven took an interest in various features of Greco-Roman antiquity. A fleeting examination of first-person remembrances suffices to bolster this claim. The French emissary Louis Trémont documented that Beethoven's 'deafness and his stay in the country have resulted in his taking up the study of Greek and Latin writers' (1809).⁸⁶ The journalist Friedrich Wähler recollected that he 'reads Roman and Greek historians in translation'.⁸⁷ Johann Reinhold Schultz, a visitor from London (1823) wrote: 'he is a great admirer of the ancients - Homer, particularly his Odyssey, and Plutarch he prefers to all the rest.'⁸⁸ The conversation books complete the picture, with Beethoven excerpting the availability of books by Marcus Aurelius, Quintilian, Xenophon, Pausanias, Xenophon and others.

Together with the above described deathbed scene a closer investigation of the meaning and significance of Greco-Roman culture for Beethoven seems justified. It is the avowed aim of this thesis to find out more about the composer's expectations and about the attention and energy he devoted to the ancients. With a view to claims that appear in the literature, this may help to sift certainties from possibilities.

⁸⁵ LvBWV.

⁸⁶ KC, 1006. It should be noted, though, that Trémont wrote his recollections in the period 1840-50. He may have been influenced by WR and/or Sch40/Sch45.

⁸⁷ KC, 1042.

⁸⁸ KC, 856.

Influences I: Bonn

In Beethoven there is much air from France, one notices the fanaticism from which the French Revolution sprang - always resonance, closing sound.
Friedrich Nietzsche, *Fragmente*, 1884 (26, 19)

Beethoven's involvement with antiquity raises the question of context and influences. It may be assumed that it was through reading, conversations, and perhaps also visual impressions that he learned about it. Two chapters deal with these (possible) influences. The present one is about the more than two decades he spent in his native city of Bonn.

2.1 Bonn Politics

When he grew to maturity, this region of Germany experienced the revolutionary fervour of nearby rebellious France. Political upheaval and frenzy reached the Rhine region in a watered-down form, but it was sufficiently strong to impact public opinion.⁸⁹ Political life in Bonn was reasonably sympathetic towards the social discontent of the lower classes in France. Even before the outbreak of the Revolution Elector Maximilian Franz had lost sympathy for the French nobility, in spite of what was expected of him from the Austrian government and by the Christian-orthodox authorities in nearby Cologne.⁹⁰ During his ten-year reign (1784-1794) he worried less about reports concerning the overthrow of the *ancien régime* than he did about rigid dogmatism. He openly backed resistance against the system of privilege and court profligacy, which made him fix quotas for royalist *émigrés* who sought refuge in his region.⁹¹ By order of 11 April 1792 he proclaimed it unlawful to shelter more than 20 or 30 people, and he prohibited royalist armies to cross his

⁸⁹ The BIB from 1789 reported about the storming of the Bastille and subsequent events in Paris; see particularly pages 245, 254, 262, 269, 270, 294 and 334.

⁹⁰ The historian Johann Gottfried Eichhorn reported in 1810: 'In Bonn, though, and at the University there (...) flourished true freedom of spirit: here (...) Thaddäus Dereser, from 1783 until the French Revolution, could teach without interruption biblical exegeses according to free and correct principles'; *Geschichte der Litteratur, von ihrem Anfang bis auf die neuesten Zeiten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1810), vol. 3, 709-10.

⁹¹ *Quellen zur Geschichte des Rheinlandes im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution. 1780-1810*, Joseph Hansen, ed., 4 vols (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag 2004), vol. 1, 411. See also Sieghard Brandenburg, 'Beethovens politische Erfahrungen in Bonn', in *Beethoven zwischen Revolution und Restauration*, Helga Lühning ed. (Bonn: Beethoven Haus, 1989), 3-50, at 10-11. The Elector's decision was published in the BIB from 17 April 1792 (114).

frontiers.⁹² Most Bonn citizens agreed with his views and policy.⁹³ After a period during which he remained outwardly neutral he was forced to accept constitutional obligations and was drawn into the war between France and the Prussian-Austrian Coalition. Due to invasions he fled from Bonn twice. In the autumn of 1794, fearing a rapid advance of the French down the Rhine, he joined a mass exodus, never to return.

Wegeler referred to the reign of Maximilian Franz as ‘a beautiful and in many respects productive period’ during which young talent could flourish.⁹⁴ It impressed Thayer that so many who grew up in Bonn ‘were known as men of large and liberal ideas and became distinguished as jurists, theologians and artists, or in science and letters’.⁹⁵ An environment in which ideals of a free, equal and fraternal humanity were propagated and where ‘freedom and the pursuit of happiness’ (Freiheit and Bürgerglück)⁹⁶ were regarded as life’s pivotal values, was bound to stimulate young people with regard to the fulfilment of goals. These issues must have been discussed when Beethoven attended lectures at Bonn University, where he enrolled for a course on 14 May 1789. Together with his comrade Antonin Reicha, who later compared their friendship with that of Orestes and Pylades,⁹⁷ he ‘may have heard the lecture on Greek history of literature announced by the former Franciscan Eulogius Schneider, (...) whose commentaries (...) would certainly have highlighted the specific revolutionary readings of Plutarch’.⁹⁸ Schneider supported the revolutionary upheavals in France, and there can be only little doubt that he alluded in his lectures to Classical republican heroes, for his axiom was that ‘good taste and true humanity must above all be imparted by the study of ancient Greece and Rome’.⁹⁹ He was resolved, as he himself formulated, to devote his lectures to ‘not only aesthetics, but also to an explanation of Greek and Roman writers’.¹⁰⁰ Beethoven was sympathetic towards Schneider, for he subscribed to a collection of his poems - one of which explicitly praised the storming of the Bastille.¹⁰¹

⁹² The topic of émigrés and Maximilian Franz’s flight from Bonn was studied by Carl Engel in ‘Beethoven’s Opus 3 an “Envoi de Vienne”’, in MQ xiii (1927), 261-79. See also Max Braubach, *Beethovens Abschied von Bonn* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1970), 7-8.

⁹³ The general veneration for Max Franz is testified by the BIB. The Elector’s ‘Toleranz’ was regularly lauded (see for example 11 April 1786, 68).

⁹⁴ WR, 59.

⁹⁵ TDR i, 181-83. In the AMZ of 1813 (736) the Elector Franz was still lauded for having supplied osterity with ‘Beethoven and the two Rombergs’.

⁹⁶ BIB (1789), 269-70.

⁹⁷ KC, 566.

⁹⁸ Martin Staehelin, ‘Beethoven und die Tugend’, in *Divertimento für Hermann J. Abs*, Martin Staehelin, ed. (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 1981), 69-87, at 77.

⁹⁹ Max Braubach, *Die erste Bonner Hochschule* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1966), 207.

¹⁰⁰ Cited after Grigat, ‘Odyssee’, 213. In the BIB from 27 September 1790 (311-12) Schneider’s study on aesthetics (*Grundsätze der schönen Künste*) was advertised.

¹⁰¹ Schneider called for a suscription of his book in the BIB from 1789 (202-02). I 1790 (5) he noted in the newspaper that the book was due for the end of February. It appeared as Eulogius Schneider, *Gedichte*

Connections between Enlightenment thought, French Revolutionary idealism and antiquity will not have remained foreign to Beethoven. What perhaps also belonged to this was the concept of republicanism, for the topic of autocratic regime versus democracy was heavily debated in the 1780s.

2.2 The French Revolution and Ancient Rome

That political life in Bonn was receptive to French Revolutionary ideas has significance for the theme under discussion. The revolutionaries found inspiration in the legends and histories about ancient heroes, who were lauded, idealized, and taken as models. These exemplary figures left a mark not only on politics, but also on various strands of cultural life, such as painting, sculpture, and theatrical productions, and they even had a bearing on the design of commodity products, interior decorating, fashion, and coiffure. The painter Jacques-Louis David, a friend of Robespierre, introduced a style of Classical austerity and severity with such masterpieces as *La Douleur d'Andromaque* (1783), *La Mort de Socrate* (1787) and *Les licteurs rapportent à Brutus les corps de ses fils* (1789). Imaginative Classical subjects abounded in opera, like in Antonio Sacchini's *Oedipe à Colone* (1786), Luigi Cherubini's *Démophon* (1788) and Etienne-Nicolas Méhul's *Stratonice* (1790). Voltaire's theatre play *Brutus* enjoyed enormous popularity. Its political message was used by the National Convention, which decreed that it had to be performed three times a week during the summer of 1793.¹⁰²

Above all it was ancient Rome that appealed to the imagination of the Revolution's participants. Political propaganda in newspapers and texts of debates held in the National Convention make clear that the revolutionaries

cited, apart from Plutarch, who lived when Greece belonged to Rome, only the classics of Rome, not of Greece. Apparently they were unacquainted with the literary glories of ancient Greece. (...) If only for this reason, their cult of antiquity could never resemble the Neo-Hellenism of their German contemporaries.¹⁰³

Politicians bolstered their cases by means of comparisons with the history of Rome, like 'Cicero's

(Frankfurt: Andrätschen Buchhandlung, 1790), with 'Hr van Bethoven, Hofmus' mentioned on page xvii. Pages 245-47 contain 'Auf die Zerstörung der Bastille' and a final chapter attacked 'barbarous' Jesuitical schools, 275-328, at 315. See Karl Nef, 'Beethovens Beziehungen zur Politik', in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* xcii (1925), 270-75 and 343-47. On 24 May 1791, Max Franz labeled Schneider's book *Catechetischer Unterricht* as 'dangerous' and he proclaimed that it should not be distributed or read; BIB (1791), 161. Schneider was guillotined in Paris in April 1794, and Beethoven no doubt read about this in the WZ (23 April 1794). As late as 1819 Beethoven discussed Schneider with his friend Bernard (BKh i, 70).

¹⁰² Henri Welschinger, *Le Théâtre de la Révolution, 1789–1799 avec des documents inédits* (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1881), 503.

¹⁰³ Harold Talbot Parker, *The cult of antiquity and the French revolutionaries; A study in the development of the revolutionary spirit* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965 [first ed. 1937]), 17-8.

orations, Sallust's *Conspiracy of the Catiline*, Livy's first three books [from *Ab urbe condita*], Tacitus's *Agricola*, *Histories*, and *Annals*, and Plutarch's *Lives*'.¹⁰⁴ Especially republican Romans were celebrated for their frugality, industry, temperance, self-control, courage, integrity and justice. It was eagerly highlighted in France that a self-made man could rise to the highest positions and that it was a Roman virtue to show courage and determination in the face of adversity. When Schreyvogel read Roman authors, he contemplated: 'Hardships made the best of the Romans; these made them the masters of the world'.¹⁰⁵

French obsession with these figures was documented as early as 1795: 'the revolutionaries in their youth had read Livy, Sallust, and Plutarch; (...) enthusiasm had led to imitation, and imitation to the excesses of the Terror, to the attempt to model French laws on the half-savage institutions of Sparta'.¹⁰⁶ Numerous Roman symbols were relaunched, of which some permeated everyday life. The Phrygian cap, emblem of enemies of despotism, became popular;¹⁰⁷ the 'fasces' were revived, a bundle of rods around an axe, symbol of authority; coins were modelled after Roman examples; streets, places, and districts were named after great Romans, replacing those after Christian saints; when a major de-christianisation was set into motion, a new calendar was introduced. At the very heart of political activity, the Paris Assemblé, statues of the illustrious heroes Cato, Publicola, and Lucius Junius Brutus were prominently erected near the orator's tribune.¹⁰⁸

Particularly the elderly Brutus was lionized. This was the hero who in 508 BC had founded the Roman republic, and who was associated with stories about the Tarquins, the Rape of Lucretia, and the execution of his two sons - tales elaborated in great detail in Livy's *Ab urbe condita* and often used in the visual arts. Brutus captured the imagination of the revolutionaries, and he was harnessed as a model: 'If the first Brutus could have visited the Convention (...) he would have constantly heard his example, his spirit, his inflexible love of liberty held up for admiration and emulation'.¹⁰⁹ Many French cities and villages had a Rue de Brutus and a *Fête de Brutus* was held in the cathedral of Nevers. Brutus was the emblem of republican views and this was enforced by the mass-production of his portrait in stone. The 1793 *Archives Parlementaires* in Paris stated that 'the [National] Convention itself participated in the [Brutus] craze by decreeing, on the motion of Barère, that copies of the bust of Brutus which adorned its meeting place should be multiplied and

¹⁰⁴ Parker, *Cult of antiquity*, 21. As will be seen, all of these writings received Beethoven's attention.

¹⁰⁵ JST, vol. 1, 132.

¹⁰⁶ Parker, *Cult of antiquity*, 2-3.

¹⁰⁷ See 'Ueber die Freyheits-Mütze der Römer', in JLM (1793), 11-15: 'Similarly, a major part of French citizens employed themselves of this piece of clothing, after the example of the Jacobins'.

¹⁰⁸ Parker, *Cult of antiquity*, 140-3.

¹⁰⁹ Parker, *Cult of antiquity*, 140.

sold'.¹¹⁰ These statues were distributed over French living rooms, as symbols of political affiliation and republican engagement.

Thoughts, concepts and symbols spread from revolutionary France to neighbouring regions like Bonn, and it seems reasonable to assume that at least some of them percolated through to Beethoven as an adolescent. Tangible evidence is scarce,¹¹¹ but three aspects closely related to antiquity-inspired revolutionary activity have long dominated Beethoven literature: his admiration of Brutus, his republican views and his allegiance to the political faction of the Jacobins. Since these aspects are likely to be traced to the Bonn period, they are worth expanding on here.

2.3 Brutus and Republicanism

The general assumption that Beethoven harboured republican convictions is based on various contemporary reports. Franz Magerle, who met him in 1806, recalled the composer's republican outlook, his employment of a democratic rhetoric and his hope of positive effects of the French Revolution, which was shattered when Napoleon became emperor.¹¹² This coincides with Ferdinand Ries's recollection that Beethoven originally associated Napoleon with 'the greatest consuls of ancient Rome', which changed radically when he made himself emperor and was liable to 'trample human rights and to become a tyrant'.¹¹³ The analogy with Julius Caesar was not originally Beethoven's: it was widely shared all over Europe and Napoleon himself alluded to it.¹¹⁴

Pejorative comments by Beethoven on the Austrian monarchy - Emperor Franz in particular - are suggestive of his divergent political preferences.¹¹⁵ The French emissary Louis Trémont, corroborated Magerle's assertions about republican sympathies: 'The Austrian court knew him as a republican, which was why its members refused to attend his concerts'.¹¹⁶ Indeed, some nonconformist remarks by Beethoven came close to revolutionist utopian thought, like for example that of a storehouse for art (*Magazin der Kunst*).¹¹⁷ A conversation carries Beethoven's jotting 'United strength overpowers all that of those who are divided',¹¹⁸ which has republican undertones.

¹¹⁰ Parker, *Cult of antiquity*, 143.

¹¹¹ The frugality of virtuous men from the 'happy and golden era' of ancient Rome (Cato, Cincinnatus, Regulus) was lauded in an extensive account in *BIB* (1790), 178-80, 184-88 and 192-96, which is at least indicative of the general mindset in Bonn with regard to Roman antiquity. In Vienna, Beethoven could read in the *WZ* (20 August 1794) that the French National Convention compared the 'Robespierre conspiracy' with Roman republican history: Robespierre with Catilina, Couthon with Antonius, and St. Just with Lepidus.

¹¹² *KC*, 572.

¹¹³ *WR*, 78.

¹¹⁴ *JLM* (1826), 719-20.

¹¹⁵ See for example *KC*, 174, 914 and *BKh* viii, 267.

¹¹⁶ *KC*, 1006.

¹¹⁷ *BGA*, 54 and *KC*, 388.

¹¹⁸ *BKh* i, 73.

The Beethoven-Haus preserves a document with the notation ‘Between us, however much we think republican, the oligarchic-aristocracy also has its good sides’.¹¹⁹ The most powerful claims about Beethoven’s republicanism, though, can be found in Schindler who, as already adumbrated, linked this to Plato’s *Republic* and the *Eroica* Symphony.¹²⁰ Three weighty concepts are inextricably bound in Schindler’s biography: Beethoven’s republicanism, his knowledge of Plato, and his admiration for Brutus.

As regards the latter, Schindler asserted that Beethoven had possessed a little statue of Brutus. Over time, this has triggered much speculative theorizing.¹²¹ The Brutus statue played a significant role in the assessment of Beethoven as a ‘great man’ and ‘a Jacobin heir of the French revolutionary spirit acting out his egalitarian principles in Viennese drawing rooms’.¹²² George R. Marek claimed to know that Beethoven ‘safeguarded [the figurine] as a treasure’.¹²³ Witte and Reschke contended that ‘it always received an honourable place’ on his desk, and that Beethoven ‘took it with him wherever he went’.¹²⁴ More recently, John Clubbe even conjectured a relationship with the inception of a German newspaper entitled *Brutus oder die Tyrannenfeind* (1795).¹²⁵

The statue is now on permanent display in the Beethoven Haus in Bonn (D-BNba, R12; see Figure 2).¹²⁶ It has been reproduced numerous times.¹²⁷ Since manageable statuettes were made in France during the Revolution, as mentioned above, it might be argued that the Beethoven Haus copy is of French origin, but nothing is known of its provenance. It was never mentioned by Beethoven himself, nor was it noticed by visitors or family members. In fact, Lucius Junius Brutus does not appear in any primary source: when a Brutus was mentioned, this was Marcus Junius who

¹¹⁹ Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, shelf-mark D-BNba, BH 58.

¹²⁰ Sch60, vol. 1, 103.

¹²¹ Romain Rolland argued that Beethoven ‘dreamt of the establishment of Plato’s Republic’, *Vie de Beethoven* (Paris: Hachette, 1910), 40. For Rolland’s influence on scholarship see Stefan Hanheide, ‘Die Beethoven-Interpretation von Romain Rolland und ihre methodischen Grundlagen’, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* lxi (2004), 255-74. Leo Schrade emphasized Beethoven’s republicanism in *Beethoven in Frankreich. Das Wachsen einer Idee* (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1980; originally published 1942 in French), 37 and 163. For the influence on Marxist thought see Mainka (‘das Weltbild’, 211) for whom Brutus was a ‘key figure’.

¹²² Comini, *Mythmaking*, 340.

¹²³ George R. Marek, *Ludwig van Beethoven. Das Leben eines Genies* (Munich: Moderne Verlag, 1970), 395.

¹²⁴ Witte, ‘Beethoven, Homer und die Antike’, 3 and 28; Reschke, ‘Weltverständnis’, 75.

¹²⁵ Clubbe, ‘Mask of Brutus’, 8.

¹²⁶ One employee of the Beethoven-Haus dubbed it a ‘Porzellanbüste’ (Grigat, ‘Odyssee’, 212), another a ‘Gipsbüste’ (*Drei Begräbnisse und ein Todesfall. Beethovens Ende und die Erinnerungskultur seiner Zeit*, Michael Ladenburger, ed. (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2002), 20).

¹²⁷ One finds it in Fleischhauer (‘Beethoven und die Antike’), 471, Witte (‘Beethoven, Homer und die Antike’), 8, threefold in Clubbe (‘Mask of Brutus’), 6, Ladenburger, *Todesfall*, 20, and William Kinderman, ‘Beethoven and Napoleon, A Reassessment’, in *Beethoven und der Wiener Kongress (1814/15)*, Bernhard R. Appel et al., eds. (Bonn: Verlag Beethovenhaus, 2016), 23-46, at 29. Ladenburger, *Todesfall*, 20, Brisson, *Le Sacre*, 91 and KC, 36 (note 6) all erroneously identify the statue with Marcus Junius Brutus, who lived five centuries later.

murdered Caesar, and when Beethoven laconically remarked to Bauernfeld: ‘Write an opera for me. A Brutus, or something like that’, he may again have meant Marcus, not Lucius.¹²⁸ Both Brutuses, to be sure, were fanatical republicans, but the point here is whether or not Beethoven harboured a special preference for Lucius Junius.

Did Beethoven acquire the figurine during his early years in Bonn? To answer this question, first another one needs to be addressed: can the statue be regarded as genuinely stemming from Beethoven? It is important to note that all references to it trace back to one person only, Anton Schindler, who had diversified reasons for invoking it.

The bust was not on the list of Beethoven assets auctioned by the authorities on 5 May 1827.¹²⁹ This would mean that it had been removed prior to the inventory. If so, this was most likely done by Schindler, for the statue turned up from his possession. In a letter from 20 June 1828 to Franz Wegeler, when relations between the two men were still friendly, Schindler conceded that he had obtained several household belongings from Beethoven. He listed the *Glaubensbekenntniss* (Egyptian sayings on a piece of paper, ‘under glass’), volumes by Shakespeare, Homer and Sturm, a chandelier, a bracket clock, a coffee machine, and a grey dressing gown.¹³⁰ There was no hint of a bust. Nor was there one in the 1840 or 1845 editions of Schindler’s biography, although he did write there about Beethoven’s admiration for Brutus: on his deathbed Beethoven had discussed Plutarch, he claimed, and had ‘made remarks about his much-admired Lucius Brutus [one of the heroes in Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives*], who for us [Schindler and Stephan von Breuning] was a clue for resuming the interrupted issue about who should be his [Beethoven’s] biographer’.¹³¹ Only in the 1860 edition a statue popped up. The deathbed story from 1840 was reiterated, but now with the added phrase ‘(whose statuette was before him)’ - between parentheses.¹³² Somewhat further on in this volume Schindler claimed that Beethoven had in fact owned several busts: ‘a number of statuettes of ancient Greeks and Romans of which only the so much admired Brutus is now extant’.¹³³ But when Gerhard von Breuning visited Schindler shortly before the latter’s death in 1863,¹³⁴ he noticed ‘a pair of statuettes etc. that he [Schindler] planned to present to the Royal

¹²⁸ KC, 47. It will be recalled that this recollection was from 1877.

¹²⁹ Hanns Jäger-Sunstenau, ‘Beethoven-Akten im Wiener Landesarchiv’, in *Beethoven-Studien. Festgabe der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zum 200. Geburtstag von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1970), 28-9.

¹³⁰ See ‘Die Sammlung Wegeler im Beethoven-Haus Bonn. Kritischer Katalog’, ed. Friederike Grigat, in BBS vii (2008), 47.

¹³¹ Sch40, 3.

¹³² Sch60, vol. 1, xviii.

¹³³ Sch60, vol. 2, 188.

¹³⁴ Eduard Hüffer related that ‘in July 1863, Schindler experienced the great joy to be able to greet in Bockenheim Hofrat von Breuning from Vienna, who he had not seen in 32 years; he stayed with him for four days’; *Anton Felix Schindler* (Münster: Aschendorf, 1909), 73.

Library in Berlin after his death for the purpose of a sort of Beethoven museum'.¹³⁵ Nothing came of this project, and the objects stayed in Schindler's possession until he died. They were in the end purchased by Carl Meinert from Dessau, who sold his collection to the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn ('Chandelier, scenery with Beethoven's hair, walking stick, two pairs of glasses, pendulum clock, steel pens, quills, monocle, Brutus, table clock, Cossacs as letter weights, razor, two stamps and the visiting card together with the plate').¹³⁶ There was no hint of a 'second' statue.

Taking stock, the story about the Brutus statue is more suspect than seductive, for it is compromised by uncertainties. Why did not a single visitor of Beethoven notice it, while it was prominently on display on his working table?¹³⁷ Why did Schindler not mention it in his 1828 letter to Wegeler, at a time when he was still proud to have 'saved' so many items from Beethoven's household? Why did he not seize the opportunity in his first biography (1840) to underscore Beethoven's admiration for Brutus? The statue would have suited him extraordinarily well at that juncture. Why did he come forward with the statue so coyly in 1860, between parenthesis? An why did he assert in 1860 that the Brutus was the only one left, while he had yet another copy in his possession (as noticed by Gerhard von Breuning three years later)? What happened to this second statue? Had it anything to do with Beethoven?

These questions cannot be answered to any satisfaction, and they can therefore only fuel suspicion. A close look at the 1860 edition learns that the statue was a smart move by Schindler: he employed it as an overriding piece of evidence without giving it much emphasis. He used it for substantiating that Beethoven had read Plato's *Republic* and that republicanism had inspired the *Eroica*. On his deathbed, Schindler claimed, Beethoven chose Friedrich Rochlitz as his biographer: reading Plutarch's biographies (one of which was about Brutus) was the incentive for this decision. Thereupon, Beethoven handed over to Schindler and Breuning manuscripts and personal documents to be forwarded to Rochlitz - this was utilized by Schindler for justifying that he had so many manuscripts in his possession.¹³⁸ In short, the statue afforded Schindler broad potential for

¹³⁵ Stephan Ley, *Beethoven als Freund. Der Familie Wegeler-v. Breuning. Nach den Familien-Sammlungen und -Erinnerungen herausgegeben* (Bonn: Cohen, 1927), cited from Donald W. MacArdle, 'Anton Felix Schindler, Friend of Beethoven', in *Music Review* xxiv (1963), 50-74, at 65-6. Schindler had long dreamt of such a museum. Already in a letter from 13 June 1842 to Breitkopf & Härtel he mentioned that his 'extremely curious relics' would be 'a major asset for any large library or museum'; see Ferdinand Hirsch, 'Ludwig van Beethoven und seine Verleger: Im Besonderen dargestellt an seinen Beziehungen zum Leipziger Musikverlag Breitkopf & Härtel', in *BKBe*, 499-506, at 504.

¹³⁶ Luigi Bellofatto and Armando Orlandi, 'Beethoven and the Art of Horology', in *BBS* ix (2011), 7-34, at 14.

¹³⁷ This claim by Schindler is extremely odd in the light of what Ries recollected: 'everything was tumbled, stained, and broken' (WR, 119).

¹³⁸ Schindler was unaware of the fact that already on 30 August 1826 Beethoven had appointed Karl Holz as his biographer; see Donald W. MacArdle, 'Beethoven und Karl Holz', in *Die Musikforschung* xx (1967), 19-29, at 25. (Given Rochlitz's limited skills as a writer, as may be inferred from his discursive and exhausting

supporting assertions and for eliminating eventual doubts by third parties.

This was a feat of dexterity, but it should put scholarship on the alert. There is actually little sense in believing that Beethoven effectively possessed a statue. It seems prudent to subsume the story under the category of almost-certain fabrications by Schindler, where it may join those of the ‘Ta, ta, ta’ canon, the metronome falsifications, the copy of Cramer’s etudes, the Schubert anecdote about 1822, the *Mödlinger Tänze* fiction, tamperings with the Overture *Leonore II*, abundant forgeries in the conversation books, and a range of implausible assertions and anecdotes marring the 1860 edition.¹³⁹ In all likelihood Schindler once again forged evidence, this time by applying an inauthentic element into Beethoven’s belongings. Astonishingly, he hinted at such act in the very 1860 volume: ‘Nothing is easier than smuggling in extraneous objects into the estate of our master’.¹⁴⁰ There is little reason to believe that Beethoven possessed this Brutus statue, and what is currently on display in Bonn may well be spurious. It is therefore hazardous to conjecture that it reveals ramifications of Beethoven’s republican views.

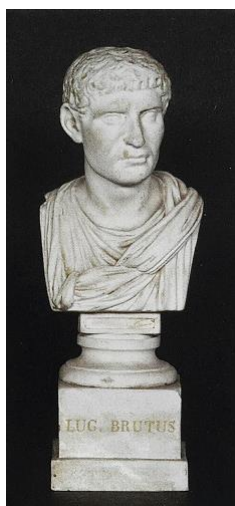


Figure 2. The statue of Lucius Junius Brutus, arguably from Beethoven’s possession. Beethoven-Haus, Bonn.

contributions to the AMZ, his refusal to take on the task should not be regretted).

¹³⁹ Standley Howell, ‘Der Mälzelkanon - eine weitere Fälschung Schindlers?’, in *Zu Beethoven 2*, ed. Harry Goldschmidt (Berlin: Verlag Neue Musik, 1984) 163-71. Peter Stadlen, ‘Beethoven und das Metronom’, in Rudolf Klein, ed., *Beiträge ’76-78. Beethoven-Kolloquium 1977* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 52-64, at 52. Alan Tyson, Review of Cramer etudes edited by Hans Kann, in *The Musical Times* (1977), 247-49. Maynard Solomon, ‘Schubert and Beethoven’, in *19th-Century Music* (1979), 114-25, at 121. There may have been other ‘Beethoven’ items that Schindler attempted to pass as authentic, for instance a Shakespeare volume with *The Tempest* translated by A.W. Schlegel; see Eveline Bartlitz, *Die Beethoven-Sammlung in der Musikabteilung der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek. Verzeichnis der Autographe, Abschriften, Dokumente, Briefe* (Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 1970), 216-7. A systematic and chronological survey of the role of Schindler for Beethoven biography is still needed.

¹⁴⁰ Sch60, vol. 2, 368. It must have been no problem for Schindler to get a copy of the bust: as said, they were mass-produced in France at the time of the Revolution.

2.4 The Czerny Enigma

Still standing, though, are the first-person remembrances. It would be imprudent to dismiss these, all the more so because they find support from an unexpected corner. Attendant upon the theme is a report about Beethoven's outer appearance, the potential of which has remained largely untapped.

It was around 1842 that Beethoven's pupil Carl Czerny wrote his memoirs, which were first published in full in 1968.¹⁴¹ Among his recollections of Beethoven, one was about their first encounter. Czerny was about ten years old when 'on a winter day' Krumpholz brought him to Beethoven at Tiefer Graben - most likely in winter 1800-01. Except from noticing pieces of cotton in Beethoven's ears, Czerny noted that Beethoven's 'pitch-black shaggy hair, cut à la Titus, fell around his head unwillingly'.¹⁴² The squeezed-in expression 'à la Titus' has frequently turned up in Beethoven literature,¹⁴³ but only in 2010 it was explained to any satisfaction. John Clubbe drew attention to the fact that the expression originated from Voltaire's above-mentioned *Brutus*, performed in Paris in 1790. A famous actor by the name of François-Joseph Talma featured the role of Titus, a son of (Lucius Junius) Brutus, and on the advice of the painter Jacques-Louis David Talma had adopted a 'closely-cropped hairstyle [with] abbreviated locks [that associated him with] the virtues of simplicity, frugality, and naturalness'.¹⁴⁴ This hair led to an infectious enthusiasm, due to its association with the revolutionary cause. A few years later, the Titus look was introduced to Vienna and became popular there as well.

These facts have a bearing on the topic at hand. Detailed information about the reception of the Titus coiffure in Vienna can be extracted from the so-called *Eipeldauer-Briefe*, a journal in the vernacular (Volkssprache) that dealt with everyday life in the city.¹⁴⁵ In 1799, *Eipeldauer* brought an anecdote about a man whose hair was accidentally cut as a 'Tituskopf' by his barber. This distressed him beyond all limits, because 'as a good German patriot, he now feared to be taken as a Jacobine' ('hat sich also gforchten, dass man ihn für ein Jacobiner halten möcht').¹⁴⁶ Apparently, a 'Tituskopf' was associated with the political movement that promoted anarchistic republicanism,

¹⁴¹ Carl Czerny. *Erinnerungen aus meinen Leben*, Walter Kolneder, ed., (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1968). Excerpts had earlier been published by Georg Schünemann ('Czernys Erinnerungen an Beethoven', *Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch* ix (1939), 59-74) and ten years prior to Kolneder the text had been published in full in English, in MQ (1958), 302-17.

¹⁴² Kolneder, *Czerny*, 14.

¹⁴³ Kolneder, *Czerny*, 14, claimed that it the hairstyle was an imitation of 'old Roman-republican examples', but without reference. Fleischhauer recognized the coiffure in the Mähler portrait of 1804 ('Antike', 472).

¹⁴⁴ Clubbe, 'Mask of Brutus', 7. Years later, Talma became the protégé of Napoleon; see JLM (1826), 717-20.

¹⁴⁵ They appeared from 1785 on, and were written by Joseph Richter (until 1813). Over the years, the magazine appeared under different names, such as *Briefe des neuangekommenen Eipeldauers an seinen Vettern in Katran über d'Wienstadt* and *Der wiederaufgelebte Eipeldauer: mit Noten von einem Wiener*. According to *Der Sammler* (1820), 386, the magazine was extremely popular.

¹⁴⁶ *Der wiederaufgelebte Eipeldauer* (Vienna: Christoph Peter Rehm, 1799-01), vol. 9, 38-9.

which was squelched and muzzled by police and censorship in Vienna. From the early 1790s on, the Jacobin party was persecuted in order to nip domestic upheaval like in France in the bud.¹⁴⁷ Those who chose ‘à la Titus’ had political motifs for doing so. In another issue *Eipeldauer* specified that this was not reserved for men alone: women who liked to give support to revolutionary *égalité* could choose this hair style it as well.¹⁴⁸ *Eipeldauer* further made explicit that ‘Tituskopf’ was the same as ‘Brutuskopf’ - both terms were used interchangeably. It had nothing to do with the Roman emperor Titus (of Mozart’s *La Clemenza di Tito*), because an ancient coin of him ‘showed quite different hair’.¹⁴⁹ In 1800, the magazine somewhat peremptorily mentioned that ‘the Brutuskopf, which the French have adored until recently, has now been put aside by them as well’.¹⁵⁰

Three issues converge with Czerny’s remark about Beethoven’s ‘à la Titus’ look: Roman antiquity, republicanism, and Jacobinism, all centred around the figure of the elderly Brutus. Czerny made still another reference to Titus. In a letter to Friedrich Wieck from 1824 he noted in passing that in the early days ‘wig-makers loathed Titusköpfen’.¹⁵¹ Evidently the hair style made wigs superfluous,¹⁵² and apart from that there are indications that he meant to say that the Titus look consisted of short-shaved heads, for a Titus (or Brutus coiffure) was equalled to ‘hairless head’ (unbehaartes Haupt)¹⁵³ or, as enemies of the Revolution liked to call it, ‘economy coiffure’ (Oekonomiekopf).¹⁵⁴

This would mean that when Czerny noted Beethoven’s ‘Tituskopf’, he saw him short-cut, which however is difficult to reconcile with his remark about Beethoven’s pitch-black shaggy hair falling unwillingly around his head. Perhaps he saw him approximately as in Figure 3, a reconstruction based on the Stainhauser von Felsburg/Neidl engraving from 1801: shaved, but with longer locks at the sides and rear, and with the pronounced side burns mentioned by Pichler. The intrinsic merit of Czerny’s remark is the suggestion that, around 1800, Beethoven did not shrink

¹⁴⁷ See Eugen Probst, ‘Johann Baptist von Alxinger’, in *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft* vii (1897), 171-202. The anti-Jacobine sentiments pervaded the press: ‘The hatred of the Jacobins seems to be as vibrant in all [French] departments as it has manifested itself in Paris. Where they show themselves, they are taunted by the people, and where they assemble, they are dispelled’ (WZ, 24 January 1795).

¹⁴⁸ *Eipeldauer*, vol. 17, 41, 43, and 48 (1800). This raised much resistance, though, particularly from men. See *Der Sammler* (1809), 592, about a publication entitled *Critique de la mode des cheveux coupés pour les femmes*, or in German: *Anti-Titus, Feldzug gegen die Titusköpfe der Damen*.

¹⁴⁹ *Eipeldauer*, vol. 19, 27. Other references to ‘Titusköpfe’ in this magazine were in vol. 15, 8 and 32.

¹⁵⁰ *Eipeldauer*, vol. 14, 26. Another reference to the ‘Brutuskopf’ was in vol. 13, 36.

¹⁵¹ KC, 199.

¹⁵² This may also be inferred from a remark by Helmina von Chézy in her memoirs about ‘Titusköpfen’; see Helmina von Chézy. *Unvergessenes. Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben*, Bertha Horngräber ed. (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1858), 256-57. She also mentioned the actor Talma, 280-81. Another reference to ‘schwarze Tituskopf’ can be found in the JLM (1824), 818.

¹⁵³ *Der Sammler* (1818), 227.

¹⁵⁴ *Der Sammler* (1809), 592. Caroline Pichler, referring to 1795, used the name ‘Schwedenkopf’, which was likewise characterized by massive side burns (CP, vol. 1, 183).

from openly providing support to the political movement of the Jacobins, and that, by implication, he harboured republican ideals. One is tempted to bring into focus here his encounters and dealings

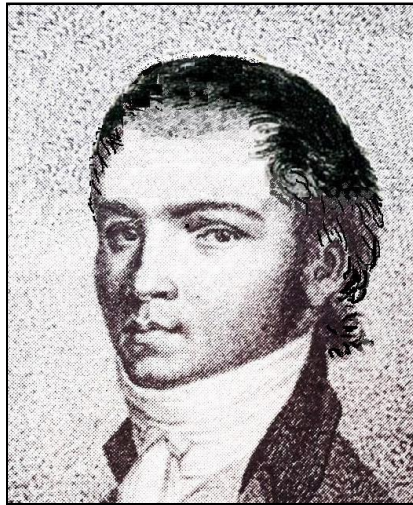


Fig. 3. Tentative reconstruction of Beethoven's portrait after Carl Czerny's description

with the French ambassador Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, who had earned the reputation of being a radical Jacobin. Bernadotte was active in Vienna from February to April 1798, but he provoked a riot and he soon left the city again. Although Schindler's account of Bernadotte's significance for Beethoven must be taken with a grain of salt, it seems certain that Beethoven was received by the charismatic Frenchman, for in a letter from 1823 he recalled their meetings.¹⁵⁵ This seems to suggest that he had no compunction in offering his services to a man who so emphatically embraced the Revolution. Since he was principled enough not to attempt to curry favour with persons whom he felt ill-disposed to, this leaves room for the assumption that he endorsed Bernadotte's ideas, or, at least, that he did not fundamentally oppose them.¹⁵⁶

2.5 Nepos

Little is served by elaborating here on the deficiencies in Beethoven's education. These have been amply dealt with in the literature.¹⁵⁷ With regard to the issue under discussion two aspects deserve closer examination. One is his contact with the histories of Cornelius Nepos at school, the other his alleged efforts to translate Cicero.

Beethoven had limited knowledge of Latin and Greek. There is some confusion about the first, because an English lady who visited him in 1825 recollected that he mastered Latin to an

¹⁵⁵ BGA, No. 1600. Pichler's term 'Schwedenkopf' may have originated from Bernadotte, who later became King of Sweden.

¹⁵⁶ For more on the subject see Nef, 'Beziehungen zur Politik', 270-75 and 343-47.

¹⁵⁷ See, for instance, Schiedermaier, *Junge Beethoven*, 123-39.

appreciable degree and even that he boasted about this.¹⁵⁸ Nothing suggests, though, that he knew more than a few elementary Latin sayings. Wegeler's formulation that he was familiar with 'a little Latin' (etwas Latein) seems credible,¹⁵⁹ and it was confirmed by Schindler.¹⁶⁰

In Beethoven's time, Latin catchphrases were quite common. Among Beethoven's own favourites were 'sapienti pauca' and 'veritas odium parit', from (Terence's *Phormio* and *Andria*),¹⁶¹ and the popular apothegms 'otium est vitium', 'ars longa, vita brevis',¹⁶² and 'Nulle dies sine linea' - the latter was attributed to the Greek painter Apelles (known from Pliny's *Natural History*); Schreyvogel's employed the same in his diary several times.¹⁶³ Friends and acquaintances who were uninformed about Beethoven's illiteracy in this field sometimes made comments in Latin in the conversation books, such as 'Ubi conuiemus crastina die?' (Bernard: 'Where will we meet tomorrow?') and 'Beatus ille, quir procul ab negotis' (Kanne: 'He is blessed, who is freed from work').¹⁶⁴ These will not have been understood by Beethoven, but he kept quiet about this. Similarly, he did not understand Greek, although Bernard assumed that he could read 'Χειρουργος' (surgeon)¹⁶⁵ and elsewhere Karl Peters wrote an epigram in Greek.¹⁶⁶ Again, it seems that Beethoven did not come clean.

The most crucial piece of information on Beethoven's school education stems from two fellow schoolmates, the later lawyer Joseph Wurzer (1770-1860) and the cellist Bernard Joseph Mäurer. From 1777 on, Wurzer visited together with Beethoven the Tirocinium, a half-private elementary school that prepared for the Gymnasium, which was entered by almost all of Beethoven's friends (Degenhart, Keverberg, Neesen, Koch, Stephan and Christoph von Breuning).¹⁶⁷ Beethoven, however, quitted the Tirocinium after four years without any prospect of further study beyond music. According to Wurzer, the focus had been on 'demonstrating by means of an oral and written examination that we were able to analyse and translate into fluent German [the texts of] Cornelius Nepos'.¹⁶⁸ This was a standard course. *De Viris Illustribus* by Nepos (ca

¹⁵⁸ KC, 167.

¹⁵⁹ WRN, ed. Alfred Kalischer (1906), 205. Beethoven's brother Johann seems to have been somewhat better versed in Latin; see Theodor Haas, 'Ein Dokument Johann van Beethovens', in *Neue Musik-Zeitung* xl (1919), 6.

¹⁶⁰ Sch40, 266. In Sch45 (176) Schindler quoted the English lady and added in a footnote: 'How? What? He didn't come any further than 'lima, 'limae'! There you have it once more very clearly: a great man allegedly controls and manages everything in the eyes of his admirers'.

¹⁶¹ BGA, 1313, 1362, 1814, and 2273; BGA 1315, 1562, 1723, 1773, and 2097. There are no indications that Beethoven knew Terence's plays.

¹⁶² BGA, 1759, 1651, 1698, and 2136.

¹⁶³ JST, vol. 1, 214 and 217.

¹⁶⁴ BKh i, 247 and vii, 43.

¹⁶⁵ BKh i, 301.

¹⁶⁶ BKh iii, 133.

¹⁶⁷ Max Braubach, *Die Stammbücher Beethovens und der Babette Koch* (Bonn: Beethoven Haus, 1995).

¹⁶⁸ KC, 793.

100-24 BC), a series of biographies of political and military heroes, was written in a straightforward Latin which was particularly suited for beginners. Numerous editions of it circulated. The most popular in Beethoven's time was E. Sincerus, *De Vita Excellentium Imperatorum. Oder: Deutliche, und nach dem Begriffe der Jugend endlich recht eingerichtete Erklärung des Cornelii Nepotis, nebst einem dreyfachen Register* (Ingolstadt and Augsburg: Crätz, 1776). This may have been the textbook that lay open to him as a child.

On account of errors and inaccuracies the biographies of Nepos are now regarded to be of limited historical value. But these popular descriptions were Beethoven's initial contact with antiquity. It is difficult to gauge the impact of his first foray into such material, but there were many entertaining anecdotes, interspersed with allusions to national habits and peculiarities. The ten year-old will have enjoyed reading about eminent men, exciting situations, and scenes that fired his imagination, like that of Hannibal crossing the Alps with his elephants. As Nepos argued in the *Life of Pelopidas*, it was his aim to provide biographical information (on such illustrious men as Miltiades, Themistocles, Lysander, Alcibiades, Epaminondas, Agesilaus, Phokion and the elderly Cato), but with much belletristic embellishment. At the same time, moral lessons could be gleaned, for beyond vaunting the merits of his heroes Nepos also stressed the precariousness of life, enhancing that it was dangerous to be all too successful (with a view to jealousy, in the *Life of Themistocles*), that small gifts were lasting, valuable ones however never permanent (in the *Life of Thrasybulus*), that fortune could 'leave him whom she had just before exalted' (in the *Life of Dion*), and that there was danger in excessive confidence (in the *Life of Pelopidas*).¹⁶⁹ He also focused on the clash between freedom and tyranny, a topic much discussed in Nepos's own time (with a view to the political alliance of Octavian, Mark Antony, and Lepidus, in 43 BC).

These were Beethoven's primary lessons in basic Latin. When reading Plutarch, later on, he surely will have remembered Nepos. Narrative threads were recalled in Plutarch's *Lives* of Cimon, Lysander, Alcibiades, Epimenondas, and Agesilaus. If anything, the rivalry Themistocles and Aristides may have left an impression, for later in life Beethoven deemed this fit as educational material for his nephew.¹⁷⁰

2.6 Cicero and Feder

The court chapel cellist Bernard Joseph Mäurer worked in Bonn from 1777 to 1780. He remembered that young Beethoven received instruction, on a daily basis, from a young man by the name of (Johann Joseph) Zambona, who gave him lessons in Latin. Beethoven made such rapid

¹⁶⁹ John Selby Watson, *Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius, Literally translated, with Notes and a General Index* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), 320, 346, 355, and 386.

¹⁷⁰ BKh iii, 204 (April 1823): 'Aristides u. Themistokles für Karl'.

progress, Mäurer wrote, ‘that after six weeks he translated the letters of Cicero’; the course lasted for one whole year and was followed by instruction in logic from ‘the German compendium by Feder’ - all this took place in 1780.¹⁷¹

As Prod’homme argued, this sounds hyperbolic.¹⁷² Mäurer’s reminiscences were recorded after Beethoven’s death (apparently at the behest of Wegeler) and his formulations betray knowledge of the Heiligenstadt Testament. They offer only tenuous leads for defining what Beethoven knew of Cicero. In Beethoven’s estate were ‘Ciceronis epistolae mit teutschen Noten und Uebersetzung’, a too cryptic designation for identifying with certainty what edition this was.¹⁷³ Perhaps it was the translation of Christoph Martin Wieland specified by Beethoven in a conversation book from February 1825 (*M. T. Cicero’s sämtliche Briefe aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt und mit Erläuterungen versehen von C. M. Wieland*, 7 vols.), which appeared in Vienna (Anton Doll, 1813-1823).¹⁷⁴ This may have been acquired for nephew Karl, but since Beethoven tended to recommend literature that he himself had consumed earlier, it is certainly possible that he had knowledge of Cicero. He once mentioned him in a letter, in a jest: ‘Forgive me for being so prolix, it was caused by shortage of time; for already Cicero had to apologize for the fact that he had too little time to be brief’.¹⁷⁵ At another instance he did not cite but imply Cicero: ‘precisely because of this I might land into prison (due to debts), just like the former people of Rome’¹⁷⁶ - in his *In Verrem* Cicero protested against the violation of rights of an incarcerated Roman citizen. It seems plausible that as a child Beethoven made some attempts to translate Cicero. Perhaps he also learned something of the contents of his writings. But the course must have been ephemeral and of a very elementary level.

Mäurer’s reference to ‘Feder’ does not come as a surprise, for the text book by the Göttingen professor Johann Georg Heinrich Feder (1740-1821) was at the time much in vogue. His popular treatise *Logik und Metaphysik, nebst der Philosophischen Geschichte im Grundrisse* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1769) was a best-seller and it markedly influenced public opinion.¹⁷⁷ As to whether Feder’s epistemological reflections were of any use to a ten-year-old, may of course be doubtful.

¹⁷¹ KC, 570. The name ‘Zambona’ appeared regularly in the BIB (1786, 19; 1787, 10, 22, 41, 54, 98 and 146; 1788, 63, 103, 115, 123, 138, 139, 188).

¹⁷² Prod’homme, ‘Intellectual Education’, 170.

¹⁷³ Sunstenau, ‘Beethoven-Akten’, 23.

¹⁷⁴ BKh vii, 154.

¹⁷⁵ BGA, 1348. This phrase was attributed to Cicero in Beethoven’s time, but today it is questioned. Between sketches for the song WoO 134, published in four versions, Beethoven employed a similar joke: ‘I didn’t have time to shorten this song only once’; see Sieghard Brandenburg, ‘Die Skizzen zu Beethovens Cellosonate Op. 69’, in *Beethovens Werke für Klavier und Violoncello*, Ingeborg Maass et al., eds. (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2004), 173-212, at 181.

¹⁷⁶ BGA, 1277.

¹⁷⁷ John Zammito, *Kant, Herder, The Birth of Anthropology* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 247.

The author was famous for rejecting Kant's transcendental idealism, adhering to the more realist position of the English empiricists.¹⁷⁸ Feder was a member of the Illuminati, a branch of freemasonry (see below), and he was strongly invested in theories about the betterment of human nature and the fostering of human happiness - moral precepts to which the Illuminati were responsive.¹⁷⁹ All members were expected to study Feder's book.¹⁸⁰

Perhaps some basic moral issues were discussed by Zambona and Beethoven.¹⁸¹ Tellingly, Beethoven did not forget Feder. He still discussed him decades later, for in 1820 Bernard made the comment that 'Feder's textbook is even worse [than Christian Wolff's], although it was still in use until 1806'.¹⁸² Beethoven was probably a bit less negative than his friend, for a few years later he encouraged his nephew to consult Feder, Karl noting in a conversation book: 'It should be possible to get Feder. I read it in an advertisement a few days ago: Feders *Logik und Metaphysik*, for 2 florins'.¹⁸³ Schreyvogel, who was of Beethoven's generation, had also been brought up with Feder. Like Bernard he had become critical of him. As a devoted Kantian he re-read his treatise, to dismiss it emphatically: 'And this man was once our teacher!'¹⁸⁴

2.7. German *Grossmannsucht*

The notion of pursuing greatness was an appealing one for Beethoven, as it was for many of his generation. Throughout his life he was concerned with becoming a 'great man', and although he sometimes downplayed it, the *Tagebuch* testifies that greatness and posthumous fame were serious issues. Lack of ambition epitomized weakness and mediocrity; greatness could be accomplished by displaying courage, determination, and perseverance. Napoleon was a fine example of this (see Chapter 5), and Beethoven enshrined the notion of greatness in the subtitle of his Third Symphony: 'composta per festeggiare il sovvenire di un grand Uomo'. As Lewis Lockwood put it: 'This broad wave of enthusiasm for classical models informs the ideological background of Beethoven's

¹⁷⁸ Brigitte Sassen, 'Major Trends in the Early Empiricist Reception of Kant's Critical Philosophy', in Brigitte Sassen, ed., *Kant's Early Critics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1-52, at 19-20.

¹⁷⁹ For Feder's significance see Eichhorn, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, 593. His 'Logik und Metaphysik' was taught by Prof. van der Schüren in Bonn in 1788-90; see BIB (1788), 181, (1789), 344 and (1790), 386. The latter lecture was also about 'Kants Kritik der reinen Vernunft' and 'Vernunftsmoral und das Naturrecht nach kantischen Grundsätzen', and it was immediately preceded by a lecture on health issues (gerichtliche Arzneykunde) by Wegeler. This may explain Wegeler's often discussed attempt to rouse Beethoven's interest for attending expert commentaries on the philosophy of Kant: van der Schüren was his colleague.

¹⁸⁰ *Die Illuminaten. Quellen und Texten zur Aufklärungsideologie des Illuminatenordens (1776-1785)*, Jan Rachold, ed. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1984), 358.

¹⁸¹ From 1807 dates Beethoven's reflection 'From early childhood I learned to cherish virtue'; BGA, 273.

¹⁸² BKh i, 308.

¹⁸³ BKh iv, 236.

¹⁸⁴ JST, vol. 1, 65 and 182.

concept of the heroic'.¹⁸⁵

The ideology of greatness already took root in Beethoven's Bonn years. According to Gottfried Fischer, a neighbour, his father Johann repeatedly trumpeted that his son was destined to become a great man.¹⁸⁶ This must have flattered the adolescent, who shared the same terminology in a letter to Neefe: 'Should I ever become a great man, you too will have a share in my success'.¹⁸⁷

In this respect, the role of Schiller was a significant one. When Beethoven was a teenager, Schiller linked the pursuit of greatness (*Grossmannsucht*) to antiquity, more specifically to the Romans. In *Die Räuber*, premiered in Mannheim on 13 January 1782, he inspired youngsters to identify themselves with the heroism of protagonist Karl Moor, whose main objective was to perform 'great deeds'. Schiller made Moor into an admirer of Plutarch and Seneca, and particularly of Brutus - in this case the Marcus Junius who assassinated Caesar. The link with antiquity conjured up a French-revolutionary ideology based on ancient Roman virtues. Schiller's rebellious play threw parts of Germany into a state of unrest. In Vienna, it was perceived as offensive and inflammatory, and censorship banned it for many years. A similar conflict between generations was ignited by Schiller's *Don Carlos*, premiered on 29 August 1787 in Hamburg. Again, a vibrant and energetic young man was associated with the greatness of Rome: the protagonist Posa liked to read Tacitus, whose texts he carried with him. As Schiller himself ruminated later: 'A future great man was slumbering in him, hotbloodedness prevented him from being one already'.¹⁸⁸

Schiller's plays were the talk of the day in Bonn and Beethoven's early awareness of them is testified by quotes in family albums, entered on 22 May 1793 and 1 October 1797.¹⁸⁹ There can be little doubt that Schiller's subtle suggestion that greatness went hand in hand with heroes from Roman antiquity was understood by him, and that this piqued his curiosity. In Bonn, Beethoven may often have ruminated on the famous concluding line of *Die Räuber*: 'Es ist die Gross-Mann-Sucht' - It is the desire to become a great man.¹⁹⁰

2.8 The Creed of the Illuminati: 'Read the Ancients'

Apart from French Revolutionary ideology, school education, and Schillerian idealism, Beethoven

¹⁸⁵ Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven. The Music and the Life* (New York - London: Norton, 2003), 213.

¹⁸⁶ *Des Bonner Bäckermeisters Gottfried Fischer. Aufzeichnungen über Beethovens Jugend*, Joseph Schmidt-Görg, ed. (Munich-Duisburg: G. Henle Verlag, 1971), 72: 'Er wird mit der Zeit ein grosser Mann in der Welt werde'.

¹⁸⁷ BGA, 6. Only a fragment of this undated letter is known and it may be of an earlier date than is commonly accepted (1792 or 1793); see Jos van der Zanden, 'Beethoven and Neefe - A Reappraisal', in *ML* (2021, forthcoming).

¹⁸⁸ Friedrich Schiller, 'Briefe über Don Carlos', in *SW*, vol. 10, 345.

¹⁸⁹ *TDR* ii, 8.

¹⁹⁰ Friedrich Schiller, 'Die Räuber', in *SW*, vol. 2, 176.

may have absorbed other influences with regard to antiquity. As adumbrated, Bonn was a place where the Illuminati flourished. By and large, the significance of freemasonry for Beethoven perhaps been overrated,¹⁹¹ but the guiding principles of the Illuminati may have been a reality for him as a young man.

The secret society, founded by Adam Weishaupt in Bavaria, was active in Bonn from 1781 to 1785. The name 'Illuminati' symbolized its objective: to promote a universal human enlightenment and to eradicate religious obscurantism, in the pursuit of real contentment and happiness (Glückseligkeit). Recruitment of members focused on the wealthy, the powerful and the talented, and paramount was absolute secrecy. The latter was the movement's Achilles heel, for there was not seldom rumour and gossip. Ultimately, Illuminati were suspected of anti-monarchist, anti-Christian and anarchist purposes, which elicited a furor in the conservative press. The assault caused the government of Bavaria to impose a ban in late 1784, which led to the dismantling of the organization a year later, also of the 'Kirche' in Bonn.¹⁹²

As regards antiquity and Beethoven, this raises two issues. To start with, the Illuminati made extensive use of concepts, names and texts derived from Greco-Roman antiquity. They built their system on knowledge of Classical history and philosophy.¹⁹³ Weishaupt himself, the leader, was known as 'Spartacus' and his adjuncts 'Cato' and 'Philo'. All members had similar code names. The aforementioned Feder was 'Marcus Aurelius', Goethe was 'Abaris', Herder 'Damasus', Wieland 'Herodianus' and Joseph von Schaden (who supported young Beethoven in 1787) 'Algarotti'. Names of cities were encoded as well: Munich was 'Athens', Ingolstadt 'Eleusis', and Bonn 'Stagira', the birth place of Aristotle. A meeting of the members was called a 'Minervakirche' (followers of Minerva). The Christian calendar was replaced by one starting in 630 BC. The organization did not accept women, monks, heathens, or Jews. More importantly, several individuals in Bonn who socialized closely with Beethoven, some even on a daily basis, have been identified as Illuminati.¹⁹⁴ Court musician Franz Ries, father of Beethoven's later pupil Ferdinand, was 'Permenio'. Nikolaus Simrock, horn player and music publisher, was 'Jubal', Johann Peter Eichhoff, newspaper editor and befriended with Beethoven's father, was 'Hephaestion', the composer Ferdinand d'Antoine 'Hermogenes', and August von Schall, a prominent advisor of Elector Max Franz, 'Anaxagoras'.

¹⁹¹ Innocent looking pencil scribblings in a sketchbook were conceived as masonic signs in Lockwood, *Eroica Sketchbook*, 20-6.

¹⁹² Franz Joseph Burghardt, *Der Geheimbund der Illuminaten* (Cologne: [Selbstverlag], 1988), 22-8. Weishaupt's 'System der Illuminaten' was still available as a book in 1788, when the widow Koch in Bonn, who owned a bookshop, advertised for it; see BIB (1788), 122.

¹⁹³ For a general overview, including the member's names, see Terry Melanson, *Perfectibilists - The 18th Century Bavarian Order of the Illuminati* (Chicago: IPG, 2018). All Illuminati names given here were taken from this publication.

¹⁹⁴ Joseph Hansen, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Rheinlandes im Zeitalter der französischen Revolution* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1931-8).

Leader of the Bonn lodge was Beethoven's teacher Christian Gottlob Neefe, known as 'Glaucus'. His role was a prominent one, and he worked very hard for the organisation,¹⁹⁵ but after a while grievances were expressed about his conduct, for he was egocentric, arrogant and domineering. Secrets were not safe with him because he 'did not master his passions' and was overly talkative.¹⁹⁶ By April 1784 the atmosphere of fear and hostility threatened to disrupt the lodge. When it was ultimately disbanded, Max Franz encouraged the members to found a reading company (Lesegesellschaft).¹⁹⁷

When reports on the relationship between Illuminati members were disclosed in 1969, together with information on how they were expected to familiarize themselves with 'the spirit of the ancients' (dem Geiste der Alten) in order to improve *Bildung*,¹⁹⁸ new light was thrown on the daily routine of those who befriended the Beethoven family. All members studied ancient writings, for the by-laws of the furtive alliance stated that it was incumbent on them to read 'Seneca, Plato, Cicero, Isocrat, Antonin, and Epictetus' and to discuss and evaluate the beliefs of these wise men.¹⁹⁹ The creed 'Read the Ancients' (Leset die Alten) was expounded in detail by means of a list containing eighteen mandatory books, headed by:

- 1) Seneca Phil.
- 2) Epictet
- 3) Antonins Betrachtungen über sich selbst
- 4) Plutarchs Lebensbeschreibungen
- 5) Seine moralische sowie auch alle anderen Schriften²⁰⁰

'Seneca Phil.' were the philosophical works by Seneca (in contrast to his poetical ones): *De brevitae vitae* (On the shortness of life), *De Beneficiis* (On benefits), *De Tranquillitate Animi* (On tranquillity of mind), and above all *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* (Letters to Lucilius). Seneca adhered to the ethics of Stoic thinking.²⁰¹ Epictetus was a Stoic as well, famous for his *Enchiridion* (popularly The Handbook) which was as a moral guide for everyday life; it will be recalled that Beethoven had it on his deathbed (see Chapter 1). 'Antonins Betrachtungen' was *Ta eis hauton*, or self-reflections (commonly known as *Meditations*) by the second century Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius. In eighteenth-century Germany he was frequently referred to as Anton or Antonin, like on his coins.²⁰² He was devoted to Stoic philosophy as well, constantly warning his readers not to be

¹⁹⁵ He edited a periodical of the Illuminati, *Beiträge zur Ausbreitung nützlicher Kenntnisse*, commenced in April 1784.

¹⁹⁶ Alfred Becker, *Christian Gottlob Neefe und die Bonner Illuminaten* (Bonn: Bouver, 1969), 65.

¹⁹⁷ For a list of members, see Alexander Wolfshohl, 'Lesepaten für Beethoven?', in BL, 296-98.

¹⁹⁸ Becker, *Neefe*, 46.

¹⁹⁹ Becker, *Neefe*, 42.

²⁰⁰ Rachold, *Illuminaten*, 36 and 45.

²⁰¹ Miriam Griffin, *Seneca. A Philosopher in Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 306-7.

²⁰² Schreyvogel used both names (JST, vol. 1, 108, 124, 153 and 182); he was extremely enthusiastic about both Marcus Aurelius ('instructive and edifying', vol. 1, 153) and Epictetus ('deserves to be known by

carried away by emotions and emphasizing the brevity of life. As will be seen in Chapter 7, Beethoven took an interest in this book. The role of Plutarch's writings will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 6; both his 48 *Lives* and the extensive collection of essays known as *Morals* (*Moralia*) were recommended by the Illuminati.

The thread of continuity in this top-five literature can hardly be misjudged: Illuminati clearly set great store by dogmatic and idealistic views of life as propagated by Hellenistic/Roman moral philosophy. Neefe, Ries, and Simrock evidently adhered to these convictions, and since their families lived very close to that of the Beethovens (there was intimate contact, particularly in times of distress) one may expect some level of exchange of thought. Neefe knew his Classics: in his contributions to the Illuminati journal he quoted from Horace's *Ars poetica*, referred to Alexander the Great and Philipp of Macedon, wrote about the importance of Cicero, Quintilian, Epicurus and Pliny, and about the admirable *Lacedaemonians* (Spartans).²⁰³ Since these were pertinent years for maturing Beethoven with regard to the formation of judgement, there was in all likelihood a level of influence, the more so because those who joined the lodge were expected to propagate the order's principles (such as benevolence, mutual aid and philanthropy). They also had the task to be on the lookout for potential new candidates. None of this information was known to Thayer or other early biographers. Had it been available to them, it would perhaps have affected their opinions about the role of antiquity for Beethoven.

Worth mentioning, finally, is that in the Illuminati journal *Beiträge zur Ausbreitung nützlicher Kenntnisse* there were with some regularity contributions on the significance of Bonn as a *castrum* in Roman time. There were, for example, articles on the famous *Varusschlacht* (in 9 AD, when the Germans defeated the Romans), with references to Tacitus's *Germania*, and on the time of Augustus and Tiberius, when two Roman legions had been based in Bonn.²⁰⁴ Their camp was 'where is now the court of Metternich and Belderbusch. (...) There were streets, and Germanicus was living there with his wife Agrippina and his little son Caligula'.²⁰⁵ It is an intriguing thought that Beethoven and Caligula played on the very same piece of land.²⁰⁶

heart', vol. 1, 198).

²⁰³ The magazine can be found on

<http://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/ulbbnz/periodical/pageview/476258> (accessed April 2018). It still requires further exploration. Of interest, for instance, is Neefe's contention that 'a great artist should always keep silent about his own works' - a stance adopted by Beethoven; there is also a reference to the saying 'Wir irren allesamt; nur jeder irret anders', used by Beethoven (WoO 198, 1826). As regards Neefe's knowledge of the classics, see also his poem for Magdalena Willmann in BIB (1790), 417.

²⁰⁴ In 1789, the BIB (129-30) mentioned the discovery of Roman artifacts in the area.

²⁰⁵ *Beiträge*, 31 May 1784, 71.

²⁰⁶ 'The path of the old Roman road (...) went via the Bonngasse to the southern entrance of the Roman camp. The birth place of Beethoven is on the Bonngasse - thus also on 'Roman soil' - and the distance to the new Beethovenallee is only 100 meters'; Rudolf Pörtner and Bob Tadema Sporry, *De Romeinen op hun weg*

2.9 Summary

Beethoven attended lectures at Bonn University, where he enrolled on 14 May 1789. Those on Greek history and literature were given by Eulogius Schneider, who strongly supported the revolutionary upheavals in France. His maxim was that ‘good taste and true humanity must mainly be imparted by the study of the ancient Greeks and Romans’, and since young Beethoven admired Schneider (for he subscribed to an edition of his poems) it may be safely surmised that he learned from him not only about Greek and Roman republican heroes, but also about the interaction between concepts of Enlightenment idealism, the French Revolution, and antiquity - in relation to that of republicanism.

There is some evidence of his republican sympathies. One argument is, that he adapted a haircut ‘à la Titus’ around 1800, by which he seems to have demonstrated an allegiance to the political movement of the Jacobins, which was oppressed in Vienna. The roots of this republicanism may well have been in Bonn, where political life experienced the revolutionary fervour of nearby rebellious France. The cult of antiquity in France centred around ancient Rome, with special emphasis on the figure of the republican Lucius Junius Brutus, who was used as a role model. The literature accepts as a fact that Beethoven possessed a statuette of this hero, but this may be challenged. Although prominently on display in the Beethoven-Haus, it may well be spurious.

It is frequently claimed that Beethoven read the ancients in Bonn, but the sources do not bear this out. Although he had access to ancient literature, which was on sale²⁰⁷ and which was no doubt on the shelves of the *Lesegesellschaft* (moreover, the Elector’s library was open to the public ‘several hours per day’)²⁰⁸ such early familiarity cannot be substantiated, except for Nepos and Cicero at school. It cannot be excluded, though, that works emphatically promoted by the Illuminati crossed Beethoven’s path, for members like Neefe, Simrock and Ries were close friends of the family. Although his father was not a member (perhaps he was not admitted), Beethoven may have been sensitized to Illuminati learnings, which took their bearings from ancient moral philosophers.

Provocative plays by Schiller, such as *Die Räuber* and *Don Carlos*, may have sparked Beethoven’s ambitions to become ‘a great man’ - an idealistic concept predicated on the ancients. He may have found these works at the mansion of the Breunings, where he often stayed. In view of the sophisticated climate there, he may also have come across a copy of Homer, and perhaps also

naar de Lage Landen (Baarn: Hollandia, 1959), 75.

²⁰⁷ On 13 June 1786 the BIB (103, 108) advertised that the following ‘new’ publications (in German) could be obtained at the ‘Intelligenzcomtoir’: ‘Plinius Naturgeschichte, Cornelius Nepos, Ciceros Briefe, Sallusts Catilina und Jugurtha, Julius Cäsar, Xenophons Feldzug des Kyrus und Griechische Geschichte, Plutarchs Schriften, Dio Cassius Rom. Geschichte, Herodots Geschichte’.

²⁰⁸ BIB, 27 September 1785 and 28 November 1786.

the very popular and educational *Reise des jungen Anacharsis durch Griechenland* (see Chapter 3). In the literature, Beethoven's contact with two Breuning uncles, Johann Lorenz (1738-1796) and Johann Philipp (1742-1832), has often been brought to bear on the investigation of his education. Both seem to have played a pivotal role, but whether they introduced him to ancient writings must remain conjectural: there is no proof of this. All that is known is that Johann Philipp was an educated man who lived in the little village of Kerpen, located in the direction of Cologne, and that the Breunings often went on vacation there. Beethoven regularly joined the company 'during a number of weeks'.²⁰⁹ The house in Kerpen is still standing today (see Figure 4).



Fig. 4. The house of Johann Philipp von Breuning in Kerpen, carrying a plaquette that refers to Beethoven's stayings (photos July 2020).

In November 1792 Beethoven embarked for Vienna, never to return. Glimpses of his involvement with antiquity at the time are found in his *Jugendtagebuch*, a sort of diary. He made a note about a statue of the goddess Aphrodite, the 'Venus of Arles' attributed to Praxitiles.²¹⁰ Perhaps Beethoven had read in a newspaper about the opening of the Louvre on 10 August 1793, where this masterpiece was publicly exhibited.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ WR, 62. For details see Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff, 'Neue Mosaiksteine im Bild der Familie von Breuning. Ein Beitrag zum geistig sozialen Umfeld des heranwachsenden Beethoven in Bonn', in ed. Ulrich Konrad, *Musikalische Quellen - Quellen zur Musikgeschichte. Festschrift für Martin Staehelin zum 65. Geburtstag* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 345-61.

²¹⁰ Dagmar von Busch-Weise, 'Beethovens Jugendtagebuch', in *Festschrift für Erich Schenk (= Studien zur Musikwissenschaft)*, 1962, 68-88, page 14v: 'in Arles / einer schreibt hievon, dass / wohl die Göttin Venus / mit allem Rechte die Patronin / des andern Geschlechts zu / Arles vorgestellt hat. / ihre Sprache übertraf / die der venezianerinnen / noch, sie ist aufs höchste / Musikalisch' (in Arles. Someone has rightly written about this, that the goddess Venus had probably been the patroness of the other sex in Arles. Her [their?] language even outstripped that of the female Venetians; this is extremely musical).

²¹¹ Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, 'The Aphrodite of Arles', in *American Journal of Archaeology* lxxx (1976), 147-54.

Influences II: Vienna

A Goethe is missing in German music. (...) By contrast, how much Schiller (...) is there in Beethoven! Much parochial respectability, much mollifying moralism.
Friedrich Nietzsche, *Fragmente*, 1888 (15, 12)

In Vienna, Beethoven experienced a cultural climate very different from Bonn, also with regard to the topic under discussion. Austria had other traditions and focused on another body of concepts, practices and attitudes. Here, adoption, interpretation and internalization of ancient art and literature primarily concerned the Greeks, not so much the Romans like in France.²¹²

From the 1780s on, a ‘Greek revival’ dominated German-speaking countries, a proclivity dubbed by Schiller as ‘Graecomanie’.²¹³ It was particularly strong in Vienna and studies like Hagen’s have determined the extent of the cultural stamp placed on the city. External accounts corroborate the picture. When Caroline Pichler wrote: ‘What has become of the intense veneration by the cultivated world for classical antiquity, some twenty years ago?’,²¹⁴ she referred to what she had personally witnessed around the turn of the century: that architecture, the visual arts, opera and literature had focused on Greek models or writings. Her memoirs chronicle the effects on poetry and literature (Goethe, Herder, Voss, Wieland) on painting and sculpture as pursued at the Vienna Academy of Visual Arts, and on philosophy (Schiller, Kant). Even aspects of everyday life were affected, for instance female fashion: ‘belts directly under the bosom (...) bare arms, bare shoulders, laced shoes (...) ample bracelets (...) hair in short locks or, when it stayed long, up in a bundle at the back - in short, as far as possible a Greek outfit’.²¹⁵ The much-read *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* gave ample attention to the new vogue.²¹⁶ Another testimony to ‘Graecomanie’ was the Viennese edition of the ‘Map of Greece’ (1797), a richly annotated topographical map of Classical Greece displaying cities, monuments, allegorical figures, coins, ruins, and other remains.²¹⁷ It was meant as a guide for young intellectuals who considered embarking on a ‘Grand Tour’, with the aim to assimilate the Greek spirit of reason and democracy.

²¹² For a historical overview see Bettina Hagen, *Antike in Wien. Die Akademie und der Klassizismus um 1800* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2003).

²¹³ *Schillers sämtliche Werke* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1837), vol. 1, 430-1.

²¹⁴ CP, vol. 1, 384

²¹⁵ CP, vol. 1, 183 (noted under 1794).

²¹⁶ JLM (1796), 484 and (1799), 258.

²¹⁷ Regas Velestinies, *Charta tis Ellados* (Vienna: Publios and George Markides, 1797).

Young Beethoven, when arriving in Vienna, will have noticed these preferences, perhaps with some astonishment. But other ways for experiencing tangible manifestations of Greek antiquity presented themselves to him as well. On several locations in the city he could admire copies of Classical masterpieces. Apart from that, he could read about antiquity in magazines and books. Improving his knowledge was also possible by attending musical and/or theatrical productions, many of which took their bearings from ancient subjects. If he read the WZ, he will have observed advertisements for a major project concerning a ‘collection of Latin and Greek Classics in German translation’, commencing with Horace and Caesar, and for a book about the excavations carried out in Pompeii and Herculaneum.²¹⁸

What probably predisposed him most towards the ancients, though, was the confrontation with works of Schiller and Goethe, his most favourite writers. They were the banner-bearers of the broad cultural movement in German-speaking countries that aimed to build novel artistic and literary values on the legacy of Greece, the nation that had never ceased ‘to worship and beautify almost every delight and every enjoyment of life’.²¹⁹ Both men were committed to disseminating these achievements in their own poetry and dramas, as well as through peripheral activities - like an advisory role to cultural authorities (Goethe) or a close engagement with philosophy and the theatre (Schiller). Neither of them was a pioneer, though. Pivotal preparatory work had been done by a man who had actually inaugurated Graecomanie in Germany: Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768). It was he who, virtually on his very own, had been responsible for the renaissance of Classical art as a new ideal. Still in Beethoven’s time the merit and significance of Winckelmann was widely acknowledged.²²⁰

3.1 Winckelmann and German Classicism

In order to achieve greatness, Winckelmann had urged that Germany should emulate the Greeks in every possible means, for they had been joyful in spirit, youthful in character, devoted to art, athletics and leisure, and free in politics and morality.²²¹ He formulated his views in two path-breaking studies from 1764, partly based on excavations in Pompeii and Herculaneum, which provided the basis for Classical archaeology.²²² His interpretations of what was unearthed had a

²¹⁸ WZ, 27 November 1793, 25 June and 2 July 1794; Pompeii: 21 May 1794; L.G. von Murr, *Abbildungen der Gemälde und Alterthümer, welche seit 1738 in der verschütteten Stadt Herculaneum, als auch in den umliegenden Gegenden an das Licht gebracht worden, nebst ihrer Erklärung* (Augsburg: G.L. Kilian, 1793).

²¹⁹ JLM (1796), 19. See also JLM (1803), 65.

²²⁰ Beethoven himself discussed Winckelmann with Wähler in 1820 (BK*h* i, 349).

²²¹ This totalizing view was nuanced later in the nineteenth century, for example by Nietzsche: ‘The Greeks of Winckelmann and Goethe (...) - in time the whole comedy will be unveiled: all of this, from a historical point of view, was excessively wrong...’; *Fragmente* (1887), 11, 326.

²²² Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der*

strong bearing on artistic taste and they released an impulse to Greekness in contemporary art, interior design and commodities. The underlying principle was his cry ‘noble simplicity and tranquil grandeur’ (edle Einfalt und stille Grösse).²²³

Although concentrating on aesthetics (primarily Roman artefacts based on Greek models), Winckelmann refused to discriminate between art and ethics, because in his view these had been mutually dependent: Greek passionless representations like the four masterpieces that soon became canonical (the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Antinous*, the *Torso Belvedere*, and the *Laocoon group*) echoed the writings of Homer, Sophocles, Xenophon, and Plato.²²⁴ If anything, the latter (a statue of a priest who warned the Trojans against accepting the wooden horse left by the Greeks, and who was crushed to death by sea serpents sent by Apollo) became epoch-making. This was about inner strength, Stoic acceptance and intransigence, Winckelmann contended. Lessing and Herder did not agree, though, and this led to heated debates on physical and spiritual perfection in Greek art. Goethe and Schiller, still young, witnessed them. Goethe, who had been brought into contact with Winckelmann’s writings by his mentor Adam Friedrich Oeser, pondered about ‘the famous question, why he [Laocoon] didn’t scream’; later in life he regularly returned to the *Laocoon* debate.²²⁵ Schiller was captivated by the discussion as early as 1778 at the Karlsschule in Stuttgart. He agreed with Lessing that the *Laocoon* did not represent suffering but rather ‘moral resistance to pain or despair’, a concept later elaborated by him in relation to the Kantian notion of moral freedom (in *Über das Pathetische*: ‘sensitiveness towards suffering (...) that moves us so deeply and intensively in Greek art (...) is an outstanding model for all artists’).²²⁶ The musical world showed interest in the *Laocoon* discussion as well, as may be inferred from references to Lessing’s views in the *AMZ*.²²⁷

3.2 Goethe and Schiller

In 1805 Goethe edited the book *Win[c]kelmann und sein Jahrhundert*, which consisted of texts by Winckelmann, Friedrich August Wolf, Wilhelm von Humboldt and himself - all experts in the field of antiquity. He did not shrink from expressing his views, strongly advocating Winckelmann’s

Mahlerey und Bildhauer-Kunst (Dresden: Waltherischen Handlung, 1764) and *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (Dresden: Waltherischen Handlung, 1764).

²²³ Winckelmann, *Gedanken*, 21. For an overview of his significance see Jeffrey Morrison, *Winckelmann and the Notion of Aesthetic Education* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

²²⁴ For a discussion of these masterpieces see Horst Woldemar Janson, *History of Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), 138-43.

²²⁵ See Goethe’s autobiography *Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Tübingen: Cotta, 1811-14), vol. 3, 131-2

²²⁶ *Schillers Werke*, ed. Chr. Christiansen (Hamburg: Guttenberg, n.d.), 81-8.

²²⁷ For example (1798), 139 and (1802), 660.

aesthetic programme based on ‘the actual, the genuine, and the real, honouring the truly human’.²²⁸ He gave voice to antiquity-admiring intellectuals of his day, thereby attacking key features of Romanticism, such as the remote, the fantastic and the otherworldly. Representatives of the latter movement (Tieck, Wackenroder, and the Schlegel brothers) vehemently opposed Goethe’s views, which were regarded as a last outpouring of an old-fashioned generation.

Indeed, in retrospect the 1805 book can be seen as a portentous turn in German reception of antiquity. Modern scholars regard it as ‘a summit, a turning point, and a finish’, and as a final ‘Classicist manifesto’ that marked a period of withering depreciation.²²⁹ Until then, Goethe had demonstrated an unflinching devotion to the ancients. He read Homer at least twelve times, occasionally in Greek, ever to detect new wisdom.²³⁰ He made thorough studies of Epictetus, Virgil, Pindar, Ovid, Marcus Aurelius, and Tacitus.²³¹ When young, he was captivated by the Stoics, later also by Lucretius, Herod and Thucydides, and by the Greek tragedians. Time and again he read Plutarch (in 1812, when socializing with Beethoven, the *Moralia*), after which he was again captured by Euripides. His deathbed literature was the same as Beethoven’s: ‘As late as 14 March 1832 his diaries indicate the reading of Plutarch (...); he died one week later’.²³² After the hyperclassical initiative of the 1805 book, though, Goethe no longer publicly climbed the barricades. He felt little urge any longer of defending antiquity against what he called the sick romantic spirit. Nor was this done by his former associates Johann Heinrich Voss or Christoph Martin Wieland. Other kindred spirits (Schiller, Herder, Klopstock) had died. The time frame of Goethe’s engagement reflected German reception of antiquity in general, with a shift of climate from about 1805-1810, which was increased by the Vienna Congress. Reactionary politics, bourgeois-conservatism, newly emerging ethics and scepticism towards republicanism, Classic-humanist values and a pagan lifestyle fundamentally challenged Greek attitudes to life. Concepts like grandeur and heroism lost appeal to a new generation and there was an ebbing in interest for antiquity by and large.²³³

²²⁸ *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert*, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, ed. (Tübingen: Cotta, 1805), 394.

²²⁹ Volker Riedel, ‘Zwischen Klassizismus und Geschichtlichkeit. Goethes Buch “Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert”’, in *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* xiii (2006), 217-42, at 219; Wilhelm Vosskamp, ‘Skizzen zu einer Schilderung Winckelmanns’, in *Goethe-Handbuch* iii (Stuttgart, 1997), 612-19, at 618.

²³⁰ Volker Riedel, ‘Goethe und Homer’ in: *Wiedergeburt Griechischer Götter und Helden - Homer in der Kunst der Goethezeit*, Max Kunze, ed. (Stendhal: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), 243-59, at 254.

²³¹ For a complete overview see Ernst Maass, *Goethe und die Antike* (Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1912).

²³² Maass, *Goethe*, 526.

²³³ The change in mentality can be gleaned from a passage in *Der Sammler* from 1820 (136): ‘The Greeks have not known *moral beauty* (...) only in sculpture their art was elevated above the human. (...) What one consequently comes across in the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides? Nature, truth, real people even those of high rank, with passions, vices, weaknesses. The individuals of the Greek theatre are *almost all heathens*, born in the heroic age, but in their mindsets and expressions one does not encounter the slightest of what we,

Goethe had given antiquity a vastly preponderating amount of attention in his works, particularly from the time of his Grand Tour to Italy, in 1786-88. He demonstrated engagement with mythological and historical subjects and philosophy, not only in obvious works like *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, the Homer-inspired *Nausikaa*,²³⁴ the dramas *Prometheus* (a tirade against the Gods) and *Achilleis*, and the mono drama *Proserpina*, but also in numerous poems, epigrams and elegies. A majestic testimony was the second part of *Faust*, written late in life, an intimate and concentrated expression of what Plutarch, Homer, Euripides, Virgil and others had instilled in him.

Friedrich Schiller, who befriended Goethe by the mid-1790s, also conveyed his enthusiasm for Greek antiquity. He read ancient writings from early youth, sometimes in the original language.²³⁵ His earliest acquaintance, like Beethoven's, was Nepos, followed by Plutarch, Cicero, Homer and the Greek tragedians, who all offered him 'unalloyed delight'.²³⁶ In the 1790s he scaled up his efforts when corresponding with Goethe about Winckelmann, the Stoics, Aristotle's *Poetica*, the Homeric Question posed by the classicist F.A. Wolf (about whether the epics were written by one person), Thucydides and Herodotus.²³⁷ One of his strongest pleas was a text about 'aesthetic education' from 1795 in a journal he edited himself, *Die Horen*.²³⁸ In later years, though, he tended to move away from praising Greek sensuousness and Dionysic joy, shifting towards a Kantian ideology and to German idealism, with an overriding concern for fostering man's ethical elevation (sittliche Höhe) and 'divine' moral values. He formulated this in his quasi-philosophical works.²³⁹

Schiller expressed his preferences in a range of productions. *Die Räuber* and *Don Carlos* have already been mentioned. *Wallenstein* (1799) was the fruit of a study of Sophocles, and in *Maria Stuart* (1800) and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (1801) Schiller used a 'Euripidean concept' whereby historical truth was made subordinate to dramatic effect.²⁴⁰ He also made high-quality translations of Euripides's *Iphigenie in Aulis* and *Phädra*, and (part of) Virgil's *Aeneid*. About a third of his

now, call heroism' (emphasis mine).

²³⁴ This tragedy about the romance between Odysseus and the princess of the Phaeacians (Nausikaa) remained a fragment. Goethe also employed the notorious extramarital affair between Ares and Aphrodite (*Odyssey*, XIII, 265-363, see Chapter 4.6 below) in his 'Römische Elegien' and in 'Künstlers Morgenlied'.

²³⁵ In a letter from 28 September 1789 to Körner he deplored that his command of Greek was shaky.

²³⁶ Letter to Körner, 1788. See Paul Primer, *Schillers Verhältnis zum klassischen Altertum* (Frankfurt: Rupert Baumbach, 1905), 40. For his admiration for Plutarch, see Karl Fries, 'Schiller und Plutarch', in *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur* i (1915), 351-64 and 418-31, at 429.

²³⁷ See their correspondence at <https://www.friedrich-schiller-archiv.de/briefe/briefwechsel-goethe-schiller>. See for instance letters from 7 July and 14 September 1797, and 27 April 1798.

²³⁸ Friedrich Schiller, 'Ueber die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reyhe von Briefen', in *Die Horen* i (1795, 2. Stück), 7-48.

²³⁹ *Vom Erhabenen* (1793), *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (1795), and *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1796), about distant ideals (the sentimental and transcendental) and present reality (the naive).

²⁴⁰ Primer, *Schiller*, 9-11.

poems deal with Greek material. Pathos-laden are ‘Hektors Abschied’ and ‘Der Liebe und der Venuswagen’; famous became ‘An die Freude’ and ‘Die Götter Griechenlands’, an encomium to Greek religion culminating in the famous statement that ‘while the gods were more human, humans were more god-like’ (which established a dualism between the Christian-modern and the pagan-antique in art and literature).²⁴¹ In ‘Die Künstler’ Schiller contended that for the Greeks ‘Venus Cypria’ (sensuous beauty) and ‘Venus Urania’ (spiritual beauty) had been one and the same and that German art should pursue this as well in order to blend Reason and the Sensual through the Beauty of Art.

Later poems were ‘Die Klage der Ceres’ (about the abduction of Proserpina by Pluto), ‘Ring des Pylocrates’ (after a story by Herodotus), ‘Das Eleusische Fest’ (a concise outline of Greek mythology), ‘Hero und Leander (on the story about Theseus and Ariadne), ‘Kassandra’ (after Aeschylus), and ‘Das Siegesfest’ (about ancient Troy). Schiller’s poetical language became increasingly imbued with metaphors taken from antiquity: he for example used ‘Der Tanz der Horen’ for the change of seasons, ‘Das stygische Boot’ for death, ‘Amphitrite’ for the sea, etcetera. This became a hallmark of his style.

Beethoven was enamoured by both writers, of whom he possessed the collected works, and there can be little doubt that these were vital and normative for him. He read Goethe from early childhood, as he himself asserted (he used the word ‘infatuated’).²⁴² According to Wegeler, the Breuning household in Bonn offered him access to it.²⁴³ This would suggest that he knew such works as *Götz von Berlichingen*, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, and *Iphigenie auf Tauris* at an early date. Later he studied *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, *Faust I*, *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, *Dichtung und Wahrheit* and *West-östlicher Divan*, apart from the poetry. Goethe’s preoccupation with antiquity was well known to him. It was no coincidence that when he contacted him, he referred to antiquity (examples will be given in due course). Tellingly, in his copy of *West-östlicher Divan*, which survived, he made a marking in pencil (‘N.B.’) to a text by Goethe about Alexander the Great.²⁴⁴

(...) the Greeks, mutually disagreeing, joined forces against the numerous advancing enemies, developing an exemplary sacrifice, which is the first and all-inclusive virtue

²⁴¹ This dichotomy was much discussed among the cultural sophisticated around 1800. See Carl Dahlhaus, ‘E.T.A. Hoffmann’s Beethoven-Kritik und die Ästhetik des Erhabenen, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* xlii (1981), 79-92, at 86.

²⁴² BGA, 493.

²⁴³ For a comprehensive overview of Beethoven’s knowledge of Goethe see Arnold Pistiak, ‘Gebändigt? Ungebändigt? Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Beethoven zu Goethe’, in *BBS* vi (2007), 115-46, at 120.

²⁴⁴ Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L. v. 40,1, page 251. On page 362 Beethoven wrote ‘nego’ where Goethe contended that ‘modesty is always linked to flattery’; he evidently disagreed with Goethe that the ‘moral good’ (modesty) could have a downside.

(Tugend) that incorporates all others. This offered them time, so that Philip of Macedon, Persian power collapsing, could create unity among the Greeks, assemble them around him, and protect them from the loss of freedom by preparing the conquest over the intruders. It was his son who overran the Persians and took over the empire.

He also made entries in other Goethe copies. In a conversation book nephew Karl noted: ‘You have made several marks in Goethe’s Life’,²⁴⁵ by which he meant *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. This was the book in which Goethe had extensively described his love for the ancients.

Beethoven’s admiration of Goethe was largely confined to musical (poetical) aspects, though. From a moral point of view, both were widely divergent personalities. Illustrative of this was Goethe’s intimation, shortly after the two had met in 1812, that Beethoven lacked self-control, ‘finding the world detestable’; Beethoven, on his part, came with the jibe (a rather censorious one) that poets should act as ‘teachers of a nation’, a standpoint that Goethe will have abhorred.²⁴⁶ Given their fundamental differences it is doubtful that Beethoven could have composed *Faust*.²⁴⁷ Compositions on Goethe texts (songs from *Wilhelm Meister*, *Faust*, *Egmont*, *Bundeslied*, sketches for ‘Rastlose Liebe’, ‘Der Erlkönig’, ‘Heidenröslein’)²⁴⁸ were a rather conventional choice.²⁴⁹

The affinity with Schiller seems to have been more profound. Beethoven read his works regularly, even shortly before he died.²⁵⁰ From a musical point of view, though, he had difficulty with his poetry and in the end he only tried his hand at ‘An die Freude’, like dozens of other composers had done before him.²⁵¹ One might expect him to have been drawn to ‘Hektors Abschied’ (given his love for Homer), or to ‘Die Götter Griechenlands’, but no sketches have been found (both were composed by Schubert). It is not known if he read Schiller’s philosophical

²⁴⁵ BKh viii, 56.

²⁴⁶ Romain Rolland, *Goethe and Beethoven* (New York/London: Harper and Brothers, 1931), 52; BGA, 591. Goethe no doubt became privy of Beethoven’s criticism, for according to Rolland he [Beethoven] trumpeted it ‘wherever he went’ (54-5).

²⁴⁷ In a conversation book (BKh iii, 148) Beethoven wrote: ‘What the highest is for me and art’ (was mir u. der Kunst das höchste ist), followed by ‘*Faust*’. The latter word, though, was probably added by Schindler and thus spurious. Max Unger’s *Ein Faustopernplan Beethovens* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1952) was probably a piece of mistaken scholarship. On Goethe’s views on music see Frederick W. Sternfeld, ‘The Musical Springs of Goethe’s Poetry’, in MQ xxxv (1949).

²⁴⁸ Paul Reid, *The Beethoven Song Companion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 279, counted 22 efforts of Beethoven to compose Goethe.

²⁴⁹ For disagreements between Goethe and Beethoven see Scott Goddard, ‘Beethoven and Goethe’, in ML viii (1927), 165-71. The following can be added to enhance their different mentalities: when Bettina Brentano entered the lives of both men in 1810, her engagement with Beethoven led to a spiritual bond (Bettina: ‘I have become indefinitely fond of this man’), but that with Goethe to physical contact (‘He kissed my breast (...) then he showered kisses on me, many, many violent kisses’); Rolland, *Goethe*, 13 and 171.

²⁵⁰ BKh xi, 77; he possessed a Schiller volume from 1810 which included *Wilhelm Tell* and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*; Eveline Bartlitz, *Die Beethoven-Sammlung in der Musikabteilung der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek. Verzeichnis der Autographe, Abschriften, Dokumente, Briefe* (Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 1970), 211-12. In 1824, Beethoven bought a complete Schiller edition for Karl (Grätz: Greiner, 1824, twenty-one volumes).

²⁵¹ KC, 189.

writings, but he will have shared their tenor: joy and love as the ruling forces and goal of creation, overseen by a loving father, and the notion that brotherhood was the highest aim to which mankind could aspire.²⁵² He was nothing if not an adherent of Schiller's 'ideal world'²⁵³ and from Schiller's *Die Sendung Moses* (1790, about monotheism) he copied and saved three Egyptian sayings.²⁵⁴ Elements of Schiller's idiosyncratic metaphorical parlance may have influenced that of his own: for instance when he mused that 'the grim parces' could break life's thread or that there was no 'Zeus to turn to for ambrosia', etcetera.²⁵⁵ In later years, Schiller and Goethe were discussed with nephew Karl and Bernard. The latter championed Schiller to Goethe ('Goethe is more self-centred').²⁵⁶ Beethoven may also have preferred Schiller's beatific visions of the unearthly above Goethe's down-to-earth 'Greek' sensualism.²⁵⁷

3.3 Ancient Texts Available in German

'Ever since childhood I strove to comprehend what good and wise people of every age have meant to express', Beethoven wrote in 1809.²⁵⁸ This was apparently no hollow phrase. One indication of its veracity, although tenuous, can be found in the very first biography, published by Johann Aloys Schlosser in Prague in 1828. It contains inaccuracies, but Schlosser's claim that Beethoven, in the 1790s, studied 'history' (Geschichte) and that this was a 'passion' that never left him, should not be dismissed too soon. Schlosser attacked the view that Beethoven had been 'uneducated' (bildungslos) by making explicit that 'he had already practised this [study of history] earlier with much zeal and continued to do so until he died'.²⁵⁹ Perhaps he knew what Friedrich Wöhner had published already in 1818 in a biographical sketch: 'Apart from music, he concerns himself with Classical works from different literary periods; we are told that, if anything, he is fond of ancient historians'.²⁶⁰

²⁵² Maynard Solomon, 'Beethoven and Schiller, in Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven Essays* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 205-15, at 205.

²⁵³ 'For you, poor B., no happiness comes from the outside world, you must create everything in yourself[,] only in the ideal world you find friends' (BGA, 445, 1810).

²⁵⁴ Frederike Grigat, *Beethovens Glaubensbekenntnis: Drei Denksprüche aus Friedrich Schillers Aufsatz Die Sendung Moses* (Bonn: Beethoven-Verlag, 2008). She dated them with 'ca. 1819'. Publisher Matthias Artaria noticed Beethoven's copy in January 1826 (BKh viii, 282). Beethoven no doubt also knew Schiller's poem 'Das verschleierte Bild zu Sais', which was about the same theme: human hubris with regard to the divine.

²⁵⁵ BGA, 106; BGA, 747. Strikingly, Beethoven used 'Zeus' here instead of 'Jupiter'. But he was not comfortable with the name because he wrote 'Zews'. He may have read Schiller's poem 'Zeus zu Herkules'.

²⁵⁶ BKh ii, 105.

²⁵⁷ KC, 189.

²⁵⁸ BGA, 408

²⁵⁹ Johann Aloys Schlosser, *Ludwig van Beethoven. Eine Biographie desselben, verbunden mit Urtheilen über seine Werke* (Prague: Buchler, Stephani and Schlosser, 1828), 32, 45 and 47. Schlosser was in Vienna in June 1827 and may have contacted individuals who had known Beethoven personally.

²⁶⁰ Friedrich Wöhner, 'Ludwig van Beethoven', in *Janus* i (1818), 1042.

This begs the question of what ‘ancient historians’ Beethoven may have been familiar with. Part of the answer will be given in chapters to come, where editions of books are discussed that Beethoven provenly studied and possessed. This picture must necessarily remain incomplete, though, and it will never be exhaustively known what went through Beethoven’s hands. To contextualize his reading, an overview is provided here of what was potentially available to him.

From about the time that Beethoven grew to maturity an extensive range of translations of ancient writers flooded the market in superabundance. Virtually the whole field of Greco-Roman literature, from Homer to Boethius, became accessible in German, covering historiography, poetry, philosophy, geography, natural history, politics, rhetoric, tragedy and comedy. This burgeoning was triggered by an increasing appetite for reading in middle-class Germany, called ‘Lesewuth’.²⁶¹ In 1810, the philologist Johann Gottfried Eichhorn looked back with pride on this burgeoning resurgence of interest: ‘As regards Greek and Roman antiquity (...) things remained rather dark until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. (...) In the last fifty years, German diligence has finally grasped with great zeal the whole heritage of Greek and Roman literature’.²⁶² Eichhorn also noticed a drop in pace: after 1810 translation activities were less frequent than they had been before.²⁶³

Already in years around 1800 the philologist Johann Friedrich Degen availed himself of 2700 pages for enumerating and elucidating what had appeared in past decades.²⁶⁴ Admiring the enormous amount of work by authors, poets, translators, publishers, and booksellers, and attesting with satisfaction that ‘the Germans had reached in a very short time the high level of taste and sophistication of other nations’.²⁶⁵ He expressed astonishment about the neglect by earlier generations.²⁶⁶ What follows below is a synoptic overview of Degen’s discussions of Degen’s German translations, limited to what he assembled about publications of collected works of authors, or at least of books of some substance.²⁶⁷

1760 **Thucydides** (c. 460-c.400 BC), description of the Peloponnesian Wars. He exposed human behaviour in time of plagues, massacres, and civil war. The next translation appeared in 1810.²⁶⁸

²⁶¹ *Journal von und für Deutschland*, vii (1790), 498.

²⁶² Eichhorn, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, 472 and 490-1.

²⁶³ Eichhorn, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, 480-86.

²⁶⁴ Johann Friedrich Degen, *Versuch einer vollständigen Litteratur der deutschen Uebersetzungen der Römer* (Altenburg: Richterschen Buchhandlung), vol. 1 (1794), vol. 2 (1797), *Nachtrag* (Erlangen: Walther), vol. 3 (1799); hereafter Romans 1, 2 and 3. *Litteratur der deutschen Ueberstetzungen der Griechen* (Altenburg: Richterschen Buchhandlung), vol. 1 (1797), vol. 2 (1798, *Nachtrag* (Erlangen: Walther), 1801; hereafter Greeks 1, 2, and 3.

²⁶⁵ Degen, *Romans* 1, xxiv.

²⁶⁶ Degen, *Romans* 2, 166, 267, 274, 372, 431, 471, 496, and 570

²⁶⁷ Data on the authors in this overview were taken from *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds. (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

²⁶⁸ Degen, *Greeks* 2, 510.

- 1765 **Longus** (2nd century AD?), the novel *Daphnis and Chloe*, notorious for its ‘lascivious passages’,²⁶⁹ Goethe read this throughout his life and considered it one of the masterpieces of antiquity.²⁷⁰ The name Chloe lived on in German poetry (it is for example in Beethoven’s ‘Ich war bei Chloen ganz allein’, Opus 128).
- 1766 **Pausanias** (c. 100-c. 180 AD), *Description of Greece*. In the view of Degen it contained a wealth of inspiration for artists.²⁷¹ In July 1823, Beethoven showed interest in Pausanias, given a jotting in a conversation book.²⁷²
- 1769 **Demosthenes** (384-322 BC), *Orations*; this translation was regarded ‘clumsy and underdeveloped’.²⁷³
- 1771 **Pindar** (c. 522-c. 443 BC), *Songs and Hymns*; these captured the imagination of young poets like Goethe.²⁷⁴
- 1775 **Quintilian** (c. 35-c. 100 AD), *Institutio Oratoria*, published as *Lehrbuch der Beredsamkeit*.²⁷⁵ Beethoven contemplated acquiring Quintilian as late as 1826, probably for his nephew,²⁷⁶ but he may have been familiar with it in earlier time.²⁷⁷ Schindler claimed that Quintilian was one of the group of ancient writers whose works were extracted for Beethoven by Carl Pinterics, but there is good reason to dismiss this).²⁷⁸
- 1777 **Strabo** (63 BC-24 AD), *Geographica*, a description of the known world at the time of Augustus.²⁷⁹
- 1779 **Marcus Aurelius** (121-180 AD), *Meditations* (aforementioned in relation to the Illuminati, Chapter 2). Translated by Johann Schulthess as *Marcus Antonins Betrachtungen über seine eigensten Angelegenheiten*. Degen found much fault with it.²⁸⁰ Beethoven’s awareness of the text (another translation) is documented from 1823, but he may have studied the book earlier.²⁸¹
- 1779 **Appolonius from Rhodes** (3rd century BC), *Argonautica*, the adventures of Jason and Medea.²⁸² The theme was at the heart of Grillparzer’s *Das goldene Vliess* (1821).
- 1780 **Plutarch** (c. 46-c. 120 AD), *Parallel Lives*, in the translation by Gottlob Benedikt von Schirach, which was read by Beethoven (see Chapter 6). It became very popular and comprised, as Degen put it, ‘entertaining wisdom, the fostering of humanity, and the propagation of a proper feeling for the noble and good’.²⁸³ The remainder of Plutarch’s work appeared in 1797 (see there).
- 1781 **Homer** (dates unknown, c. 6th century BC?), *Odyssey*, translated by Johann Heinrich Voss. A groundbreaking edition that demonstrated that a translation could be both reliable and poetically spellbinding.²⁸⁴ It became a classic and Beethoven possessed it (see Chapter 4). Voss translated the *Iliad* in 1793 (and again the *Odyssey*, see there).
- 1781 **Tacitus** (c. 56-117 AD), *Annals, Histories, Agricola and Germania*, translated by Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, much to Degen’s satisfaction.²⁸⁵ Beethoven requested this edition from Gleichenstein in

²⁶⁹ Degen, *Greeks* 2, 13.

²⁷⁰ Johann Peter Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1836), vol. 2, 321.

²⁷¹ Degen, *Greeks* 2, 180.

²⁷² BKh x, 23: ‘bey Fleischmann in München *pausanias von Hellas etc. etc.* übersetzt von Viedasch 1-ter Theil. mit Plan von *Athen* 1826 1 rthlr. 6 gr. oder 2 fl: 15x’.

²⁷³ Degen, *Greeks* 1, 207.

²⁷⁴ Maass, *Goethe*, 409.

²⁷⁵ Degen, *Romans* 2, 323.

²⁷⁶ BKh ix, 114.

²⁷⁷ See Elaine Sisman, ‘Pathos and the Pathetique: Rhetorical Stance in Beethoven’s C-Minor Sonata, Op.13’, in *Beethoven Forum* iii (1994), 81-105, at 82.

²⁷⁸ Sch60, vol. 2, 163 Note 2.

²⁷⁹ Degen, *Greeks* 2, 430.

²⁸⁰ Degen, *Greeks* 1, 119.

²⁸¹ BKh iii, 56 (‘Fessler Marc-Aurel 1810 - 8 fl: w.W.’).

²⁸² Degen, *Greeks* 1, 125.

²⁸³ Degen, *Greeks* 2, 292.

²⁸⁴ Degen, *Greeks* 1, 390.

²⁸⁵ Degen, *Romans* 2, 437-42.

- 1807 (see Chapter 6).²⁸⁶ In 1825, he intended to read *Agricola*²⁸⁷ and, as already mentioned, he still wanted Tacitus on his deathbed.
- 1781 **Juvenal** (late 1st-early 2nd century AD), *Satires*, also translated by Bahrtdt. According to Degen these provocative poems survived the centuries because they were misinterpreted by the early Christians as a critique of pagan Rome.²⁸⁸
- 1781 **Epictetus** (c. 55-135 AD), *Enchiridion*.²⁸⁹ As mentioned, Beethoven had this on his deathbed.
- 1781 **Longinus** (1st century AD), *On the Sublime*, about genius, originality, the awe-inspiring and reading beauty in the illogical; viewed as a classic work on aesthetics.²⁹⁰ It distinctly influenced Kant's 'delightful horror' of the Sublime.
- 1782 **Pliny the Younger** (61-c. 113 AD), *Letters*, comprising the description of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in August 79.²⁹¹ Beethoven quoted Pliny at various instances in his *Tagebuch*, but in Latin (it cannot be taken as evidence that he read the whole book).²⁹²
- 1783 **Polybius** (c. 200-c. 118 BC), the comprehensive *Histories* of the Roman republic.²⁹³
- 1783 **Martial** (c. 40-c. 104 AD), *Epigrams*, but with the obscene ones skipped.²⁹⁴
- 1783 **Theophrastus** (c. 371-c. 287 BC), the Peripatetic study *On Moral Characters*.²⁹⁵
- 1784 **Lucretian** (c. 99-c. 55 BC), *De rerum natura*, the Epicurean manifesto of paganism and hedonism. A favourite of Goethe, but Degen spent it very few words.²⁹⁶
- 1786 **Horace** (65-27 BC), Wieland's translation of the *Satyrs*. Four years prior to this he had produced the *Collected Letters*. No reader 'could tear himself away from these texts', Degen wrote, but he wanted the *Epodes* Nos. 8, 11, and 12 censured.²⁹⁷ Beethoven was familiar with a number of the *Odes*, see Chapter 6. In 1825, he considered buying Wieland's *Satyrs* and *Letters*.²⁹⁸
- 1786 **Tibullus** (c. 55-19 BC), *Poems*, translated by Franz Xaver Mayr.²⁹⁹ Degen announced that 'Herr Hofkonzipist Sonnleithner in Vienna' would also issue a metrical translation.³⁰⁰
- 1787 **Sophocles** (496-406 BC), the collected tragedies translated by Christian zu Stolberg.³⁰¹
- 1787 **Cato the Elder** (234-149 BC), *De Agri Cultura*.³⁰²
- 1788 **Julius Caesar** (100-44 BC), *Gallic Wars*³⁰³ and *Civil War*; much read when the French invaded Germany.³⁰⁴
- 1788 **Pliny the Elder** (23-79 AD), *Natural History*.³⁰⁵
- 1789 **Lucian** (c. 125-c. 180 AD), *Completed Works*, including the *Dialogues of the Gods*. Translation

²⁸⁶ BGA, 283.

²⁸⁷ BKh viii, 78: '... einer neuen deutschen Übersetz. des *c. corn. tacitus agricola* übersetzt u. erläutert von Dr: H.W. F. Klein 8. München 1825. Brosch. 48 x C.M.'

²⁸⁸ Degen, *Romans* 1, 270. In the AMZ (1800), 777, Juvenal's 6th *Satyre* was invoked as a warning for singers not to practise masturbation.

²⁸⁹ Degen, *Greeks* 1, 257.

²⁹⁰ Degen, *Greeks* 2, 10.

²⁹¹ Degen, *Romans* 2, 291.

²⁹² MST, 113 (Vedi malum et accepi, 'I have seen bad things, and accepted them'); 114 (Tum etsi quid homini potest dari magis quam gloria et laus et aeternitas, 'And yet, what more can be given to a man than glory and praise and immortality?').

²⁹³ Degen, *Greeks* 2, 334.

²⁹⁴ Degen, *Romans* 2, 120.

²⁹⁵ Degen, *Greeks* 2, 486.

²⁹⁶ Maass, 542-3; Degen, *Romans* 1, 101.

²⁹⁷ Degen, *Romans* 1, 232-4, 238, 170.

²⁹⁸ BKh vii, 154.

²⁹⁹ Degen, *Romans* 2, 503.

³⁰⁰ Degen, *Romans* 3, 285.

³⁰¹ Degen, *Greeks* 2, 402.

³⁰² Degen, *Romans* 2, 19.

³⁰³ Part of the text ('Die Gallier und die Germanen') appeared in German in *Der Sammler* in 1815 (468-72, 477-79).

³⁰⁴ Degen, *Romans* 1, 34.

³⁰⁵ Degen, *Romans* 2, 269.

by Wieland over which Degen raved: ‘Now I have before me a monument that (...) brings eternal honour to the spirit, zeal, language and taste of our nation’.³⁰⁶ Beethoven took an interest in it in 1825.³⁰⁷

- 1789 **Suetonius** (c. 69-c. 122 AD), *De Vita Caesarum*, biographies of Roman emperors.³⁰⁸
- 1790 **Sallust** (86-c. 35 BC), *The Jugurthine War*, translated by August Gottlieb Meissner (whom Beethoven met in Prague in 1796). Earlier (1783) Meissner had translated Sallust’s conspiracy story *Catilina and Jugurtha*.³⁰⁹ Degen particularly welcomed Meissner’s prodigious annotations. Sallust was sometimes discussed by Beethoven with friends.³¹⁰
- 1792 **Ammianus Marcellinus** (c. 330-c. 391 AD), *Res Gestae*. Due to the depravity of the text, with many gruesome details, this had not been translated before.³¹¹
- 1793 **Homer** (6th century BC?), complete, translated by Johann Heinrich Voss. It triggered thorny debates in the literary world. Degen acknowledged spirit, style, vigour, tone and workmanship, but he doubted the effectivity of the ‘surfeit of artificiality’.³¹²
- 1793 **Catullus** (c. 84-c. 54 BC), the complete poetry, with passages omitted that transgressed the standards of ‘decorum and common decency’.³¹³
- 1793 **Theocritus** (c. 270 BC), *Collected Works* of the ‘patriarch of bucolic song’.³¹⁴
- 1793 **Cicero** (106-43 BC), *Collected Works*.³¹⁵
- 1794 **Xenophon** (c. 430-354 BC), *Collected Works* (*Cyropaedia*, *Anabasis*, *Symposium*, *Memorabilia*, and others), translated by August Christian and Konrad Borhek. For Degen, Xenophon was the most amiable writer of antiquity whose works should be taken to heart by ‘everyone who is pursuing true humanity and happiness’.³¹⁶ The significance of the edition for Beethoven is dealt with in Chapter 5.
- 1795 **Isocrates** (436-338 BC), speeches called *Panegyrikos*. These were translated by Wieland, according to Degen in an exceptionally fine manner.³¹⁷ Beethoven considered buying them in 1825.³¹⁸
- 1796 **Cassius Dio** (c. 164-after 235 AD), *Roman History*. This had never been issued before.³¹⁹
- 1796 **Livy** (c. 60 BC-c. 15 AD), *Ab Urbe Condita*, also about Roman history.³²⁰
- 1796 **Virgil** (70-19 BC), *Aeneid*.³²¹ Other texts by him (*Georgics*, *Eclogues*) had been taken on earlier, partly by Voss.³²²
- 1796 **Seneca** (4 BC-65 AD), *Philosophical Writings*.³²³
- 1796 **Petronius** (died 66 AD), *Satyricon*, an exposé of the atrocities by Nero, considered as exasperating and perverted. Soon after the translation appeared, the city of Berlin enjoined the publisher of this ‘horrible hackwork’ (gräuliche Machwerk) to burn the complete edition.³²⁴ This led to a huge demand for the book.
- 1797 **Plutarch** (c. 46-c. 120 AD), *Moralia*, eminently translated by Johann Friedrich Kaltwasser.³²⁵

³⁰⁶ Degen, *Greeks* 2, 20.

³⁰⁷ BKh vii, 154.

³⁰⁸ Degen, *Romans* 2, 418.

³⁰⁹ Degen, *Romans* 2, 343-7.

³¹⁰ BKh ii, 23 (1820, Bernard: ‘Sallust is difficult’).

³¹¹ Degen, *Romans* 1, 1.

³¹² Degen, *Greeks* 1, 391.

³¹³ Degen, *Romans* 2, 20.

³¹⁴ Degen, *Greeks* 2, 467.

³¹⁵ Degen, *Romans* 1, 38.

³¹⁶ Degen, *Greeks* 2, 533 and 566.

³¹⁷ Degen, *Greeks* 1, 427-8.

³¹⁸ BKh vii, 154.

³¹⁹ Degen *Greeks* 1, 218.

³²⁰ Degen, *Romans* 2, 89.

³²¹ Degen *Romans* 2, 616.

³²² Degen *Romans* 2, 560 and 580.

³²³ Degen *Romans* 2, 272-3.

³²⁴ Degen, *Romans* 3, 206.

³²⁵ Degen *Greeks* 2, 301.

- 1798 **Ovid** (43 BC-c. 43 AD), *Metamorphoses*.³²⁶ Voss's translation was much discussed. Degen expressed the wish that Voss would now take on the task of translating Hesiod (8th century BC), who's *Works and Days* and *Theogony* still awaited an expert approach.³²⁷ Beethoven had the *Metamorphoses* on his deathbed.³²⁸
- 1800 **Herodotus** (c. 484-c. 425 BC), *Histories*. These were translated by Maximilian Jacobi, but the task had been taken on by Degen himself in 1791.³²⁹

The works of **Aristotle** (384-322 BC) were published piecemeal: *Rhetorics* in 1768, *Ethics* 1791, and *Metaphysics* and *Politics* in 1794. The *Tragedies* of **Aeschylus** (c. 525-456 BC) and **Euripides** (c. 480-c. 406 BC) had not yet been issued as collected works either. Of the former, *Prometheus Bound* appeared in 1784, *The Persians* in 1789, *The Eumenides* in 1793, and *Seven against Thebes* in 1797.³³⁰ From Euripides Degen listed *Alceste* (1774), *Iphigenia at Aulis* and *Phoenician Woman* (both translated by Schiller in 1789), *Medea* (1794), and *Orestes* (1798); he announced that 'Herr Bothe' was working on the complete tragedies (read by Beethoven, see Chapter 5).³³¹ By 1800, no complete edition existed yet of the works by **Aristophanes** (446-386 BC); this was undertaken by Wieland only later (for which Beethoven showed interest in 1825).³³² Of the works by **Plato** (c. 425-c. 347 BC), Degen mentioned the availability of *Crito* (1785), *Symposium* (1782), *Timaeus* (1795).³³³ Some of the dialogues had been translated by Johann Friedrich Kleuker and Friedrich Leopold Stolberg (the latter introduced with the motto: 'Das Schöne zum Guten'), but Plato's works did not yet exist in a collected edition.

It was this vast body of material from antiquity that was potentially available to Beethoven and his generation. Not much was left unexplored. 'One may marvel about the enormous productivity of our German translators', Degen concluded with satisfaction.³³⁴ It can only be speculated how much of this reached Beethoven, but he at least showed interest in a considerable part of it, and perhaps this interest increased over time.³³⁵ Albert Leitzmann claimed that it was 'markedly growing'. Indeed, in later years Beethoven seems to have had more time for reading due to extended periods of ill-health. Schreyvogel consumed almost the whole gamut during the period 1811-14.

³²⁶ Degen, *Romans* 3, 185. Another (anonymous) Ovid translation had been advertised in the WZ from 10 May 1794.

³²⁷ Degen, *Greeks* 1, 325.

³²⁸ BKh xi, 179.

³²⁹ Degen *Greeks* 3, 142 and *Greeks* 1, 320. Schindler seems to have read Herodotus. At least he cited from him 'relata refferro' (I relate what I have heard, BKh vi, 53).

³³⁰ Degen *Greeks* 1, 18-24 and *Greeks* 3, 5.

³³¹ Degen, *Greeks* 1, 273-83 and *Greeks* 3, 124ff.

³³² BKh vii, 154.

³³³ Degen, *Greeks* 2, 225, 227-8, 237, 241-2, 251, 257, 270.

³³⁴ Degen, *Greeks* 2, [vi] and x.

³³⁵ 'Beethovens literarische Bildung', in *Deutsche Rundschau* (February 1913), 271-83, at 281.

3.4 Educational Material

Books from ancient writers aside, there were educational publications such as textbooks, novels and fiction that piqued Beethoven's interest. Christian Gottfried Meiners's *Vermischte Philosophische Schriften* was a standard work on Greek and Hellenistic time.³³⁶ For the Illuminati this was mandatory reading material: in their magazine *Beiträge zur Ausbreitung nützlicher Kenntnisse* it was invoked as a source *par excellence* on the ancients.³³⁷ Meiners provided a wealth of information on the interpretation of Plato's dialogues *Phaedrus* and *Timaeus*, the schools of Epicurus and the Stoics, the Mysteries of Eleusis (a cult taken as a model by the Illuminati), the genius of Socrates, and - rather curiously - Greek homoerotic relationships.³³⁸ There is no evidence that Beethoven was familiar with Meiners studies, but they will assuredly have been available in the library of the *Lesegesellschaft* and at the University. With all due caution it may be suspected that he at least heard discussions on it.

Somewhat better documented is his reading of *Alcibiades* by Gottlieb August Meissner (1753-1807), an educational hit of the 1790s.³³⁹ Meissner was a classicist, novelist and translator, whose controversial four-volume work was the talk-of-the-town when it appeared, especially in late eighteenth-century pedagogical circles. Beethoven may have come across *Alcibiades* shortly after it was published, perhaps still in Bonn, but the only known reference to it in the sources dates from 1811. In a letter from that year to Christoph August Tiedge, Beethoven wrote: 'On Monday a parcel with music had to be forwarded. I was grief-stricken, so much so that I had to say with Alcibiades "so after all man has no free will" (so hat denn der Mensch keinen Willen)'.³⁴⁰ This 'parcel' contained music that had to be sent to Hungary in great haste, which prevented Beethoven from meeting Tiedge, much to his regret. The tenor of his quotation was: sometimes things happen beyond one's control, and we appear helpless in spite of our will. In Meissner's book, Alcibiades exclaimed, after having heard news that compelled him to take precipitous measures: 'That a man can after all imagine having a will! (Das ein Mensch noch Willen zu haben sich einbilden

³³⁶ Christian Gottfried Meiners, *Vermischte Philosophische Schriften*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Weygand, 1775-76).

³³⁷ Burghard, *Geheimbund*, Anlage 4; *Beiträge*, 26 July 1784, 133.

³³⁸ Meiners, vol. 2, 132-3: 'I cannot deny that it hurts me when the Stoics and their philosophy are wrongly construed, since Greece owes to them so many virtuous men, and Rome its growth, its best laws, the greatest heroes, patriots, politicians, and commanders'.

³³⁹ August Gottlieb Meissner, *Alcibiades* (Carlsruhe: Schmieder, 1782-88), 4 vols. In 1803, Meissner wrote an oratorio text for Beethoven on Nero's persecution of the early Christians (BGA, 169). Previously, Neefe had composed Meissner's libretto *Sophonisbe*, about a noble Carthagian woman who preferred death to falling into the hands of the conquering Romans; see Alena Jakubcová, 'Neefe's Melodram *Sophonisbe*', in Helmut Loos, ed. *Christian Gottlob Neefe (1748-1798). Eine eigenständige Künstlerpersönlichkeit* (Chemnitz: Gudrun Schröder, 1999), 65-81.

³⁴⁰ BGA, 525.

kann!)'.³⁴¹ Tiedge, who was well-read, no doubt understood Beethoven's allusion, but it is also possible that Meissner's book had been discussed by him and Beethoven when they had previously met.³⁴² About this time, Beethoven was involved with *Die Ruinen von Athen*, and this topic may have provoked a conversation about the Greek general.³⁴³

Alcibiades focused on the coming-of-age and career of the morally elusive commander from the fifth century BC. Beethoven could learn about moral issues that affected his own aspirational nature, such as the desire for greatness, the danger of excessive ambition, the competition for supremacy, and the pursuit of power over others. He could also improve his knowledge about the ethics of Socrates, the significance of the Delphic oracle, Plato's dialogues, the dispute between Themistocles and Aristides, the Eleusinian mysteries, and much more. This quotation from the book in 1811 is a fine example of the chance survival of clues about Beethoven's reading activities: without the Tiedge letter nothing whatsoever would be known of his familiarity with *Alcibiades*.³⁴⁴

Yet another publication was an eight-volume edition called *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce, vers le milieu du quatrième siècle avant l'ère vulgaire*, a fictional travel report by a Scythe who toured Greece in the fourth century BC, while colourfully detailing his adventures and the customs and idiosyncrasies of each place he visited. It had been written by the French classicist Jean-Jacques Barthélemy, who completed it in 1788 after thirty years of study. Its merit and significance was readily noted and *Anacharsis* was widely regarded as a landmark in the study of antiquity - a status which it in fact still has today. The volumes were soon translated into many languages, a German edition appearing in 1789-92,³⁴⁵ with glowing reviews.³⁴⁶ In 1802, it was reprinted in Vienna by publisher Haas, as part of a series on antiquity from which Beethoven possessed several items (see the next chapters). In Beethoven's time, the book was acknowledged as a perfect guide for those who tried to navigate a way through the multitude of available translations of Greek authors. This was why Schreyvogel also availed himself of it. In 1811, he noted in his

³⁴¹ Meissner, *Alcibiades*, vol. 2, 206.

³⁴² See Matthias Strässner, 'Et lector in Europa Ego. Beethoven liest Johann Gottfried Seume', in BL, 143-70.

³⁴³ The issue was discussed in E. Kerr Borthwick, 'Beethoven and Plutarch', in ML lxxix (1998), 268-72. Another book by Meissner, *Skizzen* (Leipzig: Dyk, 1778), was found in Beethoven's *Nachlass* (Jäger-Sunstenau, 'Akten', 23). The young Caroline Pichler also read Meissner, although in her surroundings these works were considered 'indecent' (unanständig); see CP, vol. 1, 92.

³⁴⁴ There were ample opportunities for Beethoven to acquire the book. It was advertised in the WZ from 17 January 1795 onwards ('Meissners Alcibiades, mit Kupfern, 4 Theile, 8. 2 fl. 40 kr.').

³⁴⁵ Jean-Jacques Barthélemy, *Reise des jungen Anacharsis in Griechenland*, 8 vols. (Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek, 1789-92).

³⁴⁶ See for instance JLM (1789), 129: It 'describes all aspects of Greek private and public life, their manners, costumes, clothing, pastimes, domestic life and enjoyments so extensively and imaginatively, that one believes to be transferred into ancient Greece oneself'. The series was advertised in the WZ from 2 February 1793 on; a 'neue wohlfeilere Ausgabe' was offered on 15 October 1794. It continued to be available, both in French and in German.

diary: ‘Currently I’m reading with great interest Anacharsis Reisen. What gallery of great individuals!’³⁴⁷ Beethoven marked the availability of the series in a conversation book of 1819.³⁴⁸ It is possible that he was thinking of his nephew. But Karl was only twelve and there is strength in the argument that Beethoven knew this publication from his early years and that his excerpt was instigated by a memory of it.

Anacharsis yielded vivid digressions on Plato’s theory of forms, the backgrounds of the Bacchus rites, Greek lyrical poetry, the classic tragedies, the history of the Delphic oracle, Greek laws and conceptions of democracy, and Socratic education. The lively text included some thirty topographical plans of superb quality. If Beethoven was indeed familiar with *Anacharsis*, which seems plausible given the enormous popularity and broad dissemination in the 1790s, this would give context to much of his understanding of antiquity. It for instance facilitated the reading of Plutarch’s *Lives*, which provided scant information on biographical, topographical or political backgrounds.

Yet another well-known educational novel about a Greek from the time of Socrates was Christoph Martin Wieland’s *Geschichte des Agathon*, which first appeared in 1766-67 and was thereupon often reprinted.³⁴⁹ It created a stir, for it was about a young man in search for a correct way of living, successively passing the phases of a pious idealist, a Platonist, a republican, a hero, a Stoic, and a voluptuary.³⁵⁰ Some considered it not suitable for juniors. Caroline Pichler recalled that her mother withheld the book from her, but in vain: in the end it fascinated her beyond all limits.³⁵¹ In 1803, and again in 1809, Beethoven and his brother Carl showed interest in obtaining Wieland’s collected works from Breitkopf & Härtel.³⁵² A citation from Wieland in a letter suggests that Beethoven actually read him.³⁵³ There can only be little doubt that he knew *Agathon*, for this was very popular among the cultured and sophisticated.

A book that raised Beethoven’s awareness in relation to his upbringing of nephew Karl was *Der Olymp, oder Mythologie der Aegypter, Griechen und Römer* (The Gods of Olympos, or Mythology of the Greeks and Romans), in short the ‘Petiscus’.³⁵⁴ It appeared in 1821 and was

³⁴⁷ JST, vol. 1, 98 and 111.

³⁴⁸ BKH i, 58 (‘um herabgesetzte preise in Banknoten / Anacharsis reisen etc 7 Theile komplet / Schrämblische Auflage / 10 fl.).

³⁴⁹ It was part of Wieland’s *Sämmtliche Werke* (Leipzig: Göschen, 1794).

³⁵⁰ Martin Swales, *The German Bildungsroman from Wieland to Hesse* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 46.

³⁵¹ CP, vol. 1, 140.

³⁵² BGA, 125 and 400.

³⁵³ BGA, 1864 (‘but Wieland says: “How easily a slim volume is worth a few Groschen”). In 1825, he considered obtaining translations: ‘wielands übersetz. 16 Bände’ (BKH vii, 154).

³⁵⁴ August Heinrich Petiscus, *Der Olymp, oder Mythologie der Aegypter, Griechen und Römer: Zum Selbstunterricht für die erwachsene Jugend und angehende Künstler* (Berlin: Amelang, 1821).

meant for self-instruction ‘for matured youngsters and budding artists’, as the subtitle specified. Karl seems to have raised Beethoven’s attention to it. ‘If it is worth the money, surely we must acquire this’, his response was in spite of massive expenditures, ‘what is useful should not be valued in terms of money’.³⁵⁵ It was indeed useful, and therefore the book may have been acquired, although there is no evidence. If it was, it furnished both Karl and Beethoven a wealth of information on Greek mythology: on the gods, demigods, and heroes, their idiosyncrasies, fates, and associated stories. The book was about oracles, the Eleusinian mysteries, the cult of Bacchus, the histories of Thebes, Athens, Troy, the journey of the Argonauts, the Isis cult, and the temple of Saïs (with the Egyptian inscriptions that Beethoven copied from Schiller) and much more.

It seems safe to surmise that Beethoven consulted other publications now out of sight, for antiquity constantly piqued his curiosity. In 1815, he made a note in his pocket sketchbook *Mendelssohn I*³⁵⁶ about the availability of a book about eight revolutionary heroes from antiquity (Spartacus, Catilina, Caesar, Arminius, Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Marius and Sulla, and Vespasian).³⁵⁷ In March 18120 he discussed a book on Hellenism with Friedrich Wähler, Karl Otfried Müller’s *Geschichte hellenistischer Stämme und Städte*. ‘You must read this’, Wähler urged - perhaps Beethoven did, but it cannot be proven.³⁵⁸ When in 1820 the Vienna *Conversationsblatt* published the text of a theatre play about antiquity (on Herostratus, see Chapter 7), Beethoven felt compelled to copy parts of it in his conversation book.³⁵⁹ In August 1820 Beethoven chronicled in his conversation book: ‘bey Härter Freyung eine Merkwürdige neue Ausgabe alter *classiker* zu erfragen auf *Subskription* von Stuttgarter gelehrten nach den ältesten seltensten *Editionen*’ - he evidently considered subscribing to these ‘ancient classics’.³⁶⁰ During conversations with Christoph Kuffner, in 1826, his visitor informed him about Artemidorus of Ephesus (c. 100 BC), a Greek writer famous for his *Geographoumena*.³⁶¹ Beethoven requested Kuffner to bring over the translations and comments he [Kuffner] had made, already partly published.³⁶² This was promised, but only after enquiring first whether Beethoven would ‘really’

³⁵⁵ BGA, 1735.

³⁵⁶ Cracow, Biblioteka Jagielonska, Mendelssohn 1, page 3.

³⁵⁷ This was Samuel Baur, *Gemälde der merkwürdigsten Revolutionen, Empörungen, Verschwörungen, wichtiger Staatsveränderungen und Kriegsscenen, auch anderer interessanter Auftritte aus der Geschichte der berühmtesten Nationen*, 10 vols. (Ulm: Verlag Stettinischen Buchhandlung, 1810–1818). The book was reviewed rather pejoratively in the *Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung* from 14 July 1811.

³⁵⁸ BKh i 349; Karl Otfried Müller, *Geschichte hellenistischer Stämme und Städte. Erster Band: Orchomenos und die Minyer* (Breslau: Josef Max, 1820). The second volume (*Die Dorier*) appeared in 1824.

³⁵⁹ Bkh i, 326.

³⁶⁰ BKh ii, 216.

³⁶¹ BKh ix, 218.

³⁶² Christoph Kuffner, *Artemidor im Reiche der Römer* (Brünn: Trassler, 1822-27), 4 vols.

read it.³⁶³

These examples suggest that Beethoven had a special antenna for matters pertaining to antiquity, even when there were no musical motives involved. This attachment seems to have been sincere and abiding.

3.5 Antiquity in Opera

A survey of how Beethoven came into contact with antiquity must necessarily include what was explored in opera and ballet. As regards music, the effects of the Winckelmannian reorientation, which was promoted in the much-read *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* by Johann Georg Sulzer,³⁶⁴ were strongest in the domain of opera, both with respect to aesthetics and to the choice of subjects. Obviously, opera had a long tradition in the use of subjects from antiquity, but the deep and serious opera of earlier time was gradually supplanted by a lighter approach and style. Already Gluck had been familiar with Winckelmann's ideas, attempting to carry out the ideals of 'simplicity and naturalness' in his music, as he himself proclaimed.³⁶⁵

By the time Beethoven arrived in Vienna, in 1792, the Winckelmann ideology had assumed firm prominence and when the worship of antiquity reached its peak, shortly after the turn of the century, Greek and Roman legend and history abounded in opera. Serious Classical themes about Iphigenia, Antigone and Alceste were among the favourites - dozens of operas appeared on these themes.³⁶⁶ Issues regarding of man's fate were balanced, though, by lighter stories about figures from history and myth. These were developed in a more *buffo* style, often with copious dialogue. The aim of librettists and composers was to amuse, and a middle-class public welcomed topics about virtues and failings of legendary historical and mythological figures.³⁶⁷ Although the original accounts were generally moulded into fanciful stories and entertaining drama by librettists and arrangers, Beethoven will have learned something from these productions. Adaptations may have sparked his intellectual curiosity after the originals.

A cursory glance at contemporary opera productions from his first decade in Vienna may

³⁶³ Kuffner may well have brought the material over, for after Beethoven had died he made a claim to the curator; see Max Reinitz, 'Beethovens Prozesse', in *Deutsche Rundschau* clxii (1915), 248-82, at 279.

³⁶⁴ 'All connoisseurs of contemporary art realize that the study of the ancients is of the greatest concern for any artist's endeavours'; Johann Georg Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (Leipzig: M.G. Weidemanns Erben und Reich, 1771), vol. 1, 74-5. Beethoven sometimes consulted Sulzer; see Richard Kramer, 'Beethoven and Carl Heinrich Graun', in Alan Tyson ed. *Beethoven Studies* (New York: Norton, 1973), 18-44. The book was already available to him in Bonn (BIB, 1788, 139) and an edition from 1792-94 was advertised in the WZ from 31 December 1794.

³⁶⁵ Ruth Zinar, 'The Use of Greek Tragedy in the History of Opera', in *Current Musicology* xii (1971), 80-95, at 85.

³⁶⁶ Zinar, 'Greek Tragedy', 86-93.

³⁶⁷ Winton Dean, 'Beethoven and Opera', in *The Beethoven Companion*, Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune, eds. (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), 331-86.

illustrate which antiquity-oriented topics were popular.³⁶⁸ Etienne Nicolas Méhul's *Stratonice* (1792) was about Antiochus, taken from Plutarch.³⁶⁹ In the same year, Antonio Salieri wrote *Catilina*, about a conspiracy in republican Rome as exposed by Cicero, also retained from Plutarch. Shortly later he released *Eraclito e Democrito* (1795) about two pre-Socratic Greek philosophers popularly known as the 'Weeping' and the 'Laughing' and regularly depicted in the visual arts. Vincenzo Righini produced *Tigrane* (1795) about Tigranes the Great, famous for his wars against Rome and the Parthians. Luigi Cherubini's *Médée* (1797) was based on Euripides (see Chapter 5); the score was in Beethoven's estate.³⁷⁰ From the same year was André Grétry's *Anacréon chez Polycrate*, about the lyric poet Anacreon, known from love songs and from tutoring Polycrates of Samos; in 1803 Luigi Cherubini wrote *Anacréon, ou l'amour fugitiv*, which was not received very positively in Germany.³⁷¹ His *Épicure* (1799) had been about the doctrines of the Hellenistic philosopher Epicurus. In 1799 Méhul wrote *Adrien, empereur de Rome*,³⁷² Joseph Wölffl *Das trojanische Pferd* (1799), and Thaddäus Weigl ballets on *Der Todt des Hercules*, *Der Raub der Helena*, and *Die Zerstörung der Stadt Troja* - these were the direct precursors of Beethoven's *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*. In 1800 Salieri premiered *Caesare in Farmacusa*, again on a story from Plutarch.³⁷³ One year later, Ferdinando Paër's *Achille* was extremely successful. Schikaneder's theatre brought Anton Teybler's *Alexander*,³⁷⁴ and the adventures of Hannibal were dramatized by Salieri in *Annibale in Capua*. Premiered in 1802 were Charles-Simon Catel's *Sémiramis* and Johann Friedrich Reichardt's *Brenno*, after Plutarch. 1803 saw Simon Mayr's *Ercole in Lidia* (about Hercules and the Lydian queen Omphale), Ignaz von Seyfried's *Cyrus in Persien* (after a story from Xenophon), and Georg Joseph Vogler's *Medea a Colchis*, about the Argonauts. Concomitantly, Giovanni Paisiello's *Proserpine* had conquered Paris.³⁷⁵ These operas represent only part of the total production, there were many more. The AMZ promoted the use of antiquity: 'exciting, happy myths of the ancients, the histories of gods and heroes' were considered instructive, educational and entertaining, although a staging of heroes like Alexander, Cato or Regulus was not approved, for it would compromise their dignity.³⁷⁶

³⁶⁸ Numerous variation cycles for piano based on popular opera tunes testify to Beethoven's awareness of new productions.

³⁶⁹ In Vienna, the vice director of the Akademie für bildende Künste Johann Heinrich Füger painted *Antiochus und Stratonice*, of which Franz Wegeler requested Beethoven to send him an engraving (1801); BGA, 65.

³⁷⁰ The opera was discussed by Friedrich Rochlitz in the AMZ (1801), 683-4.

³⁷¹ AMZ 1804, col. 291. The figure of Anacreon evoked adverse associations in Beethoven; see BGA, 1141.

³⁷² Méhul was hailed in the AMZ (1800), 590, as the 'hero of the present age'.

³⁷³ AMZ 1800, 752.

³⁷⁴ AMZ 1801, 690.

³⁷⁵ AMZ 1803, 524.

³⁷⁶ AMZ (1800), 530-1.

No doubt, the array of topics impressed Beethoven. He may have felt the need, and responsibility, to gain a better understanding of the original stories behind the adaptations. When he ultimately made plans to contribute to opera himself, he chose a theme from antiquity: as will be seen (Chapter 8) his first operatic endeavours were about republican Rome.

3.6 Painting and Sculpture

Although Winckelmannian ideas promoted by Sulzer were taken to heart by opera composers, they were primarily addressed to those active in the field of painting and sculpture. Only the visual arts could reap the full benefits of Greek artistic perfection: ‘He who aspires to greatness should relentlessly pursue a study of the best ancients, so that through zealous observing and sketching he can elevate his taste to the level of the correctness and greatness of Greek artists’.³⁷⁷ The major lesson to be gleaned, according to Sulzer, was that the Greeks had not only attempted to depict the ‘utmost beauty of human forms’ and ‘grandeur and distinction of character’, but primarily that the ‘noble and uplifting expression of passions (...) was always made subordinate to beauty’. These were quintessential Winckelmannian expressions and Sulzer showed himself a keen follower of him. As a pinnacle of excellence he singled out ‘the Laocoon and the Torso from the Belvedere (...), and the Apollo and the Gladiator from Borghese’.³⁷⁸

The aesthetic directives were implemented at the Vienna *Akademie für bildende Künste*, an institute that stood out internationally by important new achievements. The so-called ‘Fügerschule’ flourished here, a style of painting spearheaded by Heinrich Füger (1751-1818). As can be glanced from its curriculum, the aesthetic doctrine of the Academy took its bearings from the ideals of transparency and balance, harmony and calmness. This Greek-oriented neoclassicism was taken on by artists like Franz Caucig and Josef Abel, who largely contributed to the fame and acclaim of the Academy. Their successes were an incentive for talented students from all over Europe to come enroll, and soon the style of the Vienna institute became a benchmark of taste and perfection, both in the views of connoisseurs and laymen.³⁷⁹

From 1786 on, the Academy was housed at the Sankt Anna Gebäude, located between the Annagasse and Johannesgasse.³⁸⁰ Here, orientation on ancient masterpieces was made possible by admitting students to the Antikensaal, where copies of Greek models were exhibited.³⁸¹ Exceptionally talented students were granted permission to travel to Italy with a stipend, where they could improve their knowledge. According to the curriculum of the institute it was expected from

³⁷⁷ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1, 74.

³⁷⁸ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1, 74-5.

³⁷⁹ Hagen, *Antike in Wien*, 21-36.

³⁸⁰ Close to this was the Krugerstrasse, where Beethoven lived in 1808-09.

³⁸¹ Hagen, *Antike in Wien*, 17.

all students that they acquired a reasonable command of ancient literature, especially with regard to Homer and Ovid. Delivering a canvas of a well-known scene drawn from these writers was the highest aim for every student, because this was testimony of his grip on the material.³⁸²

Masterpieces of international allure from Füger's generation were Füger's own *Todt des Germanikus* (1795, with the boy Caligula depicted) and *Brutus verurteilt seine Söhne* (1799, commissioned by the rich banker Moritz von Fries, who was Beethoven's mecenas).³⁸³ A third painting that was internationally admired was Franz Caucig's *Porcia, glühende Kohlen verschluckend* (1794).³⁸⁴ As for sculpture, the by far most prominent piece of art was the *Mars-Venus-Gruppe* by Leopold Kiesling (1807-10; see also Chapter 4).³⁸⁵ In years to follow, Füger's neoclassicism gradually evolved into what is now called Empire Style, associated with Napoleon. This was more strongly built on Roman symbols and ornaments (winged lions, sphinxes, eagles, tripods, urns), and the style readily found its way into decorative arts and furniture (popular was polished mahogany).

The sources do not disclose the extent to which Beethoven followed media coverage (for example in the WZ) of the stylistic changes that were brought about by the Fügerschule. One may expect him to have done so, though, for this was one of Vienna's cultural merits. Nothing is known about preferences or preoccupations with regard to the visual arts, nor about whether or not Beethoven endorsed, favoured or admired Winckelmannian concepts. If he was positive about them, this would still have little to say about his own artistic directions, but reviewers of the AMZ duly used Winckelmannian criteria as yardsticks for denigrating or venerating new music. Although they realized that there were no ancient musical models to fall back on, their reasoning was: 'If we consider the level of perfection that these cultures reached in the other arts, there is every reason to contemplate: why would they not have experienced by the ear what they experienced so well by the eye?'³⁸⁶ It was thus construed that ancient music had been governed by comparable aesthetic rules: 'The new elaborate praise of the ancients would assuredly also have affected music, if only that had been possible. As is well known, though, our knowledge of music from antiquity is next to nil'.³⁸⁷

³⁸² Closely involved in preparing the themes of such *Preisaufgaben* was Goethe in Weimar. See Riedel, 'Goethe und Homer', 213.

³⁸³ The painting was reviewed in JLM (1804), 14, where it was compared with a painting of this theme by Jacques-Louis David in Paris.

³⁸⁴ Hagen, *Antike in Wien*, 25-6, 40-2, 47 and 62.

³⁸⁵ Hagen, *Antike in Wien*, 53-55 and 125.

³⁸⁶ AMZ *Intelligenzblatt* (1799), 91.

³⁸⁷ AMZ (1801), 786. Lack of knowledge about Greco-Roman music was regularly deplored, see for instance AMZ (1798), 161-6; (1799), 321, 561-5; (1800), 484; (1801), 123. The topic of Greek music was sometimes discussed at Beethoven's place, for instance in January 1820 (BK*h* i, 197), July 1823 (BK*h* iii, 402; Grillparzer: 'Still, their music must remain totally incomprehensible to us'), and September 1825 (BK*h* viii, 72).

As a consequence, composers who subscribed to Classical imperatives (like perhaps the more entertaining and pleasing Haydn) were more highly appreciated than those who offended established ideals of musical beauty, like Beethoven. As one modern writer has put it: ‘The early AMZ criticism of Beethoven’s work suggests his music was experienced by AMZ writers as incongruent with the categories of value they employed’.³⁸⁸

In the Antikensaal of the Academy a considerable amount of copies of excavated ancient sculptures was stored. Part of this collection was acquired from a private entrepreneur known as Herr Müller, whose actual name was Joseph Deym. From 1789 on, Deym had built a reputation with an art gallery with wax figures of prominent persons and Classical nudes, such as a ‘resting Venus’. In 1792, Empress Maria Theresia sent Deym to the Court of Naples with an assignment, and through these Italian contacts he managed to obtain the rights for producing plaster copies of masterpieces that were yet unknown in Germany.³⁸⁹ In Vienna, he had them on display in a building at the Rotenturmtore, which he refurbished in spectacular Roman style. Its festive opening was in October 1795 and soon the gallery became a major tourist attraction.³⁹⁰ By the time Deym married Beethoven’s piano pupil Josephine Brunsvik, in the summer of 1799, he had gained a respectable reputation, although he was never without financial troubles.

Deym’s collection is of interest here because it may reasonably be assumed that Beethoven saw it. He regularly visited the Deym family, from 1799 onwards, during a number of years,³⁹¹ and he even wrote some pieces of music for Deym’s endeavours, now catalogued as *Stücke für Spieluhr* (WoO 33a, probably composed in 1799). Thus, he must have had ample opportunity to feast his eyes on the collection. A conspectus published in 1797 elucidates what was presented.³⁹² Written by someone with the initials ‘C.M.A.’ it consists of an introduction about the collection’s origins and uniqueness, followed by concise comments on the 46 busts and 34 statues from antiquity that were housed.

The collection comprised the *Laocoon* group.³⁹³ The catalogue provided information on this statue’s provenance (‘found in the Baths of Titus in Rome’), with a lengthy quotation from Winckelmann about the Stoic spirit of the Trojan priest ‘resisting expressing pain’ (this topic will be expanded on in Chapter 9). Four semi-nude Venuses were the centrepieces of the collection,

³⁸⁸ Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius. Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 179.

³⁸⁹ See Deym’s report of this in the WZ, 17 January 1795.

³⁹⁰ WZ, 30 December 1795. The gallery was also given attention to in JLM (1802), 37.

³⁹¹ BGA, 151 (1803).

³⁹² *Beschreibung der kaiserl. königl. privilegirten, durch den Herrn Hofstatuarius Müller errichteten Kunstgalerie zu Wien* (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1797). See Gabriele Hatwager, *Die Lust an der Illusion - über den Reiz der “Scheinkunstsammlung” des Grafen Deym, der sich Müller nannte* (Vienna: University Diplomarbeit, 2008), which provides the complete catalogue as an appendix.

³⁹³ Hatwager, *Lust an der Illusion*, Appendix, 34-6.

most of all the *Medici Venus*, ‘the most perfect of all known female statues’, and the *Venus Callipyge* (Aphrodite Kallipygos), regarded as the epitome of erotic art (but for others of obscenity).³⁹⁴ Perhaps there were souvenirs of a Venus available in the form of decorative engravings, for in the sketchbook *Grasnick 2*, among sketches for the Opus 18 String Quartets (1799), Beethoven reminded himself: ‘bey gelegenheit einer Venus bey artaria’ (Artaria was also a dealer of maps and engravings).³⁹⁵ He may have been prompted to buy a Venus.

Not surprisingly, there was the *Apollo Belvedere*, regarded as the highest ideal of beauty, embodying the true essence of Greek spirit.³⁹⁶ Curiously, this statue was depicted as having been part of Beethoven’s bookcase by Johann Nepomuk Hoechle, when he made a drawing in the *Schwarzspanierhaus* on 30 March 1827 (see Figure 5).³⁹⁷ As far as is known, however, Beethoven did not possess such copy, and there was no such statuette in his estate. Perhaps this was poetic licence by Hoechle: he simply added a symbol for Beethoven’s alleged sophistication.



Figure 5. Johann Nepomuk Hoechle, *Beethovens Schlaf- und Sterbezimmer im ‘Schwarzspanierhaus’*, 30 March 1827 (25,6 x 21,0 cm). Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien (fragment).

Deym’s collection also contained *Der sterbende Fechter aus dem Kapitol* (Dying Gaul), the *Dornzieher* (Boy with a Thorn), the *Antinous* (Lover of Hadrian), and *Hercules und Omphale* with the remark: ‘Hercules is depicted here in a less favourable light. Omphale, a beautiful Lydian princess, manages to make of our hero a submissive slave’.³⁹⁸

The collection’s busts comprised nearly all Roman emperors (curiously with Constantine absent), and to these came Marcus Junius Brutus, Scipio Africanus, Lucius Sulla and prominent

³⁹⁴ Hatwager, *Lust an der Illusion*, Appendix, 36-8.

³⁹⁵ Wilhelm Virneisel, *Beethoven. Ein Skizzenbuch zu Streichquartetten aus Op. 18* (Bonn: Verlag Beethovenhaus, 1974), Übertragung, 52, staves 10-11.

³⁹⁶ Hatwager, *Lust an der Illusion*, Appendix, 43-5. The catalogue praised its ‘ineffable beauty’ (himmlische Schönheit). Nearly two centuries later, the art historian H.W. Janson wrote: ‘This [eighteenth century] enthusiasm tells us a good deal - not about the qualities of the *Apollo Belvedere* but about the character of the Greek Revival. Although our own time takes a rather jaundiced view of the statue, we had better refrain from scoffing at the naiveté of our forefathers’; Janson, *History of Art*, 138-9.

³⁹⁷ See Ladenburger, *Todesfall*, 17-8 and 82.

³⁹⁸ Hatwager, *Lust an der Illusion*, Appendix, 40-50.

members of the Greek pantheon of Gods, such as Bacchus. Beethoven also could see Sappho, Plato, Heraclitus, Democritus, Euripides, and Seneca. As adumbrated, copies of Deym's collection were acquired by the Academy, for which Deym received the substantial amount of 6.500 florins in 1796.³⁹⁹ Deym's own statues were ultimately destroyed in 1821, when his widow Josephine died. She had always protected them with great care.⁴⁰⁰

To be complete, one other location may be mentioned where Beethoven stood eye to eye with statues of the ancients. According to various reports he was keen on visiting the Gardens of Schönbrunn, several miles from the city.⁴⁰¹ What may have attracted him, or will at least have been noticed by him, was the series of 32 sculptures of mythological gods and heroes placed there between 1773 and 1780, executed by Johann Wilhelm Beyer (1725-1796) after Classical models.⁴⁰² These over life-size statues were a well-known tourist attraction. Individuals that Beethoven may have recognized from reading Homer and Plutarch were Lucius Junius Brutus (holding in his arms the dead Lucretia after her suicide), Bacchus (shown in the company of Ceres, the Goddess of agriculture), Aeneas (according to legend the founder of Rome), Jason (leader of the Argonauts and husband of Medea, proudly holding the Golden Fleece), and the courtesan Aspasia (who played a significant role in Meissner's *Alcibiades*). Like in the Deym collection there was also a statue of Omphale, Queen of Lydia, to whom the Delphic oracle sent Hercules into servitude. Plutarch mentioned Omphale in the *Life of Marc Antony*, when he condemned the general's submissiveness towards Cleopatra by massaging her feet, adding that the same happened to him that had happened to Hercules on paintings: he was removed of his club and lion skin by Omphale. In Schönbrunn, Omphale was indeed shown holding the club of Hercules (Figure 6). Beethoven knew the story well. 'Do you not recognize my predicament, comparable to that of Hercules with Queen Omphale once???' , he wrote to Zmeskall, suggesting that women were able to disempower men.⁴⁰³

³⁹⁹ Hatwager, *Lust an der Illusion*, 118-20; Hagen, *Antike in Wien*, 74.

⁴⁰⁰ La Mara [Marie Lipsius], *Beethovens Unsterbliche Geliebte. Das Geheimnis der Gräfin Brunsvik und ihre Memoiren* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1909), 97.

⁴⁰¹ See Appendix C.

⁴⁰² For a complete overview see <https://www.schoenbrunn.at/en/about-schoenbrunn/gardens/tour-through-the-park/statues-at-schoenbrunn/> (accessed February 2020).

⁴⁰³ BGA, 430.

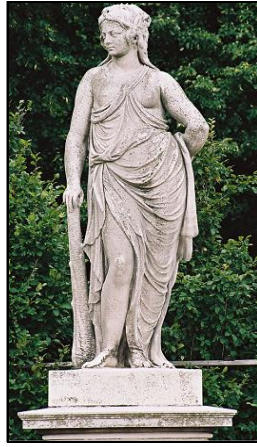


Figure 6. Omphale holding the club of Hercules. Statue by Johann Wilhelm Beyer, Schönbrunn Gardens.

In Schönbrunn, he also saw Hercules, Apollo, a Bacchante (inspired by Dionysus into a state of ecstatic frenzy), and the couple Hygeia and Asclepius (these were depicted on the visiting card of Beethoven's brother Johann, who was a pharmacist).⁴⁰⁴ He also saw a Vestal virgin (watching over the fire in the temple), Hannibal, Amphion (a musician with a golden lyre who built the walls of Thebes) and a highly erotic statue of Paris and Helen eloping, thereby causing the Trojan War.

3.7 Summary

In Vienna Beethoven had ample opportunity to take notice of prominent features of Graecomanie. Winckelmann's pioneering work was recognizable in literary productions of his favourite poets Goethe and Schiller, who both made considerable efforts to convey their love for ancient Greece. Through these works Beethoven could assimilate the importance of Classical antiquity for high-standing culture. He was no doubt aware that Winckelmann's motto 'noble simplicity and tranquil grandeur' impacted German cultural life.

There are indications that, apart from ancient writings, he read Gottlieb August Meissner's *Alcibiades*, the popular educational novel *Reise des jungen Anacharsis in Griechenland*, very probably Wieland's *Agathon* and also some textbook works on mythology. Perhaps this was the tip of an iceberg: he very probably also read other works, and may have gathered information from magazines, almanacs and yearbooks. It is beyond estimation how much went through his hands.

It may be hazarded that he was aware of contemporary neoclassical developments in the visual arts as implemented at the *Akademie für bildende Künste* by Heinrich Füger. This aesthetics were by and large based on ancient models - a doctrine of transparency and balance, harmony and calmness. Beethoven could admire the magnificence of ancient masterpieces at the gallery of Count

⁴⁰⁴ BGA, vol. 3, 152. An extensive study of Asclepius, Hygeia, their attributes and their home town Epidaurus in Greece appeared in JLM ('Die heilbringenden Götter', January 1803), 3-30.

Joseph Deym, which included four canonical works: the *Laocoon* group, *Apollo Belvedere*, *Dying Gaul* and *Antinous*. Others were at the Gardens of Schönbrunn, where Beethoven is known to have strolled regularly.

Greek Literature I: Homer

*Only late in life it begins to dawn on us how the Greeks may be of use
- only after we have gone through much, have reflected on much.*
Friedrich Nietzsche, *Fragmente* 1875 (3, 39)

It seems appropriate to start a survey of Beethoven's readings of literature from antiquity with Homer. The two epics of this great poet were already authoritative in Greco-Roman time. By the end of the eighteenth century they again enjoyed an extraordinary vogue in Germany, through Winckelmann.⁴⁰⁵ Both epics were popular, but the *Odyssey* was favoured over the *Iliad* - also by Beethoven.⁴⁰⁶ People of sophistication - and certainly those active in the arts - were expected to be familiar with at least the fanciful accounts of Odysseus's adventures (the Cyclop's cave, Calypso's island, the Phaeacians, the glorious reunion on Ithaca) and to talk knowledgeable about the sacking of Troy in the *Iliad* (Achilles's wrath, the defeat of Hector, and King Priam's plea for his son's body). There was much scholarly debate about Homer, sparked by Friedrich August Wolf's *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (1795) - about the possibility that the epics had been invented by several poets and assembled over the centuries (the 'Homeric Question').

But there is a second reason to start with Homer. Beethoven's personal copy of the *Odyssey* has been preserved, it is now in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Beethoven could not resist making pencil entries in the margins of the book and to underline passages that piqued his interest. This adds special value to the copy, for these markings throw light on how he interpreted the contents. Some even reveal something of his state of mind when reading, betraying excitability or irritability. Combined reading/annotating/underlining was standard practice for Beethoven: other books were consumed by him in the same manner. There are equally profuse markings in Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* (about 50 in total).

4.1 The Translations by Johann Heinrich Voss

Beethoven possessed the *Odyssey* in an unrhymed but metrical translation by Johann Heinrich Voss

⁴⁰⁵ Johann Gottlieb Herder explained Homer's popularity in 'Homer, ein Günstling der Zeit', published in the widely read magazine *Die Horen* (1795, 9. Stück), edited by Schiller, 53-88. Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 558-9 and 839-40, stressed the major significance of Homer's epics for contemporary art.

⁴⁰⁶ CP, vol. 1, 101-2. Schindler wrote: 'It is noteworthy, that in Beethoven's valuation the *Iliad* lagged far behind the *Odyssey*'; see Sch60, II-181. Schreyvogel preferred Chapter 12 of the *Odyssey*, about the Sirens, Scyla and Calypso; see JST, vol. 2, 4 (1814).

from 1781 - see the list in Chapter 3.4.⁴⁰⁷ This was of unsurpassed quality and it found admiration from friend and foe alike. Famous was Voss's handling of the original Greek hexameters, as well as his word sequence and melody of sound - musical aspects that were no doubt admired by Beethoven. A few years later, in 1793, Voss published the *Iliad*, together with a revised edition of the *Odyssey* which was even more rigidly modeled after the Greek original. He now banned the slightest of modern references. In a still later edition, from 1806, he even erased capital letters, which he considered 'un-Greek'.⁴⁰⁸ Beethoven possessed the *Iliad* from 1793, but, as will be shown, reprinted in 1814 by the Viennese bookseller Haas.⁴⁰⁹ This copy has not survived.

Voss's translations were groundbreaking. Special about them was the invention of novel words, primarily for metrical reasons. This elicited hot debate.⁴¹⁰ Voss was frowned upon by those who resisted grammatical innovation, but younger poets, who felt little hesitation in bending the rules, admired him.⁴¹¹ There was also debate about whether Classical texts should be translated at all, for language was not a neutral carrier of sense or sound and no translation was as rich as the original; translating resulted in loss of expression and nuance. Philologists warned that in the hands of those who lacked insight or poetic talent, ancient texts were at risk of being misrepresented or distorted.

Over time, Voss's 1781 *Odyssey* became a classic - a status it still has today. His own later editions (1793 and 1806) did not exceed its popularity. Beethoven was aware of its special quality, which he sometimes discussed with friends. He no doubt endorsed what Christoph Kuffner wrote in a conversation book from April 1826: 'That of Voss is more powerful and true to the original / Voss's translation is superlatively enjoyable, owing to the rhythm of the verses. Voss masters the hexameter better than anyone else'.⁴¹² Perhaps this conversation was incited by Voss's death, on 29 March. What was discussed by Beethoven and Kuffner was the so-called 'adaptirende Methode' used by translators who preferred 'correct' German, even if the Greek original had to be violated.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁷ Johann Heinrich Voss, *Homers Odyssee* (Hamburg: auf Kosten des Verfassers, 1781).

⁴⁰⁸ For a historical assessment of Voss's innovations see Adrian Hummel, 'Bürger Voss. Leben, Werk und Wirkungsgeschichte eines schwierigen Autors', in Elmar Mittler, ed. *Johann Heinrich Voss (1751-1826). Idylle, Polemik und Wohllaut* (Göttingen: Bibliotheksschriften, 2001), 137-67.

⁴⁰⁹ Johann Heinrich Voss, *Homers Ilias* (Vienna: Haas, 1814). Haas specialized in the Classics, as adverts in the WZ testify (7 October and 29 November 1809, and 4 July 1810). His repertory consisted of Diogenes Laertius, Horace, Nepos, Ovid, Plato, Plutarch, Suetonius, Tacitus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Lucretius, Cicero, Virgil, Flaccus, and Sallust - almost all pirated editions.

⁴¹⁰ For a detailed account see Günther Häntzschel, *Johann Heinrich Voss. Seine Homer-Übersetzung als sprachschöpferischer Leistung* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1977).

⁴¹¹ Alois Jeitteles, still young when he wrote the text of Beethoven's song cycle Opus 98, may have found inspiration in Voss when he changed the metrically dull 'An die ferne Geliebte' into the double dactyl 'An die entfernte Geliebte' - a title consistently used by Beethoven himself. Voss used the very expression 'entfernte' for metrical purposes; see Häntzschel, *Voss*, 20, note 278. See also Reid, *Song Companion*, 47.

⁴¹² BKh ix, 216.

⁴¹³ See Häntzschel, *Voss*, and Reid, *Song Companion*, 287.

Voss, by contrast, had allowed altered or twisted words, modernized expressions, short (un-German) sentences without nouns, tautologies, interpretative metaphors, etcetera. He justified this in a book called *Zeitmessung der deutschen Sprache* (1802) in which he attacked the ‘adaptirende Methode’.⁴¹⁴ Beethoven had the book on his shelf, which tentatively suggests that he was a supporter of Voss and had no problems with bending the literary rules.⁴¹⁵

4.2 References in Primary Sources

Scrutiny of the primary sources, as specified in Appendices A to E, yields twenty-two cases where Homer was mentioned, textually and/or musically. These are summarized chronologically in the following synoptic overview:

1. 8 August 1809, letter to Breitkopf und Härtel in Leipzig;
2. Early 1813, cooperation with Theodor Körner and the libretto *Ulysses Wiederkehr*;
3. August/September 1813, letter to Franz Brunsvik in Ofen, with reference to *Odyssey* XII, 140ff;
4. 10 July 1814, letter to Friedrich Treitschke, about ‘Faiaken’;
5. 1814, passage from the *Iliad* (XXIV, 45-6) in the *Tagebuch* (item No. 26), possibly for the purpose of a canon;
6. 1815, passage from the *Iliad* (XXII, 300-5) in the *Tagebuch* (item No. 49), metrical study;
7. Second half 1815, musical phrase on words from the *Iliad* (XXIII, 275) in the *Scheide* sketchbook (Princeton, New Jersey), p. 49, possibly for the purpose of a canon;
8. 1816, passage from the *Odyssey* (V, 1-2) in the *Tagebuch* (item No. 74), for a canon;
9. Summer 1818, passage from the *Odyssey* (XX, 75-6) in the *Tagebuch* (item No. 169b), probably for the purpose of a canon;
10. Summer 1818, passage from the *Odyssey* (XIX, 328-34) in the *Tagebuch* (item No. 170);
11. 19 July 1819, letter to Karl Bernard with reference to the *Odyssey* (X, 235ff);
12. 10 September 1821, letter to Tobias Haslinger with reference to the *Odyssey* IV, 385ff;
13. Early 1822, passage from the *Odyssey* (VIII, 479-89) in the score of ‘Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt’, Opus 112;
14. March 1823, recollection by Louis Schlösser;⁴¹⁶
15. September 1823, letter from Vienna to London by Johann Reinhold Schultz;
16. 23 January 1824, letter to Raphael Kiesewetter;
17. July 1825, 11-bar sketch for a canon on a text from the *Odyssey* (XIV, 82-5) in the *Egerton 2795* sketchbook (London, British Library), f. 10r;
18. 4 October 1825, letter to nephew Karl;
19. 28 March 1826, letter to Schott in Mainz;
20. 1819-1826, various Homer mentionings related to nephew Karl’s studies;
21. 1825-27, recollection by Karl Holz;
22. January 1827, Homer on Beethoven’s deathbed.

⁴¹⁴ Johann Heinrich Voss, *Zeitmessung der deutschen Sprache* (Königsberg: Niclovius, [1802]).

⁴¹⁵ Jäger-Sunstenau, ‘Akten’, 23. In 1826, Beethoven made a reference to the book amidst unidentified sketches (aut. 24 (*Kullak*), fol. 52r): ‘Metrik d. deutschen von Voss’; see Hans-Günter Klein, *Autographe*, 86. The book was also used by nephew Karl (BKh x, 73, 81, and 180).

⁴¹⁶ Schlösser noted that when Beethoven visited him, he went through his book shelves, where he chanced upon his favourites Homer and Goethe (KC, 662). Although Maynard Solomon casts doubt on the reliability of Schlösser (Solomon, ‘Two-Part Invention’), there is little reason to dismiss Schlösser’s recollections.

As already hinted, there is no proof that Beethoven knew Homer in Bonn.⁴¹⁷ However, Voss's *Odyssey* was from 1781, and there were other (prose) translations in circulation.⁴¹⁸ It is certainly possible that Homer was discussed in Bonn, for instance in University surroundings. The earliest reference is from 1809 (No. 1), when Beethoven wrote to Breitkopf about his favourite poets ('like Ossian and Homer, whom I regrettably can only read in translation'),⁴¹⁹ but there are conspicuous Homer-like expressions in the Heiligenstadt Testament (1802), such as about 'inexorable Parcae that might cut the thread' and 'the most unfortunate may derive comfort from finding his equal'.⁴²⁰ Homer (Voss) had: 'unerbittlichen Schwester' (inexorable sisters), and 'kennt ihr einen, der euch der unglücklichste aller Sterblichen scheint; ich bin ihm gleich zu achten an Elend!' (if you think you know someone who is most unfortunate, [well] I am equal to him in wretchedness).⁴²¹ Beethoven may have retained his expressions from Voss, which would tentatively suggest an earlier familiarity than 1809.

Homer played a role in Beethoven's operatic ambitions (No. 2). In spite of relative failures of *Leonore* in 1805 and 1806 plans for another opera were never abandoned. Beethoven was constantly in search for a suitable libretto, preferably on a Classical subject.⁴²² Of the many texts considered, a libretto predicated on Homer seemed promising. It came from the young poet Theodor Körner (1791-1813), who was much in demand as a poet. On 6 June 1812, he wrote to his parents that Beethoven was among his commissioners.⁴²³ Indeed, on 21 April had Beethoven ordered 'another one that I would like you to write for me'.⁴²⁴ This led to *Ulysses Wiederkehr* (The Homecoming of Odysseus),⁴²⁵ of which Körner was able to outline two acts before he died on the

⁴¹⁷ In older literature, this is nevertheless stated as a fact. See Schiedermaier, *Junge Beethoven*, 331, and Arnold Schering, 'Die Eroica, eine Homer-Symphonie Beethovens?', in *Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch* v (1933), 159-77, at 163.

⁴¹⁸ These were by Christian Damm (1769-71) and Karl August Küttner (1773); see Häntzschel, *Voss*, 27-8. As late as April 1826, Beethoven discussed a prose translation made (at the instigation of Goethe) by Joseph Stanislaus Zauper, *Homer's Werke* (Prague: Calve, 1826-27); see BKh ix, 216-7.

⁴¹⁹ BGA, 395.

⁴²⁰ BGA, 105.

⁴²¹ Voss, *Odysee* (VII, 197-8 and 211-2). See below (4.5) for Beethoven's marking of this passage in his copy. 'Unerbittlichen Parzen', incidentally, seems to have been commonly used; see for instance Ignaz von Seyfried, 'Mozart der Operncomponist', in *Cäcilia* xv (1833), 11-29, at 12: 'hätte die unerbittliche Parze den Faden nich allzufrüh zerschnitten'.

⁴²² A new opera was still considered in 1826, when nephew Karl advised 'ein griechisches *Sujet*' (a Greek topic); BKh ix, 254. For more on Beethoven's late opera plans see Max Unger, 'Beethovens Konversationshefte als biographischer Quelle', in *Musik im Kriege* i (1943-44), 209-15, at 212.

⁴²³ CD, 190.

⁴²⁴ BGA, 574; a first libretto that Körner had delivered was evidently turned down.

⁴²⁵ On 10 February 1813 Körner wrote to his father, alluding to Gluck's *Iphigenia* operas: 'I have been asked to treat The Return of Ulysses for Beethoven. If Gluck were alive, that would be perfect for him' (BGA, 574, footnote 2). See also Christoph August Tiedge, *Theodor Körners Poetischer Nachlass* (Leipzig: Hartknoch, 1815), vol. 2, xliv.

battlefield, on 26 August 1813. Given the combination of Körner's extraordinary talent⁴²⁶ and Beethoven's enthusiasm, this project might have resulted in a very fine piece of art. As for the text, Beethoven himself may have been involved in this. It is about female faithfulness, which was a theme to his liking.⁴²⁷ The libretto centred around Homer's grand finale: Odysseus, back in Ithaca, has been made unrecognizable by the goddess Athena. He dreams of the amiable Phaeacians, whom he has just visited. After an Overture depicting thunderstorm and heavy sea, a Choir of Phaeacians praises the hero.⁴²⁸ Hiding in a corner of his palace, Odysseus overhears his son Telemachus, who laments to Eumaeus about the difficult circumstances of his mother Penelope, who is pestered by the suitors - here the text breaks off.

In his letters, Beethoven regularly alluded to Homer, as he also did to Plutarch. Circumstances or events sometimes prompted him to make allusions or comparisons. In 1813, for example, his enfeebled economic circumstances made him deplore his 1809 financial agreement (No. 3): 'Oh wretched covenant, as seductive as a Siren, for which I should have had my ears plugged with wax and had myself bound to prevent myself from signing, like *Ulysses*'.⁴²⁹ In another letter (No. 11) he called nephew Karl's mother a woman who 'bewitches him [Karl] against me, by means of who knows what Circean spells, curses or promises' (Odysseus's comrades were changed into swines by the pernicious herbs of Circe).⁴³⁰ In a whimsical letter (No. 19) he jested that '*Apollo*'s sons are rather difficult to appease, as already *Homer* describes in his *Iliad*. By way of compensation you must send over 3 barrels of Johannesberger [wine] with on each cask [the picture of] a *bacchante*'.⁴³¹ In a letter to his nephew (No. 18) he compared himself to the wise 'Odüsseus'.⁴³² Another passing reference to Homer is found in a letter to Tobias Haslinger (No. 12) about a dream. A canon had come to his mind during a 'dream travel' (Traumreise), Beethoven wrote, but when he woke up he had forgotten it. He managed to resume his dream, though, and this time 'waking up I clung to it as once Menelaos had clung to Proteus'.⁴³³ This was an allusion to Telemachus, who called at the court of King Menelaus in Sparta to inform about his father's whereabouts. He was advised to catch and clench firmly on to the old fortune-teller Proteus (who was a servant of the sea god Poseidon) because he was cognizant about the fate of ships. Beethoven curiously remembered

⁴²⁶ CP, vol. 1, 387-92.

⁴²⁷ The text was published in Hans Volkmann's *Beethoven in seine Beziehungen zu Dresden* (Dresden: Melchert, 1942), 86-92. See also Grigat, 'Odyssee', 231-5.

⁴²⁸ See Rudolf Pečman, *Beethovens Opernpläne* (Brno: J.E. Purkyne, 1981), 53-4. Beethoven liked to refer to his fellow citizens as the carefree and pleasure-loving 'Phaeacians', but with a pejorative undertone (BGA, 725, 1259, 2048). For an evaluation of the issue see Reschke, 'Weltverständnis', 82-4.

⁴²⁹ BGA, 665; *Odyssey* XII, 140ff.

⁴³⁰ BGA, 1314; *Odyssey*, X, 235ff.

⁴³¹ BGA, 2136.

⁴³² BGA, 2065.

⁴³³ BGA, 1439, *Odyssey* IV, 385ff.

details and names here,⁴³⁴ which suggests a close acquaintance with Homer - or he had just read the passage.

With some regularity Beethoven came across sayings that impressed him, either for their wisdom, their moral significance, or because they reflected his own conditions. It will be seen below which ones he marked in his own copy of the *Odyssey* - catalogued in the above list were those entered in the *Tagebuch* or in sketchbooks. The *Tagebuch* contains five of them, evidently jotted down as reminders for concise musical pieces like canons intended for friends or visitors.

Thus, No. 5 was excerpted from the *Iliad* in 1814: ‘Den[n] ausduldenden Muth verlieh den Menschen das Schicksal’ (For fate granted mankind the courage to endure misfortune).⁴³⁵ The god Apollo admonished Achilles for dragging the mutilated body of Hector around the grave of Patroclus, whose death he bemoaned. At some point human beings should cease mourning, the god exclaimed, in that the strength to endure misfortune had been bestowed upon them by the gods. Beethoven was sensitive about the issue of man’s attitude towards suffering: he himself felt that he should show resilience and perseverance against the buffetings of fate for the benefit of his artistic calling (letter to Wegeler from November 1801, ‘I will seize fate by the throat’; BGA, 70). Another *Tagebuch* entry from Homer (No. 6) had a bearing on the same issue: ‘But now fate catches me; that I may not lie in the dust idle and bereft of fame. No, first great deeds are to be achieved, which also future generations will hear of’. It was Hector who spoke these dramatic words in the *Iliad*, while fighting Achilles outside the gates of Troy. He had lost his spear and was without defence, but he courageously drew his sword and rushed up to Achilles, determined to resist until the very end. In Homer’s time, military courage and achievement, even if this was utterly hopeless, could ensure a better afterlife.⁴³⁶ That, however, will hardly have concerned Beethoven. Essential to him, as will be shown more clearly in Chapter 6 in relation to Plutarch, was the theme of posthumous fame.

In this entry Beethoven added metrical signs to Voss’s text, in order to have an overview of how the hexameters fitted the syntax:⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ He associated ‘dominus’ Haslinger (whose religious convictions he sometimes mocked; ‘seyd christlich’, BGA, 1385) with Jerusalem and the Holy Books. When Beethoven was mortally ill, Haslinger regarded it his duty to save Beethoven’s soul: it was through him (and his wife) that the mentally weak composer received the last sacraments (which he boldly mentioned on a funeral invitation; KC, 425; Ladenburger, *Todesfall*, 90-1). The figure of Proteus, incidentally, was once invoked by Hans Georg Nägeli in an effort to characterize Beethoven: ‘ein vielgestaltiger Proteus’; *Vorlesungen über Musik mit Berücksichtigung der Dilettanten* (Stuttgart und Tübingen: Cotta, 1826), 192.

⁴³⁵ MST, 51 (item No. 26).

⁴³⁶ Chaniotis, *War*, 36.

⁴³⁷ MST, 59 (item No. 49).

Illiade 22r Gesang Seite 356

, - v - v v - nun aber erhascht mich / das Schicksal
dass nicht arbeitlos in den Staub ich sinke / noch ruhmlos
- v - v v - v - v - v / - v -
Nein erst grosses vollendet wovon auch / Künftige hören
- v - v - v v v - v / - v v - -

There are some discrepancies between Beethoven's and the original text, which can be gleaned from Figure 7: the changes of line, the missing exclamation mark after 'Schicksal', and the word 'vollendend' (but perhaps these were copying errors; the original *Tagebuch* text is missing). The page number should be 357, not 356 (this is proof that he had the Haas edition from 1814), and some of the syllables have wrong accents (for instance 'noch Ruhm' would call for v - instead of - v and 'vollendet' requires v - v instead of - v v). The metrical signs preceding the first line, following the comma, fit the words 'Stets willfährig geschirmt', which Beethoven did not copy out. As will be shown below, he used similar metrical signs in his *Odyssey* copy at various places, there with the purpose of clarifying the pronunciation of names.

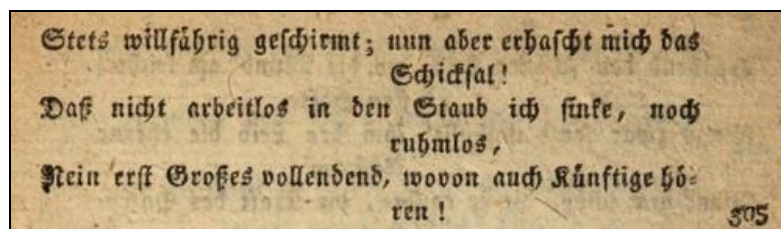


Figure 7. Johann Heinrich Voss, *Homers Ilias* (Vienna: Haas, 1814), fragment of page 357.

Still another Homer entry in the *Tagebuch* (above list No. 8) was meant for a canon: 'Canon aus der Ode Odissée 5ter Gesang. Und die rosige Frühe entstieg (steigt) des edlen Thitanos Lager und brachte (bringt) das Licht den Göttern und sterblichen Menschen' (Canon from The Odyssey, 5th chapter. And rosy Dawn arose (arises) from the bed of noble Tithonus and brought (brings) light to the gods and mortal men)⁴³⁸ This was probably excerpted very late in 1815.⁴³⁹ The passage comprised the first two verses from the *Odyssey*'s fifth chapter, which described the awakening of the Goddess of Dawn, Eos, at the side of her husband Tithonus, Prince of the royal house of Troy. Since Beethoven himself was a notorious early riser (in his *Tagebuch* he jotted, as if to compliment himself: 'Consistently studied from half past five until breakfast', and in a conversation book he

⁴³⁸ MST, 83 (item No. 74). The word 'Ode' was probably corrected into 'Odissée'.

⁴³⁹ A shortly earlier notation was: 'Our world history will reach the year 5816', which meant that the year 1816 was approaching. Beethoven probably meant historical time here, not necessarily that 4000 BC was the origin of the human race: theories about the descent of man from ape-like creatures were already widely accepted. See for instance *Der Sammler* (1816), 327.

wrote: ‘Take a walk early in the morning at 4 o’clock, or study’),⁴⁴⁰ the theme was probably an appealing one. As can be seen at Figure 8, he also underlined this passage in his *Odyssey* copy. For some reason he changed the past tense (hence the two extra words), although this was detrimental to the hexameters.



Figure 8. Beethoven’s underlining of ‘des edlen Thitanos Lager’ in his *Odyssey* copy. Photo December 2018.

Two other phrases from the *Odyssey* in the *Tagebuch* can be dated with summer 1818. Both concern Odysseus’s spouse Penelope. The first (No. 9) was from a prayer directed by her to the goddess Artemis. Despairing about the liberties taken by the suitors in her palace she begged Artemis to end her life rather than letting her be forced to gladden the heart of another man, ‘for in his omniscience his [Zeus’s] eternal providence steers happiness and misfortune of mortal men’ (Beethoven: ‘denn die ewige Vorsicht lenkt allwissend das Glück oder Unglück sterblicher Menschen’).⁴⁴¹ Voss placed this between parentheses, as an aside. Beethoven altered the second ‘his’ into ‘the’, and ‘and’ into ‘or’, thereby bending the content a little, and in the *Tagebuch* he preceded the phrase with the words ‘o Gott über alles!’ (O God above all!), imputing a Christian context to it.⁴⁴² The second Penelope excerpt (No. 10) was an utterance to her unrecognizably disguised husband:

After all, few days only are conferred upon men. Now, he who thinks and acts maliciously is wished only misfortune by all, as long as he lives! Still even in death his remembrance will be despised. Of him, though, who thinks and acts nobly, strangers will spread worthy fame widely across the world, and all will bless the righteous one. Homer. Es sind ja den Menschen nur wenige Tage beschieden[.] Wer nun grausam denkt und grausame Handlungen ausübt[;] Diesem wünschen alle, so lang’ er lebet[;] nur Unglück! Und noch selbst im Tode wird sein Gedächtniss verabscheut[.] Aber wer edel denkt und edle handlungen ausübt[;] Dessen würdigen Ruhm verbreiten die Fremlinge weithin - Unter die Menschen auf Erden[;] und jeder segnet den Guten[.] Homer.⁴⁴³

Perhaps Beethoven was touched here by the accumulation of moral virtue, posthumous fame and

⁴⁴⁰ MST, 59 (item No. 48); BKh ii, 158.

⁴⁴¹ MST, 121 (item No. 169b).

⁴⁴² Tellingly, the entry preceding the Homer citation was about psalms.

⁴⁴³ MST, 121-3 (item No. 170).

the priceless value of time, for these very themes were selected by him from Plutarch as well (see Chapter 6) - they were evidently close to his heart.

Whereas the *Tagebuch* was exclusively reserved for texts, in the sketchbooks lines from Homer were linked to music. In the *Scheide* sketchbook from 1815-16 (Princeton, New Jersey, p. 49; see Figure 9) Beethoven jotted down a short melody in G-Minor headed ‘Hexameter’, on a line from the *Iliad* (No. 7). This described the funeral games (a chariot race) in honour of Patroclus, Achilles exclaiming: ‘Wär es ein anderer nun, den wir Danaer ehrten mit Wettkampff [...]’ (If it were someone else who we Greeks were honouring with our contest [no doubt I would carry off first prize]).⁴⁴⁴ Beethoven employed a solemn bass melody here for Achilles’s self-assertive remark (he possessed immortal horses, a gift from Poseidon, so he was bound to gain a victory). Given the repeat sign at the beginning of the sketch, the piece may have been envisaged as the beginning of a canon. The ‘Hexameter’ seems to indicate that Beethoven was experimenting with metre, as he did elsewhere in *Scheide*.⁴⁴⁵

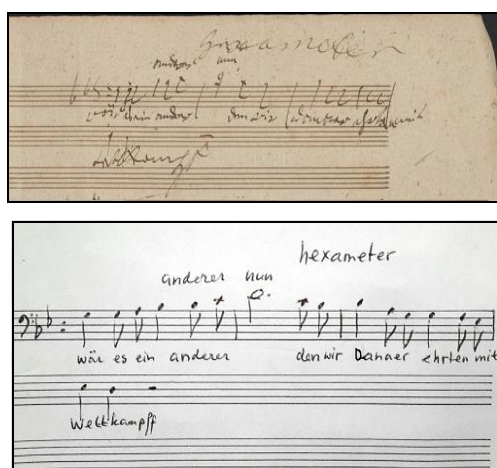


Figure 9. Sketchbook *Scheide* (p. 49) with jottings for a possible canon on a text from Homer’s *Iliad*, with a transcription by the author.

4.3 The Canon in *Egerton 2795*

A Homer canon also made its appearance in the pocket sketchbook *Egerton 2795* (London, British Library, f. 10r). This was first identified in 1927 by Hans Boettcher, but it was nevertheless not mentioned in *JTW*, the standard reference book for sketches.⁴⁴⁶ Nor is it in *LvBWV*, the new catalogue of Beethoven’s music.

The pencil jottings for it (No. 17) can be attributed to the end of July 1825, at a time when the

⁴⁴⁴ Voss, *Ilias* (1793), 345.

⁴⁴⁵ He made many attempts for the song *Sehnsucht*; see Lewis Lockwood, ‘Beethoven’s Sketches for *Sehnsucht* (WoO 146)’, in Alan Tyson, ed. *Beethoven Studies* (New York: Norton, 1973), 97-122. Interestingly, the Homer sketch was immediately followed by sketches on a text by Goethe (‘Gesang der Geister über den Wassern’); see Reid, *Song Companion*, 172 and 181.

⁴⁴⁶ Boettcher, ‘Homer-Studien’. Joseph Kerman mentioned the piece in ‘Beethoven Sketchbooks in the British Museum’, in *Proceedings of the Royal Musicological Association* xciii (1966/67), 77-96, at 84.

String Quartet in A Minor Opus 132 was completed and the Cavatina of Op. 130 was begun. Beethoven was at the time residing at the Eremitage Gutenbrunn in Baden, where he was regularly visited by people who hoped to obtain a souvenir from the by now world-famous composer (Freudenberg, de Boer, Reichardt, Schlesinger, Burney-Payne, Smart, Kuhlau, and others). The canon may well have been devised for such an occasion, as a ready-made vignette for a prominent guest. From this period are also WoO 35, 191, 192, 194, and 61a (all canons, short pieces for piano or strings).⁴⁴⁷

The jottings are on the last four staves of f. 10r of *Egerton*, in total eleven bars of music set on the text ‘Alle gewaltsame That missfällt ja den [seligen] Göttern. Tugend ehren sie nur und Gerechtigkeit unter den Menschen’ (Yet, brutal acts displease the gods. They honour only virtue and justice among men). These words were spoken in the *Odyssey* (XIV, 82-5) by the hospitable swineherd Eumaeus, who greeted the returned Odysseus and lamented the ruthless behaviour of the suitors in the latter’s palace. This probably struck Beethoven’s fancy, because he had a sharply honed sensitivity for the concept of ‘Tugend’. The canon is in F-Major and in 2/4 time, but in his *Odyssey* copy Beethoven made an alla breve sign in the margin (see Figure 10).⁴⁴⁸

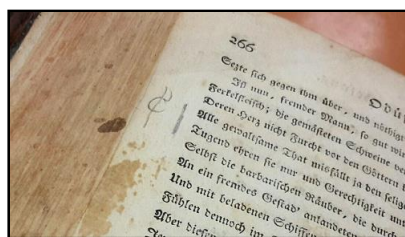


Figure 10. Beethoven’s copy of the *Odyssey*, with an alla breve mark on p. 266. Photo December 2018.

The draft of the canon is an odd one in that it stops short at eleven bars, where it should have had twelve. Eleven bars cannot possibly be cleared up into a coherent polyphonic texture. In all likelihood Beethoven had worked himself into a corner because he had forgotten a word: ‘seligen’, before ‘Göttern’.⁴⁴⁹ *Egerton* was a small portable sketchbook that allowed him to record ideas out-of-doors, during walks, which suggests that he retrieved the Homer text from memory. By overlooking ‘seligen’ things didn’t fit, and Beethoven failed to proceed. Had he noticed his error, he

⁴⁴⁷ A correspondent of the *Dresdner Abendzeitung*, writing about ‘7. - 14. August 1825’ (it was published on 21 October), mentioned that Beethoven in Baden busied himself with composing ‘brief canons, of which he has already completed many. “I do that in the same way as a poet writes an epigram”, he explained to a friend’; see Hans Volkmann, ‘Beethoven als Epigrammatiker’, in *Die Musik* vii (1907-08), 26-31.

⁴⁴⁸ On Beethoven’s wavering between alla breve and 2/4, see Sieghard Brandenburg, ‘Über die Bedeutung der Änderungen von Taktvorschriften in einigen Werken Beethovens’, in Rudolph Klein, ed. *Beiträge ’76-’78. Beethoven-Kolloquium 1977* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 37-51.

⁴⁴⁹ Boettcher (‘Homer-Studien’, 483, note **), mistakenly assumed that Beethoven had wilfully altered the text, but nothing suggests that this was the case.

would no doubt have entered the missing dactyl in bar 5 on ‘seligen’, to move on from there to twelve bars. Since he didn’t, the work is now a sort of miscarriage, but one might nevertheless confer on it a WoO number, for the one-voiced version is to all intents and purposes ‘complete’ and represents a *Fassung* (see Figure 11).

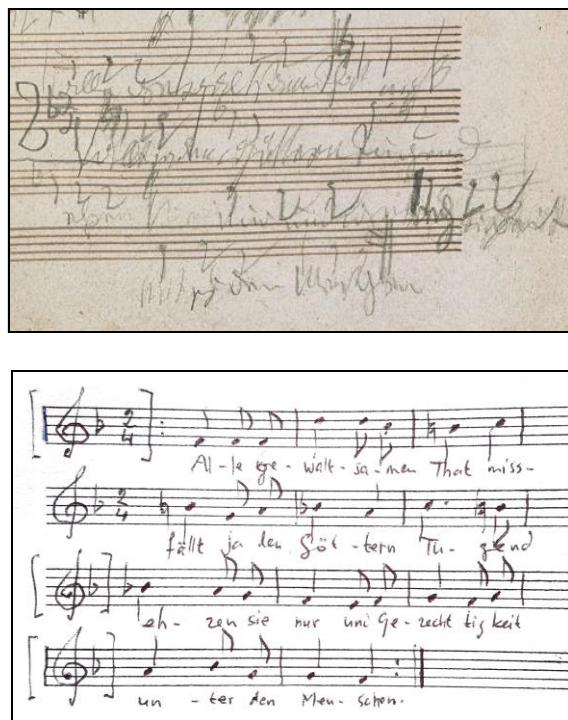


Figure 11. Pocket sketchbook *Egerton 2795*, fol. 10r, with sketches on a text from the *Odyssey* with transcription by the author.

Nothing is known about the fate of this little piece, but it seems prudent to keep in mind what Karl Holz remembered (No. 21): ‘He delighted to read Homer, highlighted passages in it, went to the piano, read again, and composed again’.⁴⁵⁰ Holz became intimate with Beethoven about the time of *Egerton*. Moreover, what he said about ‘highlighting’ is borne out by what is shown in Figure 10. It cannot be excluded that the Egerton canon, although foundered in the sketches, was touched up after all at a later stage. Beethoven may even have presented it to someone. This must remain conjectural, though. As far as is known no visitor was granted the privilege of receiving a full-fledged Homer canon, in spite of much preparatory work. No attempt to compose Homer came to fruition, regardless of Beethoven’s obvious veneration of the author, and of Voss. In 1824, he uttered (No. 16): ‘Speaking for myself, I would prefer composing works by *Homer*, Klopstock and Schiller. Even though one has to overcome difficulties, these immortal poets at any rate deserve it’.⁴⁵¹ His advocacy of the three poets clearly came from the heart, but he was never able to

⁴⁵⁰ KC, 480.

⁴⁵¹ BGA, 1773.

surmount the ‘difficulties’, of whatever nature these may have been.

4.4 Nephew Karl’s Studies

Homer played a significant role in nephew Karl’s education, as part of his study of Greek and Latin (No. 20). This indirectly impacted Beethoven. Karl took on Homer at Blöchlinger’s boarding school (1819-23), and also later when he pursued studies in philology at the University (1823-24). He also studied him during the intermediate phases of self-education. His uncle cared deeply for his progress. Time and again Karl reassured him that he paid enough heed to Greek, particularly to translating Homer.

Already in February 1819, when legal guardianship wrangles were severe, Beethoven assured the authorities that ‘by the summer’ he would have his nephew ‘take on Greek’.⁴⁵² At Blöchlinger’s, Karl made headway and things progressed smoothly. ‘The Greek examination went well, [...] he really has much talent’, Beethoven’s friend Carl Peters reported in December, and again in February 1820: ‘Karl has made great progress in Greek (...) He studies [it] with zeal and may be able to read Homer within two months’.⁴⁵³ When Beethoven checked things out himself at the institute, Blöchlinger told him that Karl would start reading Homer in Greek in about six weeks and that he himself devoted much time to Homer in class: ‘I read my pupils excerpts from Homer in prose by *Beckers*, which is really excellent. How they all sat on the edge of their seats, you will hardly believe it’.⁴⁵⁴

It must have been something of a blow that Friedrich Wähler, who visited Beethoven in April 1820, launched the lapidary statement that in his view Karl had only a tenuous grasp on the material and needed a better teacher: ‘Your nephew is not at all properly educated. I cannot spare you this bitter conviction’.⁴⁵⁵ He advised Beethoven to call upon the assistance of the sophisticated university teacher Matthäus Andreas Stein. Beethoven did not conceal this from Karl, who felt belittled. Somewhat later Karl wrote: ‘We will silence Mr. Wähler, who said that I can start with Homer only a year from now’.⁴⁵⁶ But Beethoven was alarmed. He decided to help Karl with books with additional information. In a conversation book he marked Johann Heinrich Köppen’s *Erklärende Anmerkungen zu Homers Illias* (Hanover, 1787)⁴⁵⁷ and in a sketchbook he made a note of *Die Kunst in 2 Monaten Griechisch zu lernen* by M.C.A. Kässtner (Leipzig, 1820), a book

⁴⁵² BGA, 1286.

⁴⁵³ BKh i, 157; BKh i, 273.

⁴⁵⁴ BKh i, 357-8. With ‘Beckers’ Blöchlinger was referring to Karl Friedrich Becker, *Ulysses von Ithaka. Eine Erzählung nach Homers Odyssee*, and to Achilles. *Eine Erzählung nach Homers Illias* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1801-03).

⁴⁵⁵ BKh ii, 25.

⁴⁵⁶ BKh ii, 126.

⁴⁵⁷ BKh ii, 124.

advertised in a magazine.⁴⁵⁸ Karl was obliged to procure daily translations under the supervision of a teacher named Köferle. Oliva put Beethoven at ease: ‘He has made outstanding progress in Greek, to the amazement of the clergymen. In the last three weeks [he] has translated 110 Homer verses into German every day’. Nonetheless, Beethoven remained sceptical, as conversations with Blöchlinger attest.⁴⁵⁹

Information is lacking about progress in 1821 and 1822, due to the dearth of sources, but Beethoven was proud of Karl’s achievements, as letters to Goethe and Dorner from 1823 testify.⁴⁶⁰ He boasted to visitors about his son’s command of Greek: ‘You may propose to him an enigma in Greek, if you like’.⁴⁶¹ Moreover, Karl’s teachers were content, and they gave him a good report when he left the institute, with ‘primam eminenter’ for his *studio linguae graecae*.⁴⁶²

Karl’s engagement with Homer had an impact on Beethoven. In 1822, he added a citation from the *Odyssey* to the second issue (the reverse of the title page) of the edition of ‘Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt’ (Opus 112), published by Steiner (No. 13 in the above list). A dedication copy was sent over to Goethe, who recorded receipt of it in his diary on 21 May. Curiously, though, the Homer lines were not yet in the copy that Goethe received, for this was the first print and the words were only in the reprint.⁴⁶³ It is not known what inspired Beethoven to add the lines from Homer. He took them from Odysseus, when he was dining at the palace of the Phaeacians and heard the lyre-playing bard Demodocus:

Alle sterblichen Menschen der Erde nehmen die Sanger / Billig mit Achtung auf und Ehrfurcht; selber die Muse / Lehrt sie den hohen Gesang, und waltet uber die Sanger. / Homers Odyssee, ubersetzt von Voss. 8ter Gesang’

Bards are honoured and revered by all mortals, for the Muse herself teaches them exalted song, and watches over the bards. Homer’s *Odyssey*, 8th Chapter.

The editors of the NGA were in doubt as to whether Beethoven himself had initiated the citation,⁴⁶⁴ but there exists an autograph in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek that is proof of this. The document transmits in Beethoven’s handwriting the exact wording, which suggests that the document was a model for the printer (see Figure 12).⁴⁶⁵ Beethoven evidently liked to link his name to those of Homer, Goethe and the Muses, and as such it may be regarded as an excellent example of his affiliation with antiquity. Perhaps it had also something to do with the symbolism of Goethe’s

⁴⁵⁸ TDR, vol. 4, 191 and 328; ZEW (7 October 1820).

⁴⁵⁹ BKh, ii, 190, 227-8, and 241.

⁴⁶⁰ BGA, 1562 and 1571, both February 1823.

⁴⁶¹ KC 675; see also BKh iii, 89

⁴⁶² BKh iii, 135 and BGA vol. 5, p. 220.

⁴⁶³ Grigat, ‘*Odyssee*’, 242. When Beethoven later contacted Goethe, he proudly mentioned Karl’s knowledge of ‘Greekness’ (BGA, 1562), but Goethe never answered.

⁴⁶⁴ Amin Raab, *Beethoven Werke. Abt. X Band 2. Werke fur Chor und Orchester* (Munich: Henle, 1998), 221.

⁴⁶⁵ DSB Mus.ep.varia 6 = Grasnick 35,1. No details are known about the provenance of the manuscript.

Meeresstille text, which seems to address the helplessness of man when he is confronted with the majesty of Nature, and about Stoic calm that befits him when facing things beyond his control. As will be shown below, Beethoven marked this very passage in his *Odyssey* copy.

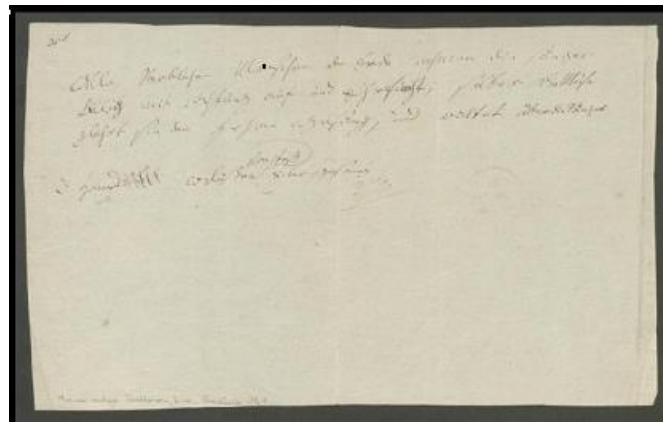


Figure 12. Deutsche Staatsbibliothek - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus.ms.autogr.
Beethoven, L. v., Grasnick 35,1.

To return to Karl's endeavours in mastering Homer: when he entered the University, in summer 1823, the requirements placed on him proved beyond his capabilities. Professor Matthäus Andreas Stein now became his teacher, as Wähner had suggested. In the run-up to his University course Karl was still enthusiastic: in May 1823 he wrote a short passage in Greek in a conversation book and in August he wanted the 'Petiscus', the standard work about Greek mythology (see Chapter 3).⁴⁶⁶ In November he jested, referring to Beethoven's *Ruinen von Athen* Opus 113-114 (see Chapter 8): 'The "Ruins of Athens" will remain in evidence for a long time. If things should change after all, and Minerva should recover her old Athenians, than *I* will write a response to Kotzebue, and you will provide music to that as well'. In December uncle and nephew discussed a fragmentary Homer translation by Gottfried August Bürger.⁴⁶⁷ Soon things took another turn, though, and translating Homer was taken on ever more halfheartedly by Karl. Beethoven grew suspicious and barraged him with questions about his progress, which were answered with reassurances - sometimes not without obvious irritation ('I have told you this a hundred times').⁴⁶⁸

By summer 1824, having failed the first University year, Karl confessed that 'these things' had lost his interest and that it would be better if he would become a soldier.⁴⁶⁹ This swept Beethoven of his feet. Karl dismissed his uncle's suggestion of taking on the first year a second time, even if this could be done with extra support (to Karl's horror, Beethoven considered enlisting

⁴⁶⁶ BGA, 1735.

⁴⁶⁷ BKh iii, 302, iv, 211 and iv, 282-3.

⁴⁶⁸ BKh vi, 60, 283, and 340; vii, 27-8, 139, and 255.

⁴⁶⁹ BKh vi, 280-1.

the help of Schindler).⁴⁷⁰ Beethoven did not give in, though, and the compromise was reached that the year was repeated. This proved to be of no avail and at long last, by March 1825, it was decided that Karl would enter the Polytechnic Institute. Beethoven's barely concealed annoyance was soothed by Karl with: 'I will never forget my Greek studies, but will continue these with zeal, the more so because I have reached such a level that reading is no longer a burden to me, but gives me pleasure'.⁴⁷¹ Indeed, antiquity continued to be regularly discussed between the two. When a bottle of wine was opened, Karl jested: 'These ancient heroes seem to have drunk excessively. / They must have been fond of music, for they placed their most excellent singers among the demigods. / But it is said of Orpheus that he forced lions and stones to follow him. / You should compose a passage from Homer'.⁴⁷²

Thereupon, Homer was no longer an issue for Karl. Beethoven must have conceded grumblingly that there was truth in Plutarch's dictum that only to a limited degree a child's natural aptitude and inborn characteristics could be altered by education. But even after the dramatic events of August 1826, when Karl attempted to commit suicide, Beethoven was resolved to restore the books that Karl had sold in order to be able to buy pistols. Greek dictionaries and grammar books were acquired, and in an effort to appease his uncle Karl asserted that he would study the book *Griechische Archäologie, oder Alterthümer Griechenlands*.⁴⁷³ When he departed for the military barracks, in January 1827, he will have obediently packed it, but it was presumably never used.⁴⁷⁴

Beethoven now commenced reading Homer himself, once again. Like he re-read Plutarch during his final illness, he also revisited Homer (No. 22). When delving into the *Iliad*, Gerhard von Breuning noted in the conversation book: 'If you wish, I will bring you tomorrow the second part of Homer'.⁴⁷⁵ Beethoven probably answered that there was no need for this, because he already had the *Odyssey* on his shelf. But Gerhard's remark seems to indicate that he was already missing his copy of the *Iliad*, of which he apparently had another version on loan.

4.5 Beethoven's Copy of the *Odyssey*

The book that Beethoven had at his disposal is currently housed in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek - Preussischer Kulturbesitz (catalogued as Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L.v. 40,3). It is a 475 paged

⁴⁷⁰ BKh vi, 316-7.

⁴⁷¹ BKh vii, 205 and 212. See also BKh, vii, 256.

⁴⁷² BKh viii, 53 (August 1825). One wonders how Beethoven responded to the comment on Orpheus (some commentators have linked the Orpheus myth to the second movement of the Fourth Piano Concerto (the Furies's anger soothed by the tenderness of Orpheus); see Owen Jander, 'Beethoven's "Orpheus in Hades": The "Andante con moto" of the Fourth Piano Concerto', in *19th-Century Music* viii (1985), 195-212. Karl's remark about composing Homer, incidentally, closely coincided with the above discussed canon in *Egerton*.

⁴⁷³ BKh x, 158. It was a translation of a book by Johann Potter, published in 1775-8 in Halle.

⁴⁷⁴ BKh x, 218, 235, and 296.

⁴⁷⁵ BKh xi, 180.

leather-bound copy of which the title page is missing.⁴⁷⁶ Whether it was already bound in Beethoven's time, is unclear. Since the paper is tightly bunched at the spine, so that the text tends to disappear where the pages meet (see Figure 8, above), this seems unlikely, because it would have hampered Beethoven's underlining. When Ludwig Nohl studied the book in 1870, it was certainly bound.⁴⁷⁷

The book consists of 24 Chapters, or *Gesänge*, with verse numbers specified at the right-hand side of the text - these will be used below as references. As already mentioned, Beethoven's *Odyssey* was a translation by Voss from 1781.⁴⁷⁸ The last pages in this book transmit the *Pränumerationsliste* of those who had subscribed to it in that year. Some persons from this are known from Beethoven's biography, like August Gottlieb Meissner (the author of *Alcibiades*, see Chapter 3), Johann Georg von Browne (Beethoven's mecenas during 1797-1804), members of the Greiner family (including the adolescent Caroline Pichler), and Beethoven's friend Johann von Häring.⁴⁷⁹

What strikes first is that the book opens with a conspicuous black-ink memorandum by Schindler, which runs: 'Odyssey. Ex libris L. van Beethoven. The pencil markings and dog-ears were all made by Beethoven and were left that way. He read much and repeatedly in this book. A. Schindler.' (see Figure 13). Given his notorious unreliability this should not be taken at face value. In the following discussions, though, all markings are treated as authentic and made by Beethoven.

⁴⁷⁶ Title pages are also missing in other books owned by Beethoven, such as Italian dictionaries. Tellenbach speculated that they carried the name of another proprietor and were therefore removed by Schindler; Marie-Elisabeth Tellenbach, *Beethoven und seine "Unsterbliche Geliebte" Josephine Brunswick* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1983), 161 and 310.

⁴⁷⁷ Ludwig Nohl, *Beethovens Brevier* (Leipzig: Seemann [1870]), 79.

⁴⁷⁸ Voss's superiority was widely acknowledged in Beethoven's surroundings (see BKh iii, 320 and ix, 216), but Karl Bernard, who was an orthodox Catholic, criticized his religious intolerance (BKh i, 200).

⁴⁷⁹ Häring had been a suitor of Caroline Pichler. He was turned down by her because he 'showed virtually no religion' and brought 'immoral books' into her elderly house, such as *Les Liaisons dangereuses* and the notorious *Système de la Nature* by the materialistic atheist Paul Holbach (CP, vol. 1, 85). Later he became a banker and also a conductor; see Otto Biba, 'Beethoven und die "Liebhaber Concerte" in Wien im Winter 1807/08', in Rudolph Klein, ed. *Beiträge, '76-78. Beethoven-Kolloquium 1977* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 82-93, at 86-7, and Rita Steblin, *Beethoven in the Diaries of Johann Nepomuk Chotek* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2013), 132.

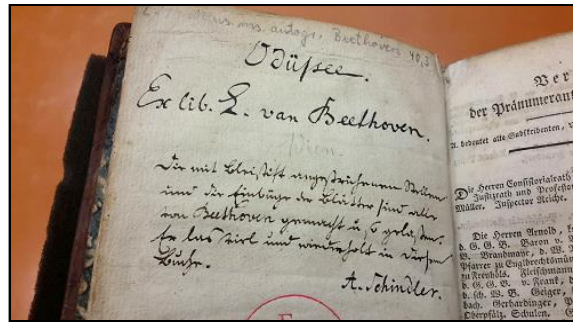


Figure 13. Schindler's comment in Beethoven's copy of the *Odyssey*: 'Odyssee. Ex lib. L. van Beethoven. Die mit Bleistift angestrichenen Stellen / und die Einbüge der Blätter sind alle / von Beethoven gemacht u. so gelassen. / Er las viel und wiederholt in diesem / Buche. A. Schindler.' Photo December 2018.

The book has been investigated by several scholars. Ludwig Nohl tabulated 52 pencil markings, some of which he annotated (1870).⁴⁸⁰ Albert Leitzmann, drawing heavily on Nohl, found 51 items (1921).⁴⁸¹ Reinhard Witte identified 61 markings, regrettably without numbering them (2003).⁴⁸² The present author examined the book in Berlin in December 2018 and registered 70 items (underlining, marginal notations, metrical signs, comments and turned-down page corners). These are listed in Appendix F, with the style of markings specified.⁴⁸³

A first logical step is to verify whether any of the 22 Homer references listed above have left traces in the book. In four cases such a connection can indeed be stipulated: Nos. 8, 10, 13, and 17 were effectively marked. No. 8 concerns the passage about 'Thitonos Lager' in the *Tagebuch*: at page 95 Beethoven underlined this (Appendix F, item No. 10). No. 10 is the rumination by Penelope about good and bad, posthumous fame and the shortness of life ('Es sind ja den Menschen nur wenige Tage beschieden', etcetera), also copied in the *Tagebuch*. This was given a vertical, interrupted marginal stroke on page 373 (Appendix F, item No. 63). No. 13, the 1822 text printed in 'Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt' ('Alle sterblichen Menschen der Erde nehmen die Sänger',

⁴⁸⁰ Nohl, *Brevier*, 79-100. Except for one, Nohl did not specify dog-ears; nor did he count Beethoven's metrical signs (see below).

⁴⁸¹ Albert Leitzmann, *Ludwig van Beethoven. Berichte der Zeitgenossen, Briefe und persönliche Aufzeichnungen* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1921), vol. 2, 375-6.

⁴⁸² Witte, 'Beethoven, Homer und die Antike', 3-54.

⁴⁸³ Dog ears, to be sure, may have been applied by Beethoven to mark the section where he ended reading, they do not necessarily point to something of textual interest. From Appendix F, Nohl did not mention Nos. 23, 26, 33, 34, 35, 44, 65, 67, and 68 (apart from dog ears and metrical signs). Curiously, he mentioned one (No. 24 in *Brevier*, 92) that (currently) shows no mark at all. Nohl's marks (including his mistakes) were later popularized by Marek, *Beethoven*, 186-9. Witte did not register Nos. 5, 8, 17, 23, 26, 36, 37, 65, 67, and 68, but contrary to Nohl and the present author (who did not notice it) he *did* mention a mark in red by Beethoven about the Phaeacians (at VI, 203ff: 'denn sehr geliebt von den Göttern, / Wohnen wir abgesondert im wagenrauschenden Meere, / An dem Ende der Welt, und haben mit keinem Gesellschaft', Witte, 14). He also mentioned metrical signs at VIII,472 (on 'Dämodokos') and X,491 (on 'Persefoneia'), not noticed by the others (Witte, 16). Witte refuted Nohl's claim that Beethoven added an emphatic 'Ja' to item 32, where Homer contended that a good friend can be as valuable as a brother. Indeed, Beethoven noted only a blurred 'ja' between 'ist' und 'ein', probably for metrical purposes (see Nohl, 92 and Witte, 16).

etcetera) received a vertical stroke on page 157 (Appendix F, No. 27). Finally, No. 17 about ‘Alle gewaltsame That missfällt ja den seligen Göttern’, used for the canon in *Egerton 2795*, is marked on page 266 by a vertical stroke and an alla breve sign (see Figure 9; Appendix F, No. 39).⁴⁸⁴

One might expect No. 9 of the list to have been marked as well (‘denn die ewige Vorsicht lenkt allwissend das Glück oder Unglück sterblicher Menschen’), and perhaps also the story about Proteus and Menelaus from the letter to Haslinger (No. 12), but these show no markings. What Beethoven did mark, though, both by underlining and applying a dog-ear (page 135, Appendix F, No. 19) was ‘kennt ihr einen, der euch der unglücklichste aller Sterblichen scheint; ich bin ihm gleich zu achten an Elend!’ (if you think you know someone who is most unfortunate, [well] I am equal to him in wretchedness), which, it will be recalled, shows a conspicuous similarity to a phrase in the Heiligenstadt Testament. This ear tentatively suggests that he already possessed the book in 1802.

4.6. Passages that Caught Beethoven’s Eye

Broad statistics may elucidate what attracted Beethoven’s attention when reading. Not surprisingly, the bulk of what he marked was about music.⁴⁸⁵ About 24% of his markings (17 of 70) are related to music: 6 metrical signs and 11 markings of the privileged position of musicians/singers/composers in Greek society.⁴⁸⁶ The metrical signs reflect Beethoven’s concern for avoiding erroneous accents in case these names should be employed in compositions. He thus pondered about the prosody of Tālemachos, Eupethitās, Antinoos, Dämodekos, Däisobos, Menelaos, and Poseiaddon, in a manner as shown in Figure 14. Such markings were also utilized by Beethoven in other documents.⁴⁸⁷

Scattered among both epics were eulogies to highly respected singers and performers. Beethoven gave due attention to what was said by Homer about the bards Demodocus and Phemius, whose godlike status and talent were lauded. The latter explained to Odysseus: ‘I am self-taught; the god has implanted in my breast all manner of ways of song, and I am worthy to sing before you just as before a god’.⁴⁸⁸ Phemius’s performance stirred so many emotions that he was asked to halt (‘But do not impose grief on me with that song, which ever breaks my sorrowful heart. For I was stricken

⁴⁸⁴ Curiously, this sign was not mentioned by Nohl.

⁴⁸⁵ This focus, of course, was only natural. When reading Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice* Beethoven marked Lorenzo’s monologue about the power of music and the magical playing by Orpheus; see Köhler, ‘Literarische Kontakte’, 487-8.

⁴⁸⁶ In Appendix F these are designated with ‘M’ (‘Music’) in the opening line.

⁴⁸⁷ See for instance *Artaria 195. Beethoven’s Sketchbook for the Missa solemnis and the Piano Sonata in E Major, Opus 109*, William Kinderman, ed., 3 vols. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2002), vol. 1, 68. Beethoven may have adopted them from *Betrachtungen über die Verwandtschaft der Poesie und der Musik* by Daniel Webb (translated by Eschenburg, 1771), a book that was in his estate. According to Karl-Heinz Köhler, ‘Literarische Kontakte’, 484-5, he also marked a passage about Aristotle in this book.

⁴⁸⁸ *Odyssey*, XXII, 347-48. Curiously, this was not among Beethoven’s markings.

more than anyone else with the most unspeakable suffering!').⁴⁸⁹ What Beethoven did mark was about 'den göttlichen Sänger' (No. 56); 'den gottbegeisterten Sänger' (No. 58); a gift of 'the Muse herself' (No. 27), and the saying that singers were warmly welcomed wherever they presented themselves (also No. 27). In Homer's preliterate society a bard was primarily a story-teller summoned to appear at banquets in a hedonistic spirit,⁴⁹⁰ but such historical facts were of little relevance to Beethoven. He also underlined Telemachus's view that audiences tended to appreciate the 'most recent song' (No. 4) - perhaps as a reflection of his own reluctance to perform finished works.⁴⁹¹ A triple marginal stroke (the only one used) was applied to the phrase 'in that it is the habit of mighty kings to harass some and to privilege others' (No. 9). Here Beethoven may again have read his own story line, the Austrian court so often having given him the cold shoulder.⁴⁹²

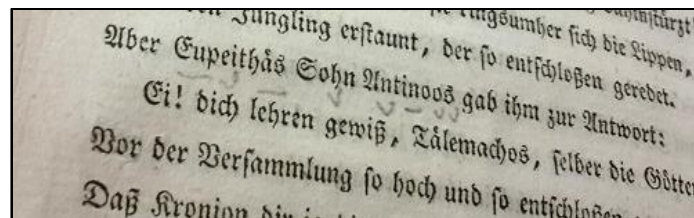


Figure 14. Metrical signs applied by Beethoven to names of ancient heroes (*Odyssey*, page 24; see Appendix F, No. 6).

Other clusters of themes marked by Beethoven were about the relationship between 'men and gods' (19%), (im)mortality (14%), and virtue (7%).⁴⁹³ As suggested by the finale of the Ninth Symphony, he himself nourished the idea of a divinity situated 'high in the skies' (No. 54) determining 'man's fate' (No. 16).⁴⁹⁴ He underlined in the *Odyssey* human dependency on this deity ('For as the days sent from heaven by God differ, so does the heart of man on earth', No. 59), who deserved obedience and gratefulness ('That no man be a rebel or evildoer, but that he humbly enjoys the gifts of the gods', No. 60), for this deity lent a listening ear to unhappy souls on earth 'who beg for help in that they are overcome by grief' (No. 14). Beethoven's own cries for help and his self-pitying laments in letters and *Tagebuch* tally well with this; he evidently had 'great

⁴⁸⁹ *Odyssey*, I, 341-3. Again, this was not specifically marked, but it may have been self-evident, for both earlier and later lines were marked (see Appendix F, Nos. 3 and 4).

⁴⁹⁰ Edith Hall, 'Literature and Performance', in *Ancient Greece*, ed. Paul Cartledge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 219-49, at 224.

⁴⁹¹ KC, 412. Nohl (*Brevier*, 87) assumed that this underlining was a sarcastic allusion to the practices of Rossini, which however seems highly questionable.

⁴⁹² He repeatedly complained about this, see for instance BGA, 740 (1814).

⁴⁹³ In Appendix F these themes are designated with 'G' ('Götter'), 'S' ('Sterbliche') and 'T' ('Tugend'), respectively.

⁴⁹⁴ Contrast between the earthly and otherworldly (naturalistic phenomena viz-a-viz heavenly perfection and bliss) seems to have been very inspiring to Beethoven, as sketches for the *Missa solemnis* testify. See Kinderman, *Artaria 195*, vol. 1, 112. The 'Abendlied unterm gestirnten Himmel' (WoO 150) was also about a place of a celestial judge and heavenly bliss as reward.

confidence that he was intimately known by God, a belief that was obviously very important to him'.⁴⁹⁵ Closely related to this, it seems, were his thoughts about mortality and reminders of transience, addressed in Nos 10, 14, 19, 27, 38, 54, 64, and 70.

At various places (Nos 7, 39, 49, 55 and 70) Beethoven highlighted the notion of 'Tugend', a proclivity he also demonstrated in his letters. In 1808, he proudly stated that he had learned to cherish this 'from early childhood on'.⁴⁹⁶ For him, 'virtue' was a state of moral perfection, a combination of ultimate goodness that every individual ought to aspire to; it was a criterion for assessing someone's personality, mindset and behaviour. It was generally assumed in Beethoven's time that 'Tugend' had prevailed in Greco-Roman culture, as for instance August Kotzebue asserted in his book *Vom Adel* (which was in Beethoven's possession): on the basis of Plutarch, Kotzebue listed a number of heroic actions by great men who could be taken as examples of perfection.⁴⁹⁷ Beethoven marked in the *Odyssey* that 'Tugend' was greatly honoured by the gods (No. 39), that a prerequisite for it was the notion of 'freedom' (No. 55), and that in most cases children did not manage to reach the same level as their fathers had done (No. 7). Needless to say, Greek ideas about good and evil differed fundamentally from those in the eighteenth century, and Voss's translation of Greek words like ἀρετή with 'Tugend' was not unproblematic.⁴⁹⁸ But this was not an issue for Beethoven, who must have regarded Voss's words as faithful renderings of the original. Moreover, he interpreted Homer's text within a personal context and his markings bespeak inability (or unwillingness) to acknowledge historical or mythological backgrounds.

Rarely did he mark, for instance, passages that describe the waywardness of the anthropomorphized gods and their interventions on earth. Homer's gods could be jealous, deceitful, vindictive, unfaithful, and prone to retribution - not different from humans. They fought side by side with men of their liking, often for petty reasons like vanity or aggrievement. From a Christian perspective this was odd and perhaps repellent. Beethoven largely disregarded the phenomenon.

He did so with two exceptions, though. What he did mark was a story that was regarded as scandalous, so much so that it was sometimes censored in translations: the fornication of Ares and Aphrodite (*Odyssey*, VIII, 265ff).⁴⁹⁹ The story was related by the bard Demodocus. Hephaestus, the crippled husband of the goddess of love Aphrodite, caught his wife in bed with Ares, god of war.

⁴⁹⁵ John Paul Ito, 'Spiritual Narratives in Beethoven's Quartet, Op. 132', in *Journal of Musicology* xxx (2013), 330-68, at 359.

⁴⁹⁶ BGA, 273. The importance of 'Tugend' for Beethoven was investigated in detail in Schmitz, 'Begriff der Tugend', and in Staehelin, 'Tugend'.

⁴⁹⁷ August von Kotzebue, *Vom Adel* (Leipzig: Paul Gotthelf Kummer, 1792), 155-163.

⁴⁹⁸ Classical studies conceive Athenian 'virtue' as a combination of 'diligence, endurance, obedience, discipline, piety, and respect towards ancestral traditions'; see Chaniotis, *Wars*, 49 and 192.

⁴⁹⁹ Günter Häntzschel, 'Der deutsche Homer im 19. Jahrhundert', in W. Koppenfels ed. et al., *Antike und Abendland* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1983), 49-89, at 73. Indeed, in nephew Karl's 'Petiscus', 90, the intimacy of the two gods was euphemistically called 'zusammensitzend' (sitting together).

Severely angered he threw a finely-knitted bronze net over the couple, from which they could not escape. The male Olympian gods came to see this, but with cries of derision: they admired Aphrodite's beauty and expressed the wish to trade places with Ares. Finally, though, a moral lesson was drawn: 'Ill deeds do not prosper and the slow one, as Hephaestus here, may catch the swift [Ares]. Now the adulterer has to pay!' Beethoven applied dog-ears to the pages (149-52), he marked the passage of Aphrodite's seduction of Ares ('Come to bed, loved one', No. 23)⁵⁰⁰ and applied a vertical stroke to the lines where the couple was caught *in flagrante*, leading to the verdict 'Nun büsst ihm der Ehebrecher!' (No. 24). Beethoven strongly valued conjugal fidelity and showed an abhorrence of adulterous relations, strenuously disavowing weakness on this point. He very probably liked Homer's moral lesson.⁵⁰¹ Since many painters and sculptors found inspiration in the story (like the already mentioned *Mars-Venus-Gruppe* by Leopold Kiesling, see Chapter 3)⁵⁰² Beethoven may have come across visual representations of it, or reviews of them.⁵⁰³

More or less comparable to this story is item No. 49, where Beethoven marked a passage about a girl who was surrendered to the seduction of a Phoenician sailor who led 'the heart of flexible females to great confusion, even if they honour virtue [Tugend]' (XV, 420-1). Once more, Beethoven took a dim view of the moral turpitude of non-binding sexual love. In his *Tagebuch* he emphasized, almost as if reprimanding himself: 'sensual pleasure without a spiritual union is and remains bestial'.⁵⁰⁴ Tellingly, what he dog-eared and marked in Homer was Odysseus's encomium to the joys of married bliss: 'Since nothing is more desirable on earth than when a man and a woman, united by true love, peacefully run their household, which is a joy to their friends but an envy to their enemies; all the more they themselves rejoice!' (No. 15). Similar praises can be found in the music (for example in *Fidelio*, and in the song 'Ich liebe dich', WoO 123). Homer's gender relations, however, differed markedly from nineteenth-century romantic love. But this was

⁵⁰⁰ Curiously, neither Nohl nor Witte mentioned this mark, and one might almost doubt whether it was extant when they examined the book. Indeed, the possibility cannot be ruled out that it was entered later by someone. When Witte found entries that were not mentioned by Nohl or Leitzmann, he himself suspected that 'some joker' might have tampered with the book; see Witte, 26.

⁵⁰¹ See for instance BGA, 273. The affair with the Immortal Beloved must have weighed heavily on his conscience, because the lady was most likely married.

⁵⁰² This statue was placed in the Belvedere in 1810, in response to Napoleon's marriage with Marie-Louise of Austria. It was regarded as symbolic: Venus withholding the god of war from fighting any longer. During the Congress of Vienna, many crowned heads went to the Imperial Picture Gallery to gaze at it (Hagen, *Antike in Wien*, 53-7 and 125-6).

⁵⁰³ The *Mars-Venus-Gruppe* was for instance discussed in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* of 28 September 1810.

⁵⁰⁴ MST, 122. Some commentators have inferred from this that he 'patronised prostitutes' (Maynard Solomon, 'Beethoven's *Tagebuch* of 1812-1818', in Alan Tyson, ed. *Beethoven Studies 3* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 193-285, at 268, but this does not convince. Beethoven did, however, correspond about prostitutes ('Festungen') with his friend Zmeskall. For the term 'Festungen' see Meissner, *Alcibiades*, vol. iv, XII. The word probably derived from the war practice of penetrating city walls with a beam decorated with a male sex organ (Chaniotis, *Wars*, 102-3).

irrelevant to Beethoven. For him, moral convictions were categorical truths, not opinions.

There were three instances in the *Odyssey* where Beethoven added an extra sign to his marks. One was already discussed: the alla breve sign of No. 39. The second is shown in Figure 15: he added a letter in the margin to the text: ‘for I detest like the Gates of the Underworld the person who is driven to employ fabrications because of poverty’s burden’ (No. 40). Nohl related this to Karl, implying that the letter was a K.⁵⁰⁵ Leitzmann read H,⁵⁰⁶ but Witte’s identification with P is correct.⁵⁰⁷ Perhaps Beethoven was angry with some dishonest house maid: he often expressed his contempt for these ‘Gassenmenschen’ and he did not shun physical violence.⁵⁰⁸ There was a ‘Pepi’ with whom Beethoven was extremely dissatisfied, in June 1818 in Mödling.⁵⁰⁹ This coincides with other Homer references from the period (see items 9 and 10 of the list in 4.2); summer 1818 would qualify as the period during which the *Odyssey* was read.⁵¹⁰

A third added sign was ‘+’, given to the word ‘Pülos’ on page 214 (No. 35). This was taken up at the bottom of the page where the word ‘Navarin’ was written, in Latin and very probably by Beethoven. Indeed, the modern name of ancient Pylos, on the southwest coast of the Peloponnese and the home ground of old King Nestor (who told Telemachus about the sufferings and trials he himself had endured during the Trojan War) was ‘Navarino’. Extraordinarily, Beethoven liked to check such minute factual details, which would mean that he read diligently and vigilantly, and that he possibly had access to a topographical map.

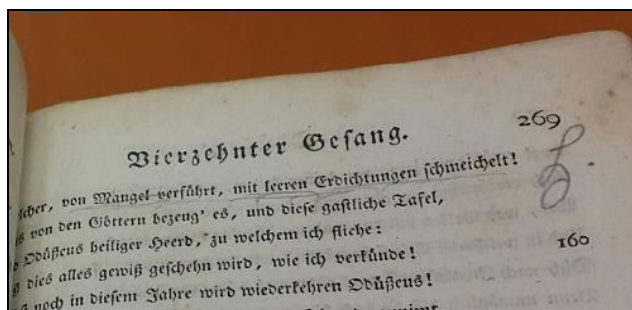


Figure 15. An added ‘P’ to the text ‘Denn der ist mir verhasst, wie die Pforten der untersten Tiefe, von Mangel verführt, welcher, mit leeren Erdichtungen schmeichelt!’ (Voss, *Odyssey*, XIV, 157).

When reading the *Odyssey*, Beethoven was receptive to what may be called popular philosophizing: he was drawn to concise sayings, convictions and sentiments that conveyed some

⁵⁰⁵ Nohl, *Brevier*, 93. He did not explicitly mention the letter.

⁵⁰⁶ Leitzmann, *Berichte der Zeitgenossen*, 376.

⁵⁰⁷ Witte, ‘Beethoven, Homer, und die Antike’, 50. For the letter-form see Max Unger, ‘Beethovens Handschrift’, in *Die Musik* xvii (1925), 432-41.

⁵⁰⁸ BKh ix, 39: ‘Don’t beat her up, you might get into trouble with the police’. Tellingly, on page 336 Beethoven marked Odysseus’s curse of his ‘shameless, irresponsible maids’ (‘Hündinnen sonder Empfindung!’), No. 62).

⁵⁰⁹ BGA, 1260 and 1261.

⁵¹⁰ It was probably no coincidence that Beethoven referred to the ‘land of the Phaeacians’ in BGA, 1259 (May 1818).

lesson or philosophical truth. One topic that he took an interest in - also when reading Plutarch, as will be seen - was the problematical issue of confronting giving and receiving gifts and of making amends. He both marked and underlined: 'In that it is one's duty to counter kindness' ('denn Pflicht ist des Guten Vergeltung'), No. 69; he must have pondered about the theme, to which he was very sensitive (more on this in Chapter 6). What also triggered him was: 'It is cruel and sinful to rejoice at the sight of slain men' (No. 66) - Voss used the word 'Sünde' for 'sinful' here, which seems out of place for a pre-Christian culture, although the maxim is redolent of the Biblical saying 'Do not rejoice when your enemy falls' (Proverbs, 17:17-18). Perhaps Beethoven thought of Johanna here, whom he finally 'defeated' in 1820, but in Homer's time displaying magnanimity was a military duty and had nothing to do with religiosity. Penelope's expression 'Since men age quickly when time is hard' was also marked (No. 64) - Beethoven may have read his own story into it. 'He who dares has always a successful start' ('Dem Kühnen gelingt jedes Beginnen am besten', No. 18) was both dog-eared and underlined. Beethoven also marked: 'Also too much sleep is not good for a man' (No. 46), which he seems to have avowed.⁵¹¹

There is a noticeable cluster of markings that testify to the startling effect of sensitive moments and dramatic climaxes, such as Nos. 30, 38, 51, 52, and 70. Beethoven seems to have been easily emotionally aroused, by identifying with the agents rather than observing these from the outside. He was sensitive to tear-jerking passages and harrowing stories, which is rather singular for a man who reportedly bursted into loud laughter when listeners could not restrain their tears when consuming his music.⁵¹² Other markings seem to bespeak family matters. 'My mother says that he is my father; but I do not know, for no man can be certain of who fathered him' (No. 2) has been regularly cited in the literature as a possible allusion to Beethoven's own ancestry,⁵¹³ but this seems counterintuitive; he may have had his sister-in-law Johanna in mind here. This woman may also have precipitated the marking of 'Indeed, there are so many devious deceivers' (No. 67), while 'Only few children are as virtuous as their father; most are worse, and very few better' (No. 7) may have been underlined with a view to Karl.⁵¹⁴ 'Focused on the Pleiades and Boötes' (No. 13) was a reflection of Beethoven's fascination for the starry skies. In No. 1, finally, Beethoven marked a substantial passage from the preface that Voss had addressed to his colleague Stolberg, translator of

⁵¹¹ As early as 1801 he had denounced excessive sleep in a letter to Wegeler (BGA, 70), perhaps in response to what he had read in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*: that 'sleep and sex' reminded a great man of his mortality.

⁵¹² KC, 188 (recollected by Carl Czerny), which incited Tovey to contend that Beethoven loved 'to shock the sentimental listener (...) because he resents the fundamental callousness and selfishness of sentimentality'; Donald Francis Tovey, *A Companion to Beethoven's Pianoforte Sonatas* (London: Royal Schools of Music, 1945), 299.

⁵¹³ Nohl (13), Witte (48), Marek (186), Brisson (239-40). Maynard Solomon even used the phrase as a motto to his study 'Beethoven: The Nobility Pretense', in MQ lxxv (1975), 272-94.

⁵¹⁴ For a different appraisal see Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (Munich: Bertelsmann, 1977), 40.

Plato. Couched in rather convoluted wording he expressed that an artist should never court the mob or focus on what was profitable, but should always remain faithful to his own standards, so that the Muse might sprinkle to him her refreshing nectar. Beethoven clearly showed kinship with this thought.

4.7 The Role of Schindler

Beethoven's copy was long in the possession of Schindler, who appropriated the *Odyssey* when the composer was on his deathbed, or shortly afterwards. It was not among the items that he sold to the Berlin Royal Library in 1843-5, though, because Gerhard von Breuning saw the book when he visited Schindler in 1863.⁵¹⁵ It landed there only after his death.

Curiously, Schindler did not mention the book in his 1840 biography, although he did aver that Beethoven enjoyed reading Greek and Roman classics 'which he possessed in the best translations (...) He was as much conversant with many of the Greek authors as he was with his own scores'.⁵¹⁶ Schindler could easily have supported this claim by pointing to the book, but he refrained from that. An even better occasion to do so presented itself in 1845, for here Schindler included Johann Reinhold Schultz's 'A Day with Beethoven' in his book, which contained the passage: 'He is a great admirer of the ancients. Homer, particularly his *Odyssey*, and Plutarch he prefers to all the rest'.⁵¹⁷ Perhaps allegations in the press about Schindler having illegally taken possession of Beethoven materials deterred him from mentioning it. Although he had written to Wegeler as early as June 1828 that he possessed Beethoven's copy, he may have thought it wise to let sleeping dogs lie, particularly when he became engaged in polemics (see Figure 16). Only in the third edition he called attention to the *Odyssey* copy. Together with Stephan von Breuning, he claimed to have saved the composer's *Handbibliothek*, which had originally contained both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Beethoven had felt drawn most to the latter, he asserted, because it was more peaceful and contained more wise sayings.

⁵¹⁵ Gerhard von Breuning, *Aus dem Schwarzspanierhause. Erinnerungen an L. van Beethoven aus meiner Jugendzeit* (Vienna: Rosner, 1874), 50.

⁵¹⁶ Sch40,266.

⁵¹⁷ Sch45,Nachtr2,172.



Fig. 16. Adolphe Mende, satirical cartoon of Anton Schindler, 1852 (Städel Museum, Frankfurt).

In 1860, finally, Schindler specified eleven markings from the *Odyssey*, scattered among his biography in such a way that each illustrated a particular biographical situation. Three marks were related to nephew Karl (Appendix F, Nos. 7, 19, and 64), two to Beethoven's deafness (Nos. 59 and 60), two to the calamitous conducting of *Fidelio* in November 1822 (Nos. 12 and 14), two to the Breuning family (Nos. 25 and 69) and one to the Immortal Beloved letter (No. 15). None of these marks can be said to be absolutely authentic, and theoretically each of them may have been forged by Schindler. This is disconcerting, but there is no proof and suspicion may be unwarranted. Schindler may have flipped through the pages to select authentic marks that suited him for making a point. Thus, he linked his pathetic account of Beethoven's 'profound melancholy and depression' following the abysmal dress-rehearsal of *Fidelio* in November 1822 ('he begged me not to leave him') to Odysseus's uttering 'my heart is long hardened against suffering' and to 'men who are overcome by grief'. When discussing Beethoven's undated conciliatory letter to Stephan von Breuning from 1804 (Schindler: 'very certainly from 1826') he chose to illustrate this with 'and if a harsh word has been uttered between us here, may the storm winds take it and blow it away'. The Immortal Beloved letter (suspected by Schindler to have been written to Julia Guicciardi about 1803) was linked to the encomium to domestic bliss: 'a man and a woman of one heart' - and so forth. The manner by which Schindler availed himself of the *Odyssey* markings bears witness of his poor intuition with regard to Beethoven's motives and attitudes.

4.8 Summary

Regrettably, it is not known when or how Beethoven first came into contact with Homer. He possessed an *Odyssey* edition from 1781 and an *Iliad* from 1814 (a reprint), both translated by Johann Heinrich Voss. References in the sources point to reading activities from 1809 onwards, but

the uneven survival rate of documents may blur the picture. The four cross-references (both in the list of 4.2 and also marked in the *Odyssey*) suggest readings in 1816, 1818, 1822, and 1825, but it cannot be excluded that Beethoven possessed at least the *Odyssey* much earlier, for some passages may have had a bearing on formulations in the Heiligenstadt Testament.⁵¹⁸

A survey of Appendix F suggests that Beethoven was affected most by issues that meshed with his own idealist stance, pivoting on spirituality and meaning in life. The path he took through it covered such themes as the divine, reputation, good and bad, virtue, duty, attitudes towards suffering and fate, things beyond the phenomenal, and aspects related by him to morals. He unmistakably took an interest in matters pertaining to virtues and failings. What he did not mark is also revealing: realistic and naturalistic representations of brutality and violence; magical interventions by the gods; mysteries of the underworld; descriptions of suicides; the beauty of women; hedonical aspects, lies, fabrications and deceit (to which the hero Odysseus was not immune). And he seems to have gloated over the punishment of Ares and Aphrodite, who committed adultery.

He held appreciation of two main topics: poignant pathos and moral topoi. Both reflected aspects of dogmatic philosophy, as will be elaborated further in Chapter 7. Autobiographical subtexts prevailed, and Homer seems to have encouraged self-enquiry: Beethoven was in search for what tallied with his own thoughts, convictions, sentiments and viewpoints, akin to his quest for suitable poems and librettos for music. The speculation that he made his entries in the *Odyssey* for the purpose of designing a text for a stage work, to be handed over in time to some librettist, seems a bit far-fetched.⁵¹⁹ This idea can be countered by pointing to markings of a similar nature in other books, like Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan*. But it may be true that Beethoven longed for a libretto along lines as drawn in the *Odyssey*, for he undoubtedly appreciated Homer's discerning observations and consolatory reflections.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁸ In a curious attempt to trace elements of a 'style d'Homère' in Beethoven's music, Brisson hypothesized that Beethoven consulted Homer only during his last years (Brisson, *Sacre*, 249-54).

⁵¹⁹ Grigat, 'Odyssee', 235.

⁵²⁰ Goethe incorporated Homer in his epistolary novel *Werther* (1774) as a book of consolation. This was read by Beethoven, as is suggested by his adoption of exclamations like 'Gott, du siehst meine Elend!' and 'So sei es denn'. Plutarch also invoked Homer as comforting (in the *Lives* of Philopoemen, Pyrrho, Alexander, Cleomenes and Marc Antony).

Greek Literature II: Xenophon, Euripides and Greek Poetry

Two basic instincts can be discerned in Hellenic art, an Apollonian and Dionysian one (...) That double nature impacted the tragedy. He who destroyed it in drama, Euripides, followed the demonic influence of Socrates.
Friedrich Nietzsche, *Fragmente* 1870 (7, 174)

5.1 Xenophon and Platonism

The *Tagebuch* conveys six passages that have only recently been identified as citations from Xenophon. This Athenian historian, philosopher and military commander (c. 430-354 BC) left a substantial oeuvre which was greatly admired by the end of the eighteenth century. Sulzer mentioned Plato and Xenophon in one breath, as sources of wisdom from the ‘golden period’ running from Pericles to Phocion.⁵²¹ For Degen, Xenophon was the most amiable writer of the whole of antiquity, whose works should be taken to heart by ‘everyone who pursues true humanity and happiness’.⁵²² In Beethoven’s time, Xenophon held sway for decades and it is not surprising that he became acquainted with some of his texts himself.

It has been noted in Chapter 3.4, under 1794, that *Xenophons sämtliche Schriften* were published in a six-volume German translation by August Christian Borhek. This edition comprised all significant works by Xenophon, such as his *Cyropaedia* (an account of the life of Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian empire, but intended for outlining moral philosophy), the *Anabasis* (about an expedition of the Greeks, the ‘Ten Thousand’; here Xenophon made explicit that he had been a student of Socrates), the *Apology* (a court-room defence of Socrates), the *Symposium* (an entertainment session, with Socrates present), the *Memorabilia* (about charges advanced at the trial of Socrates, who defended his moral principles), the *Oeconomicus* (ideas from Socrates about household organization) and a few others. The first volume of Borhek’s series consisted solely of the *Cyropaedia*, and it was from this that Beethoven copied the six memoranda. In Solomon’s *Tagebuch* editions they were united under items Nos. 67 and 68, but Solomon did not identify the origins.⁵²³ The first to attribute them to Xenophon was Frederike Grigat, who assumed that Beethoven had copied them from *Sämtliche Schriften, aus dem Griechischen neu übersezt von August Christian [und Conrad] Borhek* (Lemgo: im Verlage der Meyerschen Buchhandlung, 1778),

⁵²¹ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1, 162.

⁵²² Degen, *Greeks* 2, 533 and 566.

⁵²³ MST, 79.

of which she specified the page numbers.⁵²⁴ This does not seem persuasive, though. More likely, Beethoven had in his possession the Haas reprint of Borhek, issued in 1801 in Vienna.⁵²⁵ As will be seen, he possessed several early nineteenth-century reprints from the Haas collection (like the 1814 *Iliad*).

Here are the six passages as they appear in the Haas edition. First Solomon's text is given, followed by Borhek's text (with page numbers from Haas), and then an English translation.

1.

“Ihr haltet die Beschwerlichkeiten für Wegweiserinnen zu einem angenehmen Leben”.
Ihr haltet die Beschwerlichkeiten für Wegweiserinnen zu einem angenehmen Leben. (49)
You consider the hardships as guides to a pleasant life.

2.

Nichts ist wirksamer[,] andere in Gehorsam zu erhalten, als wenn sie glauben, dass man weit mehr Klugheit besitze als sie
[...] es sey nichts wirksamer, andere in Gehorsam zu erhalten, als wenn sie glauben, dass man weit mehr Klugheit besitze, als sie? (64)
is nothing more effective to maintain obedience of others, than making them believe that one is wiser than they are?

3.

ohne Thränen können weder die Väter ihren Kindern die Tugend einprägen[,] noch die Lehrer ihren Schülern nützliche Dienste in Wissenschaften beybringen[,] auch die Gesetze nöthigen dadurch die Bürger, dass sie ihnen Thränen erregen[,] der Gerechtigkeit nachzustreben.⁵²⁶
[...] denn] ohne Thränen können weder die Väter ihren Kindern die Tugend einprägen, noch die Lehrer ihren Schülern nützliche Künste und Wissenschaften beybringen; auch die Gesetze nöthigen dadurch die Bürger, dass sie bey ihnen Thränen erregen, der Gerechtigkeit nachzustreben. (95)
[...for] without tears neither fathers can instill virtue in their children, nor can teachers convey to their students useful arts and science; likewise, by provoking tears from them, the laws inspire citizens to pursue justice.

4.

Tapfere und vortreffliche Leute führen zu edlen und rühmlichen Thaten, feige und schlechte zu unwürdigen Geschäften.
Aber Tapfere und vortreffliche Leute führen sie zu edlen und rühmlichen Thaten, feige und schlechte aber, zu unwürdigen Geschäften an. (99)
But they incite brave and excellent people to noble and splendid deeds, coward and bad people, however, to unworthy affairs.

5.

Denn das Laster geht durch Wege voll gegenwärtiger Lüste und beredet dadurch viele, ihm zu folgen. Die Tugend aber führt auf einem steilen Pfad und kann dabey nicht so leicht und geschwind die Menschen an sich ziehn, vornämlich wenn an einem andern Orte noch welche sind, welche sie auf einen abhängigen und angenehmen Weg abrufen.
Denn das Laster geht durch Wege voll gegenwärtiger Lüste, und beredet dadurch viele, ihm zu folgen. Die Tugend aber führt auf einem steilen Pfad, und kann daher nicht so leicht und

⁵²⁴ Grigat, ‘Odyssee’ (2016), 218.

⁵²⁵ *Xenophons sämtliche Schriften. Aus dem Griechischen neu Übersetzt von August Christian Borhek*, vol. 1 (Vienna and Prague: bey Franz Haas, 1801).

⁵²⁶ Beethoven probably did not write ‘Dienste’ himself; this must have been a misreading by Gräffer, who made a copy of the (now lost) original of the *Tagebuch*.

geschwinde die Menschen an sich ziehen, vornehmlich wenn an einem andern Orte noch welche sind, welche sie auf einen abhängigen und angenehmen Weg abrufen. (99)

For vice goes through paths that are full of desires and therefore many are induced to follow it. Virtue, however, leads to a steep path and therefore cannot attract people so easily and swiftly, especially if elsewhere there are still those who entice them to follow a sloping and agreeable road.

6.

Es ist am mehresten hinderlich von andern zu erlangen, wenn man als ein Lügner erscheint.

[...] dass es am mehresten hinderlich ist, Vergebung von andern zu erlangen, wenn man als ein Lügner erscheint. (125)

[...] that it is especially problematic to obtain forgiveness from others, if one appears to be a liar.

Several inferences can be made from these entries. Above all, they may be regarded, once more, as evidence of Beethoven's engagement with ancient literature. Although it would be wrong to conclude from loose citations that Beethoven read the entire publication from which they were lifted, in this case there is sense to the view that he was familiar with at least volume 1 of Borhek's series, because he assembled the six items from pages widely apart. In all likelihood, these memoranda were taken over in the *Tagebuch* after the act of reading. There are indications that this occurred in December 1815, shortly after the death of Beethoven's brother Carl.⁵²⁷ It is not difficult to assess why these particular passages piqued Beethoven's attention: in conformity with the Homer markings they were about moral attitudes, virtue, and excellence. No doubt, Beethoven had first marked or underlined them in his Borhek copy, which unfortunately has not survived.

The *Cyropaedia* is a fictional report of the boyhood of Cyrus the Great. Actually, though, as is agreed on by philologists, Xenophon designed his story in order to outline political and moral philosophy. The text is laced with speeches by prominent figures. Cyrus is portrayed as a lofty, temperate man who found the right tone and expression when addressing soldiers, friends and other people dependent on him. His own speeches were full of explicit instruction and Xenophon used them for narrating his personal beliefs and doctrines. These were steeped in the learnings by Socrates and Plato. The *Oxford Classical Dictionary* notes: 'Xenophon's moral system is conventional, underpinned by belief in the gods and the importance of omen and ritual: divine power (often anonymous and not infrequently singular) is everywhere in Xenophon's writings, though not absolutely stultifying. (...) That even purely practical pursuits have a moral component because they have social implications is a characteristic Xenophontic perception'.⁵²⁸

What is pivotal with regard to Beethoven, is not so much the rather commonplace code of conduct as posited by Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia*, but Borhek's volume 1 in its totality, of which it may be reasonably assumed that Beethoven consumed it. If Beethoven read the book from

⁵²⁷ In the item that follows the Xenophon citations, No. 69 in MST, Beethoven mourns Carl's death.

⁵²⁸ *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1629.

beginning to end, this has major repercussions for a topic adumbrated above and that can now be assaulted with arguments: his knowledge of Plato.

Schindler claimed, rather emphatically, that Beethoven was familiar with Plato's *Republic* in Schleiermacher's translation, and that this influenced him to compose the *Eroica*: 'I have before me the translation by F. Schleiermacher, the version that Beethoven also used'.⁵²⁹ It no longer needs to be argued that this was not true, for Schleiermacher published his first translation not earlier than 1804. Several volumes appeared over a range of years, stretching to the late 1820s, and ultimately the project remained unfinished.⁵³⁰ Schindler's claim can be dismissed as spurious, the more so because additional evidence is provided by the conversation books. In March 1820, Friedrich Wähler wrote: 'You must read Plato in Schleiermacher's translation. You have to, I will bring it to you'.⁵³¹ Apparently, Beethoven was not familiar with the text in 1820, and there are no indications that Wähler kept his promise and brought him the volumes. Nothing suggests that Beethoven read Plato, in spite of the many commentators who have harnessed Schindler's claims for constructing theories about Beethoven's political convictions.⁵³²

However, this does not necessarily mean that he was ignorant of Platonic thought. He may have obtained an acquaintance with it through, for example, Meissner's *Alcibiades* or thorough *Anarchasis Reisen*, and certainly by reading Plutarch (see Chapter 6). But it did not stop short at that. The first volume of Borhek's Xenophon translation offered him ample opportunity to gain a comprehensive view of the material, for well aware that the *Cyropaedia* was steeped in Platonic doctrine, Borhek chose to add to this Xenophon text in volume 1 an eighteenth-century study on Platonism, an adroitly fashioned dissertation by the French classicist Frédéric Fraguier presented here as *Des Herrn Abt Fraguier Abhandlung von Xenophons Kyropädie*. Borhek translated this into German because he considered it an accessible explanation of the basic tenets of Platonism.⁵³³ It is possible to glean illuminatory information from this with regard to Beethoven's acquaintance with the material. If he assimilated this supplementary text, as may be expected, this may have

⁵²⁹ Sch60, vol. 1, 103.

⁵³⁰ Thomas Szlezak, 'Schleiermachers "Einleitung" zur Platon-Übersetzung von 1804', in *Antike und Abendland* xliii (1997), 46-62. Donald MacArdle was not correct in stating that Schleiermacher's translation 'was first published only in 1828'; *Beethoven As I Knew Him* (New York: Norton, 1966), 190. For the genesis of Schleiermacher's text in relation to Beethoven see Ian Bent, 'Plato - Beethoven: A Hermeneutics for Nineteenth-Century Music?', in *Indiana Theory Review* xvi (1995), 1-33.

⁵³¹ BKh i, 350.

⁵³² In 'Intellectual Education', 172, Prod'homme asserted: 'He also read some of Plato's 'Dialogues', but much later than Schindler claims and, above all, in Bekker's translation rather than that of Schleiermacher, which the poet Kanne, in March 1820, recommended to him'. The claims are typical of confusion in the literature. Even a seasoned and judicious scholar like Max Unger took Beethoven's reading of Plato as a fact; see his 'Beethoven and E. Th. A. Hoffmann', in *Zeitschrift für Musik* cii (1935), 1204-11, at 1207.

⁵³³ Borhek, *Xenophon*, vol. 1, 442-90.

substantially deepened his grasp on Plato's Theory of Forms, his ontology, his Cave Allegory,⁵³⁴ his make-up of the soul, and his interpretations of virtue, good and bad, the divine, and the road to the ultimate Good and Beautiful in the *Symposium*. Fraguier eloquently linked passages from the *Cyropaedia* to some of the dialogues (*Republic*, *Laws*, *Faidon*, *Gorgias*, and *Faidros*), parsing the material in such a way that Beethoven could understand and appreciate it. 'Let it be known first and for all', Fraguier wrote, 'that everything about morals in the Kyropädie is nothing else than the learnings of Socrates, whose pupil Xenophon was'.⁵³⁵ Central to his elucidations was an analysis of the soul, which consisted of three parts with the basic aim of controlling and alleviating 'passions' (Leidenschaften):

According to Socrates, human perfection and happiness is precipitated by the dominance over the other parts exerted by Reason, this spark of the Godhead, this guardian angel which is bestowed upon humans at birth, so that it constantly holds the reins and controls all actions in life. Precisely on behalf of the subjection of passions it [Reason] has the right to place on its side a regulating force, just as in a state the bodies exerting power have the assistance of armed forces.⁵³⁶

On the same page Fraguier highlighted that Plato had compared 'every human being with a Republic, and just as the well-being of the state is defined by the mutual agreement of the individual parts and their interdependence, virtue and happiness spring up in a human organism from a similar cause'. This passus seems to have a direct tangent to Beethoven's *Tagebuch* entry No. 87, which has hitherto remained unidentified: 'Just as the state must have a constitution, so must the individual have one for himself!'⁵³⁷ The exclamation mark suggests that Beethoven was enthusiastic about these ruminations.

One of the provocative corollaries of the Xenophon volume is that Beethoven was reasonably well-informed about the precepts of Platonism. As regards Xenophon, it may be cautiously assumed that he liked his writings, for he later he urged his nephew Karl to take them to heart. In 1820 he jotted in his conversation book: '*Xenophons* Reden u. Thaten des Sokrates 3 fl: w.w. 30 kr. beym *Antiquar*',⁵³⁸ and in 1825 once more: '*Xenophons* Gastmahl u. *Sokrates* Gespräche'.⁵³⁹ Obviously, he held great appreciation of the texts, considering them of educational value. Schreyvogel also read the *Cyropaedia*. He availed himself of the same Borhek edition (of which he was rather critical),

⁵³⁴ Beethoven may have recognized the allusion to this Cave Allegory in E.T.A. Hoffmann's famous review of the Fifth Symphony in the AMZ (1810), where instrumental music was given the power to make listeners aware of 'giant shadows that surge back and forth'; see Mark Evan Bonds, 'Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century', in JAMS 50 (1997), 387-420, at 412.

⁵³⁵ Borhek, *Xenophon*, vol. 1, 470.

⁵³⁶ Borhek, *Xenophon*, vol. 1, 476.

⁵³⁷ MST, 87.

⁵³⁸ BKh i, 316.

⁵³⁹ BKh vii, 154.

and for him the text summoned up ‘the spirit of Socrates’ - he no doubt made use of the Fraguier explanations.⁵⁴⁰

5.2 Euripides

In early 1812, while attending a performance of Christoph Willibald von Gluck’s opera *Iphigenie auf Tauris* at the theatre, Beethoven gave his neighbour a punch in the ribs. ‘Pay attention’, he whispered, ‘what comes next is singularly beautiful!’⁵⁴¹ He knew the opera well. A few years earlier, in 1805, he had studied the score and had played it for French officers from an edition he had borrowed from Zmeskall.⁵⁴²

The two *Iphigenie* operas by Gluck, *Iphigenie in Aulis* (1774) and *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (1779), enjoyed perennial popularity in Germany. In an 1804 article on Gluck the AMZ wrote: ‘Never before has an opera caused such a sensation’.⁵⁴³ Particularly in Vienna the operas would remain in the repertory for a long time. When the Konsortium der Kavaliers took over the direction of the theatres in 1807, *Iphigenie in Tauris* was given in the Kärntnertortheater;⁵⁴⁴ a year later Johann Friedrich Reichardt heard it at the Burgtheater; and in 1812 Beethoven himself was present at a Viennese performance.⁵⁴⁵ Versions of *Iphigenie* by other composers, including Ignaz Pleyel, Luigi Cherubini and Peter von Winter, were also in circulation. Beethoven also considered composing a setting. Louis Schlösser noted his fondness of the theme in 1823, and Ludwig Rellstab discussed a libretto on Orestes with him.⁵⁴⁶ Nothing came of this, but according to Schindler a Greek (or Roman) subject for a second opera was constantly in Beethoven’s mind, irrespective of the fact that ‘people attempted to declare these [subjects] obsolete’.⁵⁴⁷ Evidence suggests that the stories about Iphigenie, Orestes, Pylades, Electra, Agamemnon and others about the Trojan War indeed held much appeal for Beethoven. As already said, when a new opera was discussed, nephew Karl advised his uncle to employ ‘a Greek subject’ - evidently in an effort to please him.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁰ JST, vol. 1, 107, 113 and 148.

⁵⁴¹ KC, 847.

⁵⁴² KC, 228. Zmeskall asked for its return in 1810 (BGA, 453 and 454), but in vain. Only after Beethoven’s death did he retrieve it; see Theodor von Frimmel, *Beethoven Studien II. Bausteine zu einer Lebensgeschichte des Meisters* (Munich and Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1906), 194.

⁵⁴³ AMZ (25 January 1804), 278. See also ZEW (5 April 1804), 329.

⁵⁴⁴ Karl Glossy, ‘Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theaterzensur I (1801-1820)’, in JGG xxv (1915), 1-323, at 292.

⁵⁴⁵ Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Oesterreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809* (Amsterdam: Kunst- und Industrie-Comtoir, 1810), vol. 1, 156.

⁵⁴⁶ In BKh vii, 237, Rellstab wrote: ‘I would make substantial changes. I would leave out Cassandra, adding instead scenes that enhance the overconfident joy of Aegisthus [the lover of Orestes’s mother Clytemnestra], in order to create variety - there is too much a conflation of gruesome scenes’. See also KC, 685 and BGA, 1959.

⁵⁴⁷ Sch60, vol. 2, 47-8.

⁵⁴⁸ BKh ix, 254.

Curiously, Schindler forged two entries in the conversation books in order to ‘prove’ Beethoven’s interest in Greek tragedy - a redundant enterprise.⁵⁴⁹ Information on Greek culture was gathered by Beethoven from several Classical sources that were readily available in his *Handbibliothek*, like Homer, Xenophon and Euripides. His fascination for the first of these has received concentrated inquiry, but his involvement with Euripides has not yet been given coverage.

Two letters from Beethoven to Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, written in 1809, are central to the theme. On 26 July, he thanked the firm for their shipment of the tragedies by Euripides, acknowledging that he had received and read them. He specified that they were ‘really beautifully translated’ and that he had marked several passages that might be suited for music.⁵⁵⁰ What he had received was most probably the first integral German translation of Euripides, the five-volume *Euripides’ Werke verdeutscht* by Friederich Heinrich Bothe (Berlin and Stettin: Friederich Nicolai, 1800-03). By 1809 this was the standard edition, encompassing all known tragedies, including the fragments. No other existed, although there was a rumour that Joseph von Sonnleithner in Vienna planned to publish a complete translation as well.⁵⁵¹ Bothe’s volumes were not in Beethoven’s estate when he died. Nor did Schindler, who normally had a keen eye for such matters, notice them among the books in Beethoven’s lodgings during his many visits. Perhaps they had been given to nephew Karl prior to his presence (from late 1822 onwards), for Beethoven considered Euripides as highly educational.⁵⁵²

In Bothe’s volumes the tragedies were arranged in the following order (original titles given):

- Vol. 1 (1800): *Medea, Die Fönikerinnen, Hekabe* and *Orestes*;
- Vol. 2 (1801): *Der Cyklop, Ifigenia in Aulis, Ion* and *Helena*;
- Vol. 3 (1802): *Die Herakliden, Hippolitus oder Fädra, Die Bacchantinnen* and *Der wütende Herkules*;
- Vol. 4: (1802): *Die Flehenden, Elektra, Alceste*, and *Die Trojanerinnen*;
- Vol. 5: (1803): *Andromache, Nachricht von einer Handschrift aus Wolfenbüttel, Ifigenia in Tauris, Rhesus, Danae, Fragmente* and *Nachträge und Berichtigungen*.

When the edition arrived, probably in the first half of 1809, Beethoven was already familiar with a number of translations and adaptations of Euripides. Some were included in the collected works of Goethe and Schiller. As said, Goethe had produced an adaptation of *Iphigenia in Tauris* in 1787, a high point of Weimar Classicism. Its canonical status was invoked in Kotzebue’s libretto of

⁵⁴⁹ BKh vi, 35 and 158. In xi, 203-4, he also forged that there was a relationship between Euripides’s *Medea* and the Piano Trio Opus 97; see also Sch45,291.

⁵⁵⁰ BGA, 392. His formulation was ambiguous: ‘Only now I thank you for the truly beautifully translated tragedies by *Euripides* for me[;] among the poetry reserved for me I have also marked in *Kalliroe* passages that I intend to put onto notes or tones’. The *Kalliroe* text Johann August Apel had also been sent by Breitkopf.

⁵⁵¹ Degen, *Greeks*, 1801, 124-5. Sonnleithner’s plan evidently did not come to fruition.

⁵⁵² He insisted that Karl read Greek tragedy, see BKh iii, 198 and 220. In 1826, Karl sold many of his books in order to be able to buy pistols. Karl Holz communicated to Beethoven: ‘Now you may guess what happened with your books. Didn’t you possess the complete Goethe?’ (BKh x, 144).

Die Ruinen von Athen, which Beethoven set to music (it was invoked there as an unsurpassed specimen of German literature).⁵⁵³ Schiller had published translations of *Iphigenia in Aulis* (in 1788 in his magazine *Thalia*) and of *Phaedra* (in 1805, premiered in Vienna on 17 December 1808).⁵⁵⁴ In addition to this, Beethoven must have been familiar with a whole range of operas that took their bearings from themes from Euripides, like *Medea*, *Alceste*, and *Orestes*. But Bothe's edition was probably his first opportunity to come closer to the original tragedies and to capture the overall structure of Euripides's oeuvre.

Unfortunately, frustratingly little is known of his opinion of them. Beyond his enchantment with the translation, the sources do not give any hint of admiration or enthusiasm. Nor, for that matter, is anything known about Beethoven's views on the other two great Greek tragedians, Aeschylus and Sophocles.⁵⁵⁵ Schindler claimed that he knew the Greek poets 'as detailed as his own scores'.⁵⁵⁶ This was surely hyperbolic, but given the boldness of the statement it may at least contain a kernel of truth. Beethoven will at times have ruminated about the mutual differences between the three tragedians, for these were sometimes discussed in magazines that he read.⁵⁵⁷ He no doubt knew the contribution of his friend Friedrich Wähler to the magazine *Janus* in 1818, where the triumvirate 'Aeschylus-Sophocles-Euripides' was compared to that of 'Haydn-Mozart-Beethoven'. Wähler hastened to add: 'but not in that order' - for him Beethoven was best compared to Aeschylus.⁵⁵⁸ In September 1826, Beethoven discussed the Greek tragedians with Karl Holz, who preferred the 'conception of fate' in Aeschylus to the 'already more mitigated' and 'less harrowing' effects in Euripides.⁵⁵⁹ Whether Beethoven agreed with this cannot be ascertained. Perhaps he was slightly more positive about Euripides, who had after all been a personal friend of Socrates, who was called 'holy' by Beethoven.⁵⁶⁰

When Beethoven read Euripides in 1809, the Greek poet was much the focus of public opinion. A year earlier August Wilhelm Schlegel had delivered a series of lectures in Vienna, with Euripides as a central theme. Schlegel boldly attempted to demonstrate, in anticipation of Nietzsche

⁵⁵³ Goethe's *Iphigenia* was performed in the Hofburg in Vienna on 7 January 1800, with Emperor Franz present. See 'Ueber die Aufführung von Göthe's Iphigenie in Wien', in *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (1800), 80-8.

⁵⁵⁴ Karl Wagner, 'Beethovens Beziehungen zur zeitgenössischen Literatur und Presse', in *Ein Wiener Beethoven Buch*, ed. Alfred Orel (Vienna: Gerlach und Wiedling, 1921), 132-67, at 142. *Phaedra* was also performed for Napoleon at Schönbrunn on 1 August 1809; see *Der Sammler* (1809), 384 and 388.

⁵⁵⁵ Wilhelm von Lenz's claim that Beethoven had *Prometheus Bound* by Aeschylus in mind when composing *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* (Beethoven. *Eine Kunststudie Dritter Theil, op. 21 bis op. 100* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1860), 232-33) seems to be without foundation.

⁵⁵⁶ Sch40, 266.

⁵⁵⁷ For instance AMZ (1802), 433 and ZEW (1814), 145.

⁵⁵⁸ KC, 1040 (*Janus*, 3 October 1818).

⁵⁵⁹ BKx x, 216-7.

⁵⁶⁰ BGA, 545 ('dem heiligen griechischen Socrates').

much later, that Euripides had destroyed the exterior order of the worthy Classical tragedy and that he had actually missed its entire meaning. It was Euripides, Schlegel argued, who had in fact brought about the collapse of the genre, predominantly by providing introductory prologues with explanations of the content and context of the forthcoming drama. This reasoned approach was highly unwelcome, for it demystified the innermost conflicts of the protagonists. Another bone of contention was the unexpected happy ending by way of a *deus ex machina*. Euripides's tendencies ran counter to the fundamentally irrational aspects of traditional Greek drama, which was steeped in mythology and religion. No longer could he be regarded as an exponent of high-Classical conflict-laden tragedy.

Schlegel published his papers in 1809, and they met with an extraordinarily enthusiastic reception.⁵⁶¹ They enjoyed such vogue that soon translations appeared in various languages. Schlegel's opinions were heavily debated in literary circles as passionate manifestations of German Romanticism. The movement had its adversaries, though. Those who favoured Classical-oriented aesthetics - Goethe among them - abjured the views and vehemently distanced themselves from them.⁵⁶² It was against this backdrop that Beethoven read Euripides. He will have been familiar with Schlegel's critical detachment, which was no doubt debated among culture-minded intellectuals in his own surroundings. Moreover, he had texts by Schlegel close at hand: he could find them in copies of the 1808 magazine *Prometheus* he had on his shelf.⁵⁶³

Bothe opened his first volume with a sketch of Euripides's biography, expanding on his teacher Anaxagoras, the friendship with Socrates and aspects of Athenian religion. He took his information, among other sources, from *Reise des jungen Anacharsis durch Griechenland*, already discussed in Chapter 3. In his many footnotes Bothe elucidated names, places and mythological allusions. For a layman like Beethoven this must have been very convenient, in contrast to lengthy end notes with meticulous justifications of grammar, choice of words and metres. Bothe stayed close to Euripides's original, but artistically he was no match for such illustrious translators like Voss, Schiller, or Wieland. Although Beethoven was content with Bothe's texts, assessments by literary experts were rife with criticism.⁵⁶⁴

For Beethoven, the focus was on the content. There was a world to explore here. First, he

⁵⁶¹ August Wilhelm von Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* (Heidelberg: Mohr & Zimmer, 1809-11), 2 vols. On 28 September 1809, the periodical *Der Sammler* (464) mentioned that 'the first volume' was hot off the press and it quoted its Preface.

⁵⁶² Ernst Behler, 'W.A. Schlegel and the Nineteenth-Century *Damnatio* of Euripides', in *Greek-Roman and Byzantine Studies* xxvii (1986), 335-67, at 357.

⁵⁶³ Jäger-Sunstenau, 'Beethoven-Akten', 23.

⁵⁶⁴ 'Griechische Literatur', in *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* (12 May 1801), 321-8. A later review, in *Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* (Berlin and Stettin: Friedrich Nicolai, 1802), 240, intimated that Bothe should better use prose, rather than metrical poetry.

could now understand better the network of heroes and gods involved in the Trojan War. Of course, he already knew Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. To be sure, the War had also entered some of his music: the story about Achilles and Daidamia was the subject of *Ah! Perfido* (1796). Euripides, however, was primarily about the aftermath of the Trojan War. Some tragedies dealt with members of the doomed house of Atreus (Iphigenia, Orestes, Electra), others with the cursed house of Thebes (Oedipus, Antigone)⁵⁶⁵ and with the torments of Andromache, Hecabe, Helen and the Trojan widows. *Der Cyclop* and *Rhesus* were about episodes that Beethoven knew from the *Odyssey*. Overall, Euripides must have substantially enriched Beethoven's knowledge of Greek legend and history, beyond the concern for inner psychological states and dilemmas.

Another focus was on Greek mythology. Primarily *Ion*, *Der wütende Herkules* and *Hippolitus oder Fädra* dealt with the interactions of gods. The first was situated at the oracle place Delphi, which was built around a temple dedicated to Apollo and which was crossed by 'the silver-undulating source Kastalia', the magical waters on the flank of mount Parnassus (named after a nymph who threw herself into it in order to escape the god's advances).⁵⁶⁶ Beethoven's repeated allusions in his letters to the 'Kastalische Quelle' as a bountiful spring of an artist's fancy may have originated from Euripides, much like frequent references to Apollo and 'divine art' (göttliche Kunst).⁵⁶⁷ The story of *Hippolitus oder Fädra* will have been known to him from his Schiller edition, a translation of Racine. Years later, in 1823, Moritz Lichnowsky still proposed this as a suitable opera subject.⁵⁶⁸

If he read Euripides the same way as he did Homer, which seems likely, Beethoven will have marked in his books philosophical reflections. He tended to regard aphoristic passages as practical wisdom, and in Euripides they were legion. Fond as he was of preserving pithy quotations for canons or other short pieces, he may hypothetically have marked in Euripides: 'As a mortal I should endure whatever fate the gods deliver me' (from *Die Trojanerinnen*), 'For fate is relentless' (from *Helena*) or 'Don't assume the gods to be in your power, you mortal' (*Die Bacchantinnen*). *Medea* will have reminded Beethoven of operas by Georg Benda (staged in Vienna in January 1809),⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁵ Thebes was alluded to by Stephan von Breuning when he wrote a poem for Beethoven in 1805 for the premiere of *Leonore*: 'Dem späten Enkel scheint / Ergriffen wunderbar von deinen Tönen, / Selbst Thebens Bau dann keine Fabel mehr' (For the offspring yet unborn, enthralled by your sounds, even the constructing of Thebes will seem no mere tale) - see Breuning, *Schwarzspanierhause*, 29. The walls of Thebes had been built by the lyre player Amphion, whose playing prompted the stones to move into formation.

⁵⁶⁶ Bothe, vol. 2, 180.

⁵⁶⁷ BGA, 1003 and 1292. 'Kastalias heil'ge Quelle rinnt' was also in the text of 'Der Bardengeist' (WoO 142, 1813). On the portrait by Mähler from 1804, with a temple in the background, Beethoven held Apollo's lyre.

⁵⁶⁸ BKh ii, 355.

⁵⁶⁹ This had also been staged in Bonn, see Michael Ladenburger, 'Neue Dokumente zu zwei Bonner Kopisten', in BBS ix (2011), 159-167.

Peter von Winter, and notably Luigi Cherubini, the score of which he had in his possession.⁵⁷⁰ He will have realized now that in Cherubini's opera vengeance and intent to murder were far more emphasized than in Euripides, who primarily exposed moral dilemmas and wounded pride.⁵⁷¹ Having read *Medea*, Beethoven was in a position to engage in meaningful discussions with Franz Grillparzer, who had written *Das goldene Vlies*, which also comprised a *Medea*. Grillparzer, however, had the woman proclaiming an ethos of endurance and resignation to fate and suffering - which will have intrigued Beethoven (he pictured his sister-in-law Johanna as 'a furious Medea').⁵⁷² Another figure familiar to him was *Alceste*. Gluck's opera had been performed in Bonn, and it was also heard in Vienna.⁵⁷³ The story about the noble spouse who was willing to offer her life on behalf of her husband was widely appreciated in the eighteenth century.

When reading Homer, Beethoven had a keen eye for what was said about music, singers and composers. This will not have been very different when he read Euripides. He no doubt noticed (and disagreed with) a pejorative comment by Medea's servant: 'our forbears have invented songs and the convivial sound of the lyre, [but] as yet no song or string playing has ever assuaged sorrow of mortals'.⁵⁷⁴ There were also references to music in *Die Bacchantinnen*, about the ecstatic Dionysian (or Bacchic) rites which originated in wild fertility cults. When Pentheus of Thebes derided the god, denying him worship and disbelieving that he was the son of Zeus, he was made insane; he ended his life with his head mounted on a pike, while Maenads held orgiastic processions with songs, hymns, dances, choruses, flute play, and the rhythm of lower timpani.⁵⁷⁵ Bacchus crossed Beethoven's path regularly, as will be seen in Chapter 8

Inasmuch as the five Bothe volumes were not in Beethoven's estate, it is impossible to determine how long they were in his possession and whether they were still consulted after 1809. Yet, there is at least one tentative indication that they were, for Beethoven may have attempted to set one of the verses of *Die Trojanerinnen* ('Trojan Women') to music.

When Gustav Nottebohm examined the first of the *Drei Skizzenhefte aus den Jahren 1819 bis*

⁵⁷⁰ Cherubini's *Medée* (1797) was performed in Vienna from 6 November 1802 onwards, translated into German by Treitschke.

⁵⁷¹ Tsippy Fleischer, 'The Opera *Médée* by Luigi Cherubini (1797): Overview, Sources, and Cuts', in *Israel Studies in Musicology* vi (1976), 133-52.

⁵⁷² Dagmar Weise, *Beethoven. Entwurf einer Denkschrift an das Appellationsgericht in Wien vom 18. Februar 1820* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 1953), 46.

⁵⁷³ Inan Woodfield, 'Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Bonn National Theatre, with New Light on the Beethoven Family', in *ML* xciii (2012), 289-315, at 298. Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* was also performed in Bonn.

⁵⁷⁴ Bothe, vol. 1, 11 ('Bei Tanz und Festen und fröhlichem Schmauss haben die Vorfahren Gesäng' erdacht; und der Zither lebenerheiternden Laut, doch die stygischen Qualen der Sterblichen hat noch keiner mit Liedern und Seitenklang gestillt').

⁵⁷⁵ Bothe, vol. 3, 186 ('süßlautenden Bacchuslied, frygischer Flöten Getön, Reigengesang, Bergtänzen tief-tönender Pauken Klang').

1822 he found sketches for a two-voiced piece on the text ‘Thut auf’, on what is now page 75 of *Artaria 195*.⁵⁷⁶ These sketches can be approximately dated to August 1820 (or perhaps somewhat earlier), at a time when the Piano Sonata Opus 109 reached its final phase. Although protracted labour for the *Missa solemnis* was still in progress, Beethoven embarked on new works, and he jotted down some fresh ideas for Bagatelles he had promised to Friedrich Starke (Opus 119, Nos. 7-11). First, however, at the top of page 75, he notated a little piece with the words ‘Thut auf’. Nottebohm dubbed it a canon, but it is only canon-like, with interlocking voices. The brief piece, recently catalogued as WoO 223, is complete, for the eleven bars are evidently meant as a *perpetuum mobile*. The sketches for it, a facsimile of which was published in 2003, are on four staves (see Figure 17):⁵⁷⁷

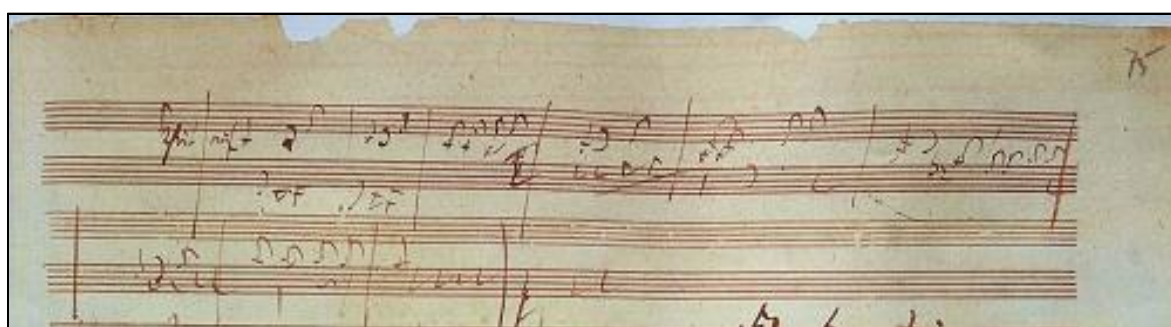


Figure 17. Sketchbook *Artaria 195* (Staatsbibliothek - Preussischer Kulturbesitz), page 75, staves 1-4. Sketch for a two-voiced vocal piece on the text ‘Thut auf’.

Nothing is known about the text that Beethoven envisaged to compose here, except for the mysterious words ‘Thut auf’. A possible (but not conclusive) solution to the problem is provided by Bothe’s Euripides translation. Beethoven may have attempted to set two lines from *Die Trojanerinnen*, lines 306-7, on page 305 of Bothe’s fourth volume (Figure 18). This text runs:

Thut auf, thut auf die Pforten, dafs nicht meine Schuld
Die Rettung schein, die dem Heer nicht wohlgefällt!

Figure 18. Lines 306-7 from *Die Trojanerinnen* by Euripides, in volume 4 (page 305) of Friederich Heinrich Bothe’s *Euripides’ Werke verdeutscht* (1802).

The verses seem too striking to be ignored. If anything, the repeat of the opening enunciation ‘Thut auf’, which corresponds to a musical echo, is conspicuous. The words fit the music reasonably well. Had Beethoven taken the trouble to write out the complete text, he would perhaps

⁵⁷⁶ Gustav Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana*, ed. E. Mandyczewski (Leipzig: Peters, 1887), 462. See JTW, 263.

⁵⁷⁷ Kinderman, *Artaria 195*, vol. 2, 75.

have made some rhythmical changes, avoiding for example the awkward split of ‘mei-ne’ and ‘schei-ne’ (see the edition below, Musical example 1). He apparently never reached that stage of fine-tuning. Perhaps he kept the sketch in reserve to have something available as a souvenir for a distinguished visitor, like the Homer items. He was in the habit of doing so, for he was regularly asked to procure a trifle on the spot and may have considered this bothersome.

Assuming that the identification is correct (it must remain tentative)⁵⁷⁸ there is the question of why Beethoven chose these particular lines, for they do not signify a portentous moment in the tragedy, nor do they constitute a moral maxim. *Die Trojanerinnen* is about Trojan women after their city is sacked and their husbands are killed. Threatened to be deported as slaves, some prefer suicide by setting their houses on fire. The herald Talthybius notices this and shouts: ‘Open up! Open up the doors! I’d hate to be blamed for something that may be a solution for the women, but bad for the Greek army!’ It is difficult to see why this particular exclamation should have inspired Beethoven. One possibility is that his attention was triggered by the metre, much like the loose ‘Hexameter’ sketch on a verse from Homer’s *Iliad* in Scheide (p. 49), already discussed in Chapter 4.

If Beethoven indeed availed himself of Euripides for ‘Thut auf’, a performing edition of this little imitative duet goes as follows:

The image shows a musical score for a duet. It consists of two systems of music. Each system has a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first system of music has the following lyrics: 'Thut auf, thut auf, die Pfor-ten, das nicht mei - ne Schuld die Rett-ung'. The second system of music has the following lyrics: 'schei - ne, die dem Heer nicht wohl - ge - fällt, nicht wohl ge - fä - ällt! Thut'. The piano accompaniment consists of simple chords and rhythmic patterns that support the vocal lines.

Musical example 1. Performing edition of ‘Thut auf’ for two voices (WoO 223), possibly on a text from *Trojan Women* by Euripides.

If the identification is credited, this carries the imposing consequence that Beethoven was still engaged in Euripides by August 1820, giving point to the assumption that the Bothe edition was at that time still in his possession. When residing in the country, ‘where one has so much free time’,

⁵⁷⁸ It will be recalled that Beethoven wrote to Breitkopf & Härtel in 1809 that he had marked passages that might be suited for music.

he evidently waded through Bothe's metrical translations in search of suitable verses for music.⁵⁷⁹ It is known that during this summer he was much concerned with helping Karl to get a firm grip on Homer - he even considered subscribing to an expensive series of Greek-German dictionaries by Valentin Rost.⁵⁸⁰ Perhaps Euripides was also discussed.

In the end, then, proof of Beethoven's engagement with Euripides remains somewhat unsatisfactory, for it tenuously rests on only few matters of fact, all contingent rather than concrete. Evidence is conclusive that he celebrated Euripides in 1809, but it calls for prudence to decide as to whether the Greek was of any significance to him. Irrefutable proof that he possessed Bothe is lacking, the conversation books are uninformative, and the *Tagebuch* is silent. Thus, the case is not air-tight and sealed, and it would be a bit of a stretch to employ the lone argument of a verse possibly used in 1820 to warrant the conclusion that he explored Euripides's tragedies frequently or in any depth.

On the other hand, absence of evidence is not the same as evidence of absence: the tenuousness of source material may be accidental, for ancient writers were obviously close to his heart. The study of Euripides may have formed an integral part of his pursuit to elevate his *Bildung*, giving eloquently testimony of his ever inquisitive mind.

5.3 The Greek Anthology

'Dear Z. Just send me the subscription list of Erichson, concerning the epigrams. He has called on me about it several times already'.⁵⁸¹ Beethoven wrote this undated note to his friend Zmeskall, in 1810. He was referring to their mutual acquaintance Johann Erichson (1777-1856), a poet, writer and editor who had built prestige in Vienna by contributing to the above mentioned short-lived literary magazine *Prometheus* (1808), in which a number of his translated Greek poems were issued.⁵⁸² In the summer of 1810, Erichson published a book with a collection of these translations, the Greek originals included. It was entitled 'Garland of Greek flowers, a selection of Greek lyric poetry in translation. With added Greek text, an appendix encapsulating poems by the editor himself, and four drawings'.⁵⁸³ Bookseller and publisher Geistinger at the Kohlmarkt issued it.⁵⁸⁴ As suggested by the note to Zmeskall, Beethoven decided to subscribe to a *Pränumeration*, which

⁵⁷⁹ BGA, 442.

⁵⁸⁰ BKh ii, 180.

⁵⁸¹ BGA, 458.

⁵⁸² Erichson worked for the Viennese publisher Geistinger, who had issued *Prometheus*. In 1811, he edited the magazine *Neue Thalia*, and in 1813 the *Musenalmanach für das Jahr 1814*, which contained Beethoven's song 'Der Bardengeist' (WoO 142). Shortly afterwards he left Vienna for good.

⁵⁸³ Johann Erichson, *Griechischer Blumenkranz, eine Auswahl aus der lyrischen Poesie der Griechen in Uebersetzungen. Mit hinzugefügtem Griechischen Text, einem Anhang, eigene Gedichte vom Herausgeber enthaltend, und vier Umrissen* (Vienna: Geistinger, 1810).

⁵⁸⁴ The book's availability was announced in the WZ from 25 July 1810.

required payment in advance. Hence, his name was included in the *Pränumerationsliste* incorporated in the book (see Figure 19).⁵⁸⁵

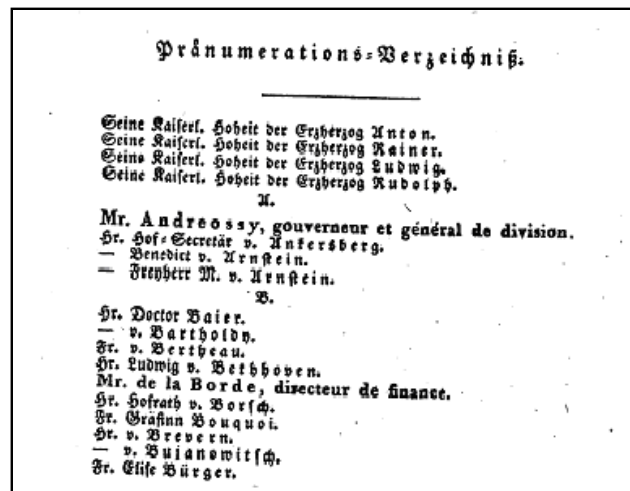


Figure 19. Beginning of the *Pränumerationsliste* in Johann Erichson's *Griechischer Blumenkranz* (1810), comprising Beethoven's name.

Among the eighty-four persons who funded the production costs 'Hr. Ludwig v. Bethhoven' was the only one represented the domain of music. Four members of the imperial court subscribed, one of whom was Archduke Rudolph, Beethoven's pupil. Of the nobility, Esterházy, Fries, Razumovsky, Dietrichstein, Kinsky, Odeschalchi, and Pálffy were present. As for middle-class acquaintances of Beethoven, there were the Malfattis (with trustees), Ignaz von Gleichenstein, Franz Oliva and Johann Baptist Häring (who had subscribed to Homer in 1781). As might be expected, Caroline Pichler and those who frequented her literary salon subscribed. The list further contained some Classicists, like Anton Joseph Stein (professor of Classical philology at Vienna University).

Erichson's book comprised 121 compact poems (epigrams) that had circulated in antiquity. The founding fathers of the ill-fated magazine *Prometheus*, Leo von Seckendorf and Joseph Stoll, had frequented the circle of Schiller, Goethe and Wieland in Weimar and the leitmotiv they chose for their magazine was an orientation on ancient Greece, to which nearly every contribution alluded.⁵⁸⁶ Erichson's epigrams were an appropriate complement. He took his Greek originals from

⁵⁸⁵ For more details see Jos van der Zanden, 'Graecophile Beethoven: On his Interest in Greek Lyric Poetry', in *The Beethoven Journal* xxxii (2017), 4-25.

⁵⁸⁶ It was the strategy of *Prometheus*, as the editors formulated in their opening volume, to contribute to a new aesthetic *Bildung*. No longer should German literature be dominated by the Enlightenment torch' (Aufklärungsfackel). The 'exclusive superiority' (Überheblichkeit) and 'scorching heat' (verzehrendes Licht) of Enlightenment nostalgia was held responsible for the 'lance of Bellona,' e.g. war. Instead, the magazine evoked the nurturing of a 'calm shepherd's bonfire' (friedliches Hirtenfeuer). These metaphors, of course, alluded to the myth of Prometheus, bringer of fire. Beethoven was involved in *Prometheus*: he supplied to it

the *Anthologia graeca*, a landmark 13-volume publication which made thousands of Greek poems available.⁵⁸⁷

The compendium of Erichson's choice was very varied. Flirtatious conversations, drunkards' oaths, love declarations of both sexes replete with a nebula of maritime metaphors and quips, ebullient convivial songs, playful references to scenes from epic, tragedy and mythology (featuring Zeus, Dionysus, Aphrodite, Eros, Ariadne, Apollo, Orpheus, Niobe, Heracles, Paris, Tantalus) and references to legendary works of art (the Cnidus Venus by Praxitiles, the Satyr by Diodorus, the bearded (Vatican) Bacchus and the Cow by Myron), epitaphs on Homer, Sappho, and Meleager - all this was touched upon. Six epigrams were by Plato (from a total of thirty in the Anthology), one by Sophocles ('Der vermess'ne Liebhaber'), and one by Pindar ('Hesiod'). The overall impression of Erichson's compendium was one of glee, good-humour, and marvel, irrespective of incidental moods of frustration and wistfulness, but even these were expressed with glimpses of irony and mock pathos. The Greeks were conceived by Erichson in a Goethian vein: as a carefree people capable of fusing beauty, art, nature, and religion into a Dionysian, joyful lifestyle. Some of his texts were even sexually explicit and salacious, certainly by eighteenth-century standards. Some had homoerotic or pederastic overtones and were regarded as morally subversive and unsuitable for young readers. Apparently, Erichson was enough of a freethinker to strike a bold stance.⁵⁸⁸

Erichson also added some poems by himself, one of which was devoted to the genius of Beethoven.⁵⁸⁹ He compared Beethoven to a soaring eagle, and a remnant of this can be found in Beethoven's correspondence: shortly after the appearance of Erichson's book Beethoven received a drawing by Therese von Brunsvik entitled 'Ein Adler sah in die Sonne' (An eagle glanced into the sun), which was possibly based on the poem. When he inexplicably lost this gift, Beethoven felt compelled to apologize to Therese: 'An eagle glanced into the sun,' (...) you must not think that I associate myself with such a thing, although one has already attributed that to me'.⁵⁹⁰ He may well have meant the allusion by Erichson, which evidently flattered him.

Another of Erichson's poems bears the title 'Cäsar am Meerufer von Brundisium' (Caesar at the seashore of Brundisium), an allusion to current events, as he clarified in a footnote: 'This poem

the song 'Sehnsucht' (WoO 134, No. 1) and he considered supplying 'Ich denke dein' (WoO 136), but before he could do so the magazine had stopped appearing. See BGA, 392.

⁵⁸⁷ *Anthologia graeca*, ed. Friedrich Jacobs et al. (Leipzig: Dyck, 1798-1814), 13 vols.

⁵⁸⁸ Degen wrote: 'One should warmly encourage young admirers of antiquity to read this literature from the Greek anthology, because it fosters humanity and nobility of mind.' Prominent men like Herder, Voss and Goethe were of the same opinion, he stressed; see Degen, *Greeks* 1 (1801), 445-6.

⁵⁸⁹ See van der Zanden, 17-9. When Beethoven subscribed to Erichson's book, he very probably did not know about it, for when Hans Georg Nägeli later asked him to subscribe to something similar (a book in which he was lauded) Beethoven reacted: 'because you honour me by being my panegyric, I may certainly not appear under my own name [as a subscriber]'; BGA, 1873.

⁵⁹⁰ BGA, 479.

was triggered by a similar fate of the new Caesar'.⁵⁹¹ Napoleon, who was universally admired for his brave though reckless methods of achieving success, was here compared historically to Julius Caesar, who in 49 BC had chased Pompey, who fled from Rome to set sail for Greece. In Brindisium Caesar was faced with a choice: hazarding a perilous and life-threatening crossing to Epirus or safely staying behind in Italy. He chose what nobody expected, the first. The scene became a topos of human courage and perseverance, and fearless Napoleon equalled it. Erichson wrote: 'But he dares! His chest full of warm feelings toward his glorious fate' (Aber er wagt! in der Brust gross fühlend sein hohes Verhängniss).⁵⁹² Napoleon's audacity impressed Beethoven - he discussed it with friends.⁵⁹³ The Erichson poem may have been firmly ingrained in his memory, for still in 1822 he addressed Schindler with: 'Sehr Bester L-K-1 von Epirus nicht weniger v. Brundusium etc' (Very good Lumpenkerl of Epirus no less that of Brundusium etc).⁵⁹⁴ This must have been an allusion to some 'brave decision', the nature of which is not known.⁵⁹⁵

Beethoven no doubt thumbed through the pages of Erichson's book (which was not in his estate). One of his incentives for subscribing may have been professional: the search for suitable text for music. Consequently, it may have been a disappointment to him, for these rhymeless texts did not very well lend themselves to composition. A few years later, in 1817, when he received a number of 'Anakreontische Lieder' from the German poet Wilhelm Gerhard,⁵⁹⁶ Beethoven's reaction was that texts of this nature were unsuitable for him because 'the portrayal of the naturalistic things is the province of descriptive art'.⁵⁹⁷ Poets, he added, should count themselves lucky to be less restricted than a composer. It is understandable that he was disinclined to cooperate, having to set poems extolling hedonistic joy, although Anacreon's poetry also touched on serene

⁵⁹¹ Erichson, *Blumenkranz*, 230.

⁵⁹² Very probably, he conceived the poem in the relatively relaxed early months of 1810 when Napoleon married the Austrian princess, rather than during the deep anti-French resentment in Vienna in 1809.

⁵⁹³ Tiedge and Varnhagen, 1811; see Emil Jacobs, 'Beethoven, Goethe und Varnhagen von Ense', in *Die Musik* iv (1904-05), 387-402, at 389.

⁵⁹⁴ BGA, 1587.

⁵⁹⁵ Shortly later, Beethoven jestingly addressed Schindler with 'Samotrazischer L[umpenkerl]', with reference to the Greek mystic cult on the island of Samothrace where initiates were sworn to absolute secrecy. Solomon stressed the 'phallic worship' of the Samothracian rituals (TMS, 121) blithely conjecturing that Beethoven might have alluded to Schindler's homosexual orientation, which seems extremely unlikely and a bit silly. Rather, his interest in Samothrace in 1823 (when he was working on his Ninth symphony) was sparked by what he read about an Appollonian-Dionysian debate between Johann Heinrich Voss and Friedrich Creuzer, following the latter's stirring *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen* (Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 1812). Contrary to Creuzer, Voss maintained that it was Dionysus who had been Samothrace's primary god, to be identified with Schiller's 'great bringer of Joy' (grossen Freudenbringer). See Éva Kocziszky, 'Samothrake. Ein Streit um Creuzer's Symbolik und das Wesen der Mythologie', in *Antike und Abendland* xliii (1997), 174-89.

⁵⁹⁶ It was published as Wilhelm Gerhard, *Anakreon und Sappho. Freie Nachbildung für den deutschen Gesang* (Leipzig: Friedrich August Leo, 1818). Some texts were printed together with music by Friedrich August Kanne. It was reviewed in ZEW (1817), 2001-02.

⁵⁹⁷ BGA, 1141.

topics.

5.4 Summary

This Chapter shed some light onto three further manifestations of Beethoven's love for Greco-Roman culture: texts by Xenophon, Euripides and a series of Greek poets. When reading Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, the first volume of Borhek's translation, Beethoven evinced a fondness for such topics as fame, great deeds, reputation, good and bad, virtue, duty, and evocations to the ineffable. These features, related to morals, bespoke his personal convictions.⁵⁹⁸ Of overriding importance of the Xenophon entries in the *Tagebuch* is that this volume incorporated a rich commentary on Platonic thought, written by the French Classicist Frédéric Fraguier. *Des Herrn Abt Fraguier Abhandlung von Xenophons Kyropädie* (translated from French) transmitted important information on Platonic theory, in an accessible manner. If Beethoven studied this, the carries the ramification that, in spite of Schindler's hyperbolic and forged remarks on the topic, Beethoven was reasonably well-informed about this material.

By his own admission, Beethoven read the tragedies of Euripides, but probably not those by Aeschylus and Sophocles.⁵⁹⁹ Through his publisher he acquired the five volumes by Heinrich Bothe in 1809, in which he found real relish. He may still have consulted them in later years, as is suggested by a musical vignette from 1820 in a sketchbook ('Thut auf'), on a few lines drawn from 'Trojan Women'. Glimpses of involvement with Euripides are recognizable in letters, but they remain rather tenuous.

In 1810, he subscribed to a translation of the 'Greek anthology', a collection of translated Greek epigrams. This as well supports the logic of imputing significance to what Greek antiquity meant to him. Nothing is known about his assessment of Erichson's poems, none of which inspired him to music. Apparently, they were not as hypnotizing for him as they were for contemporaries, and he may have simply considered them too 'anacreontic'. Nevertheless, his mere approval of the initiative may be regarded as auxiliary evidence of his affiliation with tangible manifestations of ancient Greco-Roman culture.

⁵⁹⁸ As Martin Cooper wrote: 'He can form only the vaguest, if any, ideas of the past or of human beings, systems, societies and ideas other than those with which he has come into personal contact, until he supplies this knowledge himself. (...) When he reads, he must make his own standards which will be largely instinctive' (*Last Decade*, 97).

⁵⁹⁹ In Beethoven's time Euripides was by far the most popular of the three; see Degen, *Greeks* (1797), 273-83 and *Nachtrag* (1801), 124ff.

Literature from Imperial Rome: Plutarch, Horace and Tacitus

The 'great men', as they are venerated, are minor pieces of wretched fiction created retrospectively - in the world of historical values counterfeit rules.
Friedrich Nietzsche, *Nietzsche contra Wagner* (1888, Ps-1)

As may be inferred from the Appendices, Plutarch (c. 50 - 120 AD) ranked among Beethoven's most favourite ancient writers. This should scarcely surprise, for around the turn of the nineteenth century this Greek author from the late first/early second century AD (who was working in Rome) enjoyed great popularity. He was regarded as the main source of understanding of the ancient world. Many could pick and choose from his works, as was done by artists, politicians and historians. Schiller, Goethe, and the French revolutionaries were full of praise for him, and to these came Jean Paul Richter, Napoleon, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Gottfried Herder, and August von Kotzebue - who all studied him in some depth.⁶⁰⁰ Schreyvogel was lyrical about the manifold examples of virtuous men, particularly Numa, Cato, Brutus, Pelopidas, Epaminondas and Phocion, with Alcibiades as a negative example.⁶⁰¹ 'Plutarch helps me with restraining my passions', he wrote.⁶⁰² In the light of this, it should not surprise that Johann Reinhold Schultz recollected about Beethoven: 'Plutarch he prefers to all the rest', and that Schindler found Beethoven 'continuously studying' him.⁶⁰³

In Beethoven's time, Plutarch's works were divided into two parts, the *Parallel Lives* and the *Moralia*. The first was a collection of paired biographies - each time an illustrious Roman together with an illustrious Greek - in total 23 pairs (19 of which had short closing 'comparisons'), with a few single lives. These biographies covered about seven centuries, from the legendary birth of Greece and Rome to the death of Julius Caesar. But they were not so much about history, as Plutarch himself emphasized in the *Life of Alexander*, but were rather devised to explore the

⁶⁰⁰ Martha Walling Howard, *The Influence of Plutarch in the Major European Literatures of the Eighteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1970), 132-48. Peter Sprengel, 'Heroische Anekdoten. Jean Pauls Plutarch-Rezeption', in *Antike und Abendland* xxiv (1978), 171-90. M. de Bourrienne, *The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1832), 35. Kotzebue, *Adel*, 131 and 142. Fries, 'Schiller und Plutarch'.

⁶⁰¹ JST, vol. 1, 73, 75, 98, 100 and 106.

⁶⁰² JST, vol. 2, 104.

⁶⁰³ KC, 856; Sch60,102.

character and the nature of extraordinary men and to describe the virtues (and sometimes failings) of great heroes. The lack of historical context tended to make the varied panoply of *Lives* problematic for laymen. It was not easy to contextualize, in time and place, a hero's background and political involvement. Beethoven may also have wrestled with the problem.

The second category of Plutarch's writings were the *Moralia*: 78 essays and speeches covering ethics, philosophy, history, politics, religion, medicine and much more. Some of these texts might have interested Beethoven (one was actually about music, and another about the Isis cult and the Egyptian sayings that Beethoven copied out).⁶⁰⁴ However, nothing indicates that he ever read the *Moralia* and therefore they are excluded from the present discussion.⁶⁰⁵ He assuredly read the *Lives*, though, even more than once, which is testified by letters, conversation books, *Tagebuch* and recollections. Before elaborating this in detail, it will first be seen what edition he had at his disposal.

6.1 The Schirach Edition

Ludwig Nohl, in the nineteenth century, was able to stipulate that Beethoven had employed Gottlob Benedict von Schirach's eight-volume *Biographien des Plutarchs mit Anmerkungen* (Berlin and Leipzig (various publishers, 1776-80)).⁶⁰⁶ Beethoven did not possess the original edition, but a 1796 reprint issued by Franz Haas in Vienna. This is evidenced by the reference to a page number (see 6.5). Beethoven's copies have not survived, although they were listed in his estate in 1827.⁶⁰⁷ Evidently they were incomplete and in a deplorable state, not representing any material value. Nothing is known of the fate of the books.

This Schirach translation was much-read. According to Degen, it was 'most elegant, although not exactly the most diligent and precise' (other translations existed by Kind and Kaltwasser).⁶⁰⁸ The volumes comprised the following combinations of biographies:

⁶⁰⁴ Scholarship nowadays assumes that some *Moralia* texts were actually not by Plutarch; they are therefore attributed to 'Pseudo-Plutarch'. *On Music* is among them.

⁶⁰⁵ That Beethoven read the *Moralia* was nevertheless stated as a fact by Brisson (*Sacre*, 115), and it was suggested by Martin Geck/Peter Schleuning in "*Geschrieben auf Bonaparte*" - *Beethovens "Eroica" Revolution, Reaktion, Rezeption* (Reinbeck: Rowohlt, 1989), 100, and by Albrecht Riethmüller, 'Wunschbild: Beethoven als Chauvinist', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* lviii (2001), 91-109, at 98. Arnold Schmitz's wavering formulation that Beethoven 'chiefly' (namentlich) read the *Lives* is typical of the uncertainty that prevails in the literature (*Tugend*, 337).

⁶⁰⁶ Ludwig Nohl, *Beethovens Leben* (Berlin: Schlesische Verlagsanstalt, 1909; orig. ed. 1864), vol. 1, 289, note. According to advertisements in the WZ (23 November 1793, 4 February 1795), the original Schirach edition was available for '10 fl.'

⁶⁰⁷ Jäger-Sunstenau, 'Akten', 23: 'Plutarchs Biographien etc.' Schindler may have considered it too risky to embezzle the volumes, which would have attracted attention.

⁶⁰⁸ Degen, *Greeks* 2 (1798), 292.

1. Theseus - Romulus; Lycurgus - Numa; Solon - Publicola;
2. Themistocles⁶⁰⁹ - Camillus; Pericles - Fabius Maximus; Alcibiades - Coriolanus;
3. Timoleon - Aemilius Paulus; Pelopidas - Marcellus; Aristides - Cato; Philopoemen - Flamininus;
4. Pyrrhus - Marius; Lysander - Sulla; Cimon - Lucullus;
5. Nicias - Crassus; Sertorius - Eumenes; Agesileus -
6. Pompey; Alexander - Julius Caesar; Phocion - Artaxerxes;
7. Cato; Agis/Cleomenes - the Gracchi; Demosthenes - Cicero;
8. Demetrius - Marc Antony; Dion - Marcus Junius Brutus; Aratus.

Schirach made extensive use of elucidating footnotes, realizing that it was difficult for his readers to find a proper context for the narratives.⁶¹⁰ He also prefaced each of his volumes with substantial introductions in which he tackled some specific topic. In volume 2, for example, he took a political stance and refuted the state organization at the time of Alcibiades, which was democracy. Power entrusted to the mob, he stressed, only brought about prosecution of great men: ‘I know of no law or practice of any nation that could be more damaging to the state than ostracism [a procedure in Athens in which any citizen could be expelled from the city by democratic vote]’.⁶¹¹ For Schirach, who was writing in the pre-revolutionary years, the rabble would always remain ungrateful and envious, and ‘at times when so much is spoken and written about political freedom and the Greek systems of government’⁶¹² he deemed it necessary to emphasize that Greece and Rome had blossomed under absolute power. The newly emerging German state should be ruled by a benevolent authoritarianism as well, he wrote, with leadership by a moral and intellectual elite. More or less similar views were ventured by Beethoven, who never really advocated egalitarianism.⁶¹³

In another introduction, Schirach emphasized the educational value of the *Lives*. Plutarch’s ‘sublime examples’ could uplift the soul and incite eminent qualities, particularly in young people. He therefore made a case for the implementation of these books in schools.⁶¹⁴ From yet another preface (volume 4) Beethoven learned more about politics in his native Bonn at the times of Marius and Julius Caesar (1st century BC), in which he will surely have taken an interest. The introduction to volume 6 was devoted to demonology, the ancient belief in ‘Dämonen’ or ‘Untergötter’ who determined human fate. Schirach listed salient examples of ‘neidische Gottheiten’ (envious gods)

⁶⁰⁹ Curiously, Themistocles was not in the original edition (1777), but it was present in Haas.

⁶¹⁰ Gottlob Benedict von Schirach (1743-1804) was an authoritative and erudite figure. He was a historian, philosopher and writer, and later a diplomat in Danish service. He was a lecturer at the Universities of Halle and Helmstedt and published several books.

⁶¹¹ Schirach, *Biographien*, vol. 2, xiv.

⁶¹² Schirach, vol. 5, xiv.

⁶¹³ BKh i, 252: ‘The [ordinary] citizen should be separated from higher people, and I have fallen among them’.

⁶¹⁴ Schirach, *Biographien*, vol. 3, viii-x.

who steered a hero's luck, demise or fortune, and he deployed a terminology which was conspicuously similar to Beethoven's, who noted a 'neidische Dämon' that had nestled itself in his ears.⁶¹⁵

Schirach waited until his final volume for voicing criticism of Plutarch's partiality. Plutarch tended to suppress failures of his heroes, he contended, and therefore he lacked the objectivity of a Nepos. Also, he too readily defended republicans such as Cato, Cicero, and Brutus. These were not the true heroes of their time, Schirach wrote, but rather Julius Caesar, 'the greatest and noblest of all pagan people'.⁶¹⁶

6.2 References in the Sources

An exploration and evaluation of the significance of Plutarch for Beethoven rests upon indicators that directly or indirectly emerge from the primary sources. A synoptic overview of these is presented here in chronological order.

1. (29 June 1801).

It was first with his long-time friend Franz Wegeler in the Rhineland that Beethoven shared concerns about the deterioration of his hearing. He confided in him as a friend, but also as a physician, hoping for medical advice.⁶¹⁷ In an emotional section of a letter from 29 June 1801 he cursed his Creator, continuing with the phrase: 'Plutarch has led me to resignation'.⁶¹⁸ Nineteenth-century biographers like Schindler and Nohl were shocked by this, perceiving it as a juxtaposition of the Christian and the pagan (which was not uncommon about this time).⁶¹⁹ What Beethoven attempted to convey with 'resignation' will be discussed below. Noteworthy here is that the reference to Plutarch was meant in an appreciative sense: thanks to Plutarch, feelings of discomfort had been assuaged.

Only two days later, Beethoven wrote about his deafness to Carl Amenda, again cursing his Creator but not mentioning Plutarch.⁶²⁰ This was probably no coincidence. His letters were not seldom tailored to the recipient,⁶²¹ and he must have associated Wegeler with antiquity, not

⁶¹⁵ BGA, 65

⁶¹⁶ Schirach, *Plutarch*, vol. 8, xii.

⁶¹⁷ Wegeler was already a physician in the late 1780s. On 4 September 1792, the BIB (503) announced his book *Gemeinnützige Anleitung wie man sich der Ruhr zu verhalten habe*, about the treatment of dysentery.

⁶¹⁸ BGA, 65.

⁶¹⁹ For an assessment of this see Stephen Rumph, *Beethoven after Napoleon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 28-31.

⁶²⁰ BGA, 67.

⁶²¹ Some commentators claim that the identity of the recipient can be guessed on the basis of contents and style of letters. See Rudolph Klein/Hans Schmidt, 'Neue Hypothesen um Beethovens "Unsterbliche Geliebte"', in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* xxxv (1980), 28-34, at 33.

Amenda. Strikingly, the Wegeler letter also contained the passage: ‘You will have your Antiochum’ - which was a response to a request by Wegeler for an engraving of Heinrich Füger’s *Antiochus und Stratonice* (see Chapter 3). This had a link with Plutarch as well, for the story about Stratonice was related in the *Life of Demetrius* (about Prince Antiochus who was passionately in love with his young stepmother Stratonice, with the physician Erasistratus as a wise mediator).⁶²² Wegeler had received a Classical education and it is conceivable that he shared some of his fascination for antiquity with Beethoven during their years of personal contact (this lasted until 1796).⁶²³ Plutarch may have been among the topics discussed.

2. (26 April 1807).

In a letter to Camille Pleyel in Paris, Beethoven linked the first name of his colleague, whom he had met in 1805, to a Plutarchian hero, Marcus Furius Camillus (c. 446 – 365 BC). This was a five-time Roman dictator whose major achievement had been the defeat of the invading Gauls in 387 BC, rescuing the nation from a serious crisis. Beethoven jested: ‘*Camillus* was the name, if I am not mistaken, of the Roman who drove the wicked Gauls out of Rome. Well, if I could drive them out of places where they do not belong, I myself would like to carry that name’.⁶²⁴ He evidently had read about Camillus in the second volume of his Schirach edition, projecting this on the strong anti-French sentiments in Vienna aroused by Napoleon’s invasion.

3. (Summer 1813).

Clemens Brentano (1778-1842), a novelist and poet living in Berlin, brother of Bettina, met Beethoven in a Vienna coffee house in 1813. In a letter to Beethoven, Brentano wrote: ‘Nonetheless, I had heard as much spoken about your eccentricities from sleek and polished people as the rabble always did about the hound of Alcibiades, and for that reason I had profound concern, for some minutes, that through my awkwardness I might be bothersome to you’.⁶²⁵ He thus suspected Beethoven to be familiar with Plutarch, or at least with an expression derived from the

⁶²² As already adumbrated in Chapter 3, the theme was very popular by the end of the eighteenth century: Méhul wrote an opera on it (*Stratonice*, 1792) and Goethe used it in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1796). For the full story line see Wolfgang Stechow, “‘The Love of Antiochus with Faire Stratonica’ in Art’, in *The Art Bulletin* xxvii (1945), 221-37.

⁶²³ Berthold Prössler, *Franz Gerhard Wegeler* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2000), 5 and 54. At the University, Wegeler had delivered a dissertation in Latin; see Werner Mann, *Beethoven in Bonn* (Bonn: Peter Wegener, 1984), 161.

⁶²⁴ BGA, 277.

⁶²⁵ BGA, 683 (translation taken from Theodore Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1996) vol. 2, 13). Brandenburg dated this letter ‘between July and December 1813’, but the tone of the letter seems to suggest a date soon after the meeting in July-August 1813.

Lives. The ‘dog of Alcibiades’ was an anecdote from the *Life of Alcibiades*:

Being the owner of a dog of marvellous size and beauty, which he happened to have bought for seventy minas, he chopped off its handsome tail. And when his comrades censured him and declared that everyone was vexed about the dog and abusing him, he laughed and said “That is exactly what I want. I want the Athenians to go on talking about this, that they may say nothing else worse about me”.⁶²⁶

Either Brentano had a high opinion of Beethoven’s sophistication (there are no indications that the anecdote was widely known), or, as E. Kerr Borthwick suggested, Plutarch’s *Lives* had been discussed between the two men during their meeting in the mentioned coffee house.⁶²⁷

4. (Summer 1816).

In his *Tagebuch*, Beethoven copied a phrase from Plutarch’s *Life of Philopoemen*. It is item No. 96 and can be dated to summer 1816.⁶²⁸ The text runs:⁶²⁹

Also gesungen auch vortreffliche Worte ausdrücken: Bey den Nemeischen Spielen sang der Sänger Pilades die Worte aus dem Stücke -- titulirt die Perser “Ich gebe Griechenlands Söhnen den herrlichen Schmuck der Freyheit”- und indem er mit seiner vortrefflichen Stimme die ganze Würde dieser Worte ausdrückte, so richteten alle Zuhörer [auf dem ganze Schauplatze ihre Augen auf den Philopömen, und erhoben ein frohes Händeklatschen]. Aus dem Plutarch Sung this way, excellent words also are expressed: At the Nemean games the singer Pylades sang the words from the play entitled *The Persians*: “I give the sons of Greece the glorious jewel of freedom” - and while he expressed all the nobility of these words with his excellent voice, the eyes of all listeners [in the theatre turned to Philopoemen and joyous applause was heard]. From Plutarch.

Nos. 100 and 103 were also copied from Plutarch (see below), which suggests that Beethoven explored the Greek intensively about this time. The Philopoemen text must have piqued his attention because of the musical aspects involved: the singer Pilades performing at the Nemean games, taking words from the play *The Persians* by Timotheus. (This is known to have occurred about 200 BC, when Philopoemen was appointed *strategos* by the Achaean League for a campaign against the Spartans. Subsequently, he was lauded as a defender of freedom and democracy).

The Pilades story was a classic case of music employed in the service of politics: a musician

⁶²⁶ English translation taken from the Loeb Classical Library:

(https://www.loebclassics.com/view/plutarch-lives_alcibiades/1916/pb_LCL080.3.xml?rskey=jkBgZQ&result=6) (accessed January 2020).

⁶²⁷ Borthwick, ‘Plutarch’. The author made a connection with Beethoven’s own Alcibiades-reference to Tiedge in 1811 (Chapter 3.5), not realizing, however, that this was actually a quotation from Meissner’s *Alcibiades*. It was erroneously surmised that the meeting with Brentano occurred in 1811 (268, footnote 3). Incidentally, the dog-anecdote was also in Meissner, in the form of a jocular dialogue (vol. 1, 129).

⁶²⁸ Neighbouring entries (Nos. 90 and 91) were about nephew Karl’s operation, which occurred in September 1816.

⁶²⁹ Solomon, ‘Tagebuch of 1812-1818’, 257-8.

moving the audience by expressing ‘vortreffliche Worte’. Beethoven slightly abridged Plutarch’s lines. Of significance to him, it seems, was the importance of choosing words that were extremely suitable and applicable to some public occasion. In previous years of German nationalistic fervour, after the defeat of Napoleon, the choosing of an appropriate text had been a troublesome affair for him.

5. (Summer 1816).

No. 100 in the *Tagebuch* was also from Plutarch. Beethoven honed in here on a passage from the *Life of Pelopidas*: ‘Diese Lacedemonier starben nicht Tod, nicht Leben für Ehre achtend -- Sondern Tod und Leben mit Ehre bekrönt zu haben’ (These Lacedaemonians did not die, [while] not honouring life and death, but [they died] in order to crown life and death with honour).⁶³⁰ This was printed as a little verse in the Schirach edition (see Figure 20), aligned to the right. It was as a terse epigram on Spartan ‘Tugend’, which was Beethoven’s most favourite concept. Because it was a metrical verse, he may have copied it with some musical purpose in mind.

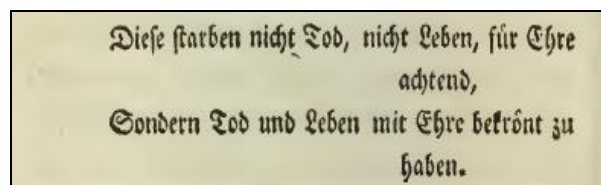


Figure 20: Excerpt from Plutarch’s *Life of Pelopidas* in Schirach’s translation.

The passage was not identified by Solomon as stemming from Plutarch (although Ludwig Nohl had done so long before him).⁶³¹ He therefore had some difficulty with the translation. Troubled by the missing comma after ‘Leben’, he chose for ‘These Lacedaemonians died ready to risk death or life for honor; - rather, they crowned death and life with honor’, which is slightly misleading. The Spartans were not tired of life, nor did they despise death, but their primary aim was to gain posthumous honour. They exhibited a moral excellence that was different from, for example, the fury and hatred that had incited the champions of Homer. Plutarch pictured the Spartan soldier’s mental disposition, his dispassionate mindset on the battlefield, which was

⁶³⁰ MST, 93 and again in ‘Tagebuch of 1812-1818’, 255-56. He ranked the passage among the composer’s ‘unmistakably Masonic’ reflections that denoted his valorization of ‘Spartan, heroic, and patriarchal images’ and ‘ideals of friendship, fraternity, and masculinity’ (Solomon, ‘Freemasonry’, 140).

⁶³¹ Nohl, *Brevier*, 175.

primarily aimed at an outstanding reputation after death. (He also wrote about the proper behaviour of a warrior in his *Moralia*).⁶³²

For Beethoven, posthumous fame was a sensitive issue. From Pliny, he cited in his *Tagebuch* (both in Latin and German): ‘Nevertheless, what greater gift can be conferred on a man than fame and praise and eternal life?’ (No. 114) and somewhat earlier he had cited from Homer’s *Iliad*: ‘Let me not sink into the dust without resisting and without glory, but first accomplish great things, of which future generations too shall hear!’ (No. 49).⁶³³

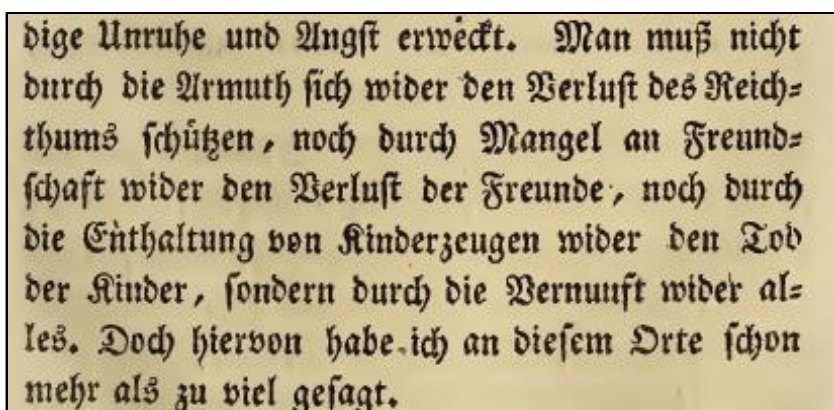
6. (Summer 1816).

Another excerpt from Plutarch in the *Tagebuch* (No. 103), this one hitherto not identified, was taken from the *Life of Solon* in the first of Schirach’s volumes (see Figure 21).⁶³⁴

Man muss nicht durch die Armuth sich wider den verlust des Reichthums schützen, noch durch Mangel an Freundschaft wider den Verlust der Freunde, noch durch die Enthaltung von Kinderzeugen wider den Tod der Kinder, sondern durch die Vernunft wider alles.

One should not protect oneself from the loss of wealth by choosing for poverty [‘melancholy’ (Wehmuth) was a misspelling by the copyist], nor from the loss of friends by shunning comradeship, nor for the death of children by abstaining from procreation, but [one should protect oneself for the loss of] everything by [choosing for] reason.

Solon (c. 638 to c. 558 BC) was an Athenian lawmaker and the prototype of a ‘wise man’, credited as a founder of Greek democracy. It is unworthy of a man, Solon contended relying on Reason, to shy away from things in life that bring joy (wealth, friends, children) on account of the unpleasant prospect of losing them later. As will be seen below, this impelled Beethoven to pursue his own thoughts on the matter of remaining impassive to things beyond his control.



The image shows a rectangular box containing a German translation of a passage from Plutarch's *Life of Solon*. The text is written in a black, serif font on a light-colored background. The text reads: 'dige Unruhe und Angst erwéckt. Man muß nicht durch die Armuth sich wider den Verlust des Reichthums schützen, noch durch Mangel an Freundschaft wider den Verlust der Freunde, noch durch die Enthaltung von Kinderzeugen wider den Tod der Kinder, sondern durch die Vernunft wider alles. Doch hiervon habe ich an diesem Orte schon mehr als zu viel gesagt.'

Figure 21. Excerpt from Plutarch’s *Life of Solon*, from Schirach’s edition.

⁶³² *Moralia* 240–42d. See also Chaniotis, *War*, 25 and 38.

⁶³³ MST, 265 and 232.

⁶³⁴ MST, 260.

7. (Summer 1816).

Yet another item in the *Tagebuch* (No. 93a) has not been identified in the literature as lifted from Plutarch. Nevertheless, there are strong indications that it was, although not as an actual excerpt but written down from memory - hence the discrepancies with the original. What Beethoven wrote was: ‘Die grosse Auszeichnung eines vorzüglichen Mannes. Beharrlichkeit in widrigen härten Zufällen’ (The significant distinction of a man of eminence. Endurance in situations of adversity and hardship).⁶³⁵ In Schirach’s translation of the *Life of Eumenes* there was the passage: ‘... der wahrhaftig grosse und standhafte Mann zeigt sich alsdenn erst, wenn ihn Unglücksfälle und Widerwärtigkeiten treffen’ (The true eminence and unshakeability of a man is revealed only when he is affected by adversity and hardship).⁶³⁶ It seems worth speculating that this phrase impressed Beethoven and that he attempted to grapple and formulate it at an occasion when he did not have the original close at hand, or could not trace where he had come across it.

8. (January 1818).

No. 150 in the *Tagebuch* was also taken from Plutarch. Beethoven copied out a passage from the *Life of Sertorius*, from his fifth Schirach volume. Given the fact that No. 145 referred to the impending year 1818, and No. 151 to 16 January 1818, the jotting may be confidently dated with January 1818. The text runs.⁶³⁷

Das kostbarste für einen Mann. Sertorius achtete auf den *Schein des Schimpfes*[,] *der dabey war*[,] nicht, *und behauptete*[,] *er kaufe nur die Zeit, die das kostbarste für einen Mann sey, der wichtige Dinge ausführen wolle.*

What is most precious for a man. Sertorius did not take notice of the *ostensible disdain that accompanied it, and held that he would merely buy time, which was the most precious for a man intending to perform great things.*

Quintus Sertorius (c. 123 - 79 BC) was a Roman statesman primarily known for the ‘Sertorian War’ against the generals of Sulla in Spain. He was lauded as a ‘second Hannibal’. Beethoven focused his attention on Sertorius’s main argument, which he evidently considered of paramount importance. Indeed, that the topic had special significance for him may be inferred from his repeated *vita brevis* comments - one used in an 1816 canon for Hummel (WoO 170).

Men who envisaged achieving great things had to be careful not to waste any time. The notion was linked to the Kantian idealistic imperative of duty, which seems to have been central to

⁶³⁵ MST, 89 (No. 93a).

⁶³⁶ Schirach, *Plutarch*, vol. 5, 257-8.

⁶³⁷ Solomon, ‘Tagebuch of 1812-1818’, 277-8.

Beethoven. Squandering time was a serious failing, and he felt guilty after having been inactive or lazy for a few days. He evidently took Homer's remark 'To men are allotted but a few days' as a serious warning.⁶³⁸ In Plutarch, he encountered several comparable utterances, for example in the *Life of Marcus Cato*. Age did not wither Beethoven's anxiety: as late as 1825 he is reported to have exclaimed to a Dutch visitor: 'The life of an artist is short to reach the goal that he has set for himself, and well-spent hours are very scarce'.⁶³⁹

9. (12 January 1818).

In one of his letters to his friend Nanette Streicher Beethoven noted that he had just dismissed his servant Nany. She had taken this discharge 'almost as *Caesar vis-à-vis* the dagger of *Brutus*, with the difference that this [Caesar's case] was based on the truth, while hers on a devious prank'.⁶⁴⁰ There had been much other unpleasantness with servants, Beethoven once throwing a heavy chair at them.⁶⁴¹ The dishonesty of what he called 'Mistvolk', 'Gassenmenschen', 'Teufelszeug', and 'Pöbelgeschmeiss' could anger him beyond all limits.

The anecdote about Brutus's attack of Caesar, and its justification, was very probably taken from Plutarch's *Life of [Marcus Junius] Brutus*. Of course, he may also have encountered the popular story elsewhere, but it was probably no coincidence that he was reading Plutarch at the time of writing. He seems to have given the relationship between Brutus and Caesar quite some thought. After the break with Schindler, in the spring of 1824, he remarked in a letter that 'I have a certain fear that through you a major misfortune may sometime come my way', which carries patent Plutarchian undertones.⁶⁴² Somewhat earlier, nephew Karl had cited Caesar in a conversation book: 'I do not fear corpulent people, rather I fear the skinny ones' - which was also from the *Life of Brutus*.⁶⁴³ That Karl, like his uncle, read Plutarch's *Lives* is born out by several jottings about Hannibal, Antiochus, Caesar, Brutus, and Demosthenes.⁶⁴⁴

10. (1 February 1819).

In a desperate attempt to convince the Viennese Magistrate that he was better suited as an educator of his nephew than the latter's immoral and vicious mother, Beethoven attempted to make his case

⁶³⁸ MST, No. 170.

⁶³⁹ KC, 85-8. For Beethoven's adherence to Kantian 'duty' see Robert L. Jacobs, 'Beethoven and Kant', in *ML* xvii (1961), 242-51.

⁶⁴⁰ BGA, 1224.

⁶⁴¹ BGA, 1223.

⁶⁴² BGA 1833.

⁶⁴³ BKh iv, 270 (November 1823); the conversation was about Ignaz Schuppanzigh, who was obese. The skinny one alluded to was no doubt Schindler.

⁶⁴⁴ BKh iv, 115, 270; vii, 305; ix, 102.

by writing a long and rather unstructured letter to the Magistrate, dated 1 February 1819. He emphasized the importance of good education. Only those who were in close contact with the child were able to assess judiciously what educational roads should be taken. The decision as to whether a public school or private tutors should be employed, depended on the pedagogical insight of the guardian. He himself had aptly demonstrated to possess such insight, by taking his nephew into his own home.

He then continued: ‘Seeing that (according to *Plutarch*) a *Philippus* [of Macedon] did not think it beneath his dignity to coordinate the education of his son *Alexander* himself, procuring the great *Aristotle* as a tutor, because ordinary teachers were not regarded as competent for this task (etc)’.⁶⁴⁵ This was a reference to the *Life of Alexander*: ‘because he would not wholly entrust the direction and training of the boy to ordinary teachers (...) sensing that it was something that required special attention, and (...) he sent for the most famous and sophisticated of philosophers, Aristotle, and paid him a munificent and appropriate fee’.⁶⁴⁶ In 343 BC, Philippus invited Aristotle to come to Mieza for tutoring his son. It was such private teaching that Beethoven envisaged for Karl. In the literature, his comparison with Philippus has been called presumptuous,⁶⁴⁷ but Beethoven employed antiquity as a means of demonstrating that he was intent on applying high ethical standards on the upbringing of his nephew, not out of vanity.

11. (February and April 1823).

The story of Themistocles (c. 524 - 459 BC), the great Athenian who established himself during the Persian Wars (he persuaded the Athenians to build a fleet, which proved crucial), and his major rival Aristides, had already been encountered by Beethoven in *Nepos* (see Chapter 2.5). In *Plutarch*, he found it retold in the *Life of Themistocles*, in *Schirach*’s second volume. The two heroes, who antagonized each other, had fundamentally different opinions and were very opposed in character. Themistocles was adventurous and opportunistic, pursuing influence and authority, while Aristides was a lover of Spartan rigidity, justice and truth.

Because of the strong moral components Beethoven considered knowledge of these stories appropriate for Karl. He repeatedly reminded himself in his conversation books to acquire a historical novel written on the subject in 1792, by Ignaz Aurelius Fessler (1756-1839).⁶⁴⁸ In February 1823, he noted that this could be purchased for 4 fl. WW, and still in April he jotted down

⁶⁴⁵ BGA, 1286.

⁶⁴⁶ *Plutarch, Life of Alexander*, VII,1.

⁶⁴⁷ See for example Editha and Richard Sterba, *Beethoven and his Nephew* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1957), 151.

⁶⁴⁸ Ignaz Aurelius Fessler, *Aristides und Themistocles* (Berlin: Maurer, 1792), 2 vols; second edition 1809, third edition 1818. It was advertised in *ZEW* from 22 December 1818 (*Intelligenzblatt*).

the reminder: ‘Aristides u. Themistokles für Karl’.⁶⁴⁹ He most likely already knew this book himself, for it had been very popular. Stylistically it was similar to Meissner’s *Alcibiades*: a narrative, but with extensive dialogues. Caroline Pichler mentioned Fessler in one breath with Eulogius Schneider, both as representatives of Josephinism during Vienna’s ‘Greek’ period, the 1780s and 1790.⁶⁵⁰

12. (July 1823).

During the summer of 1823, Beethoven spent much time at Hetzendorf, where he was working on his Ninth Symphony. By the end of July he was visited there by Franz Grillparzer, with whom he had amusing discussions on widely divergent topics, such as religion, female beauty, Carl Maria von Weber, Gluck’s *Iphigenia*, and the libretto of their mutual opera *Melusine*. They also talked about ancient Greece, as may be inferred from some of Grillparzer’s jottings:⁶⁵¹

Als er die Freiheit von Griechenland proklamirte - Ihre Musik bleibt uns aber doch ganz unbegreiflich
When he proclaimed the freedom of Greece - Still, their music must remain totally incomprehensible to us.

Perhaps the actual political situation in Greece (the War of liberation) was an impulse to the discussion, but it may also have been Plutarch’s *Life of Flamininus*, in which it was related how the Roman hero Titus Flamininus (229-174 BC) had announced the freedom of the Greeks during the Isthmian Games at Corinth, in 196 BC. This had been a memorable moment in Greek-Roman relationship. For Plutarch it was very a touchy issue, for he was a Greek working in Rome, and it was one of his avowed aims to reconcile both nations. Lauding Flamininus was a perfect way of doing so.

It is difficult to gauge how the conversation may have evolved. ‘Their’ music may have been an allusion to ancient Greece. It indeed remained a mystery - studies of Greek musical remnants had led to widely divergent theories and assumptions. Plutarch’s *Life of Flamininus*, about the proclamation of the Greek’s freedom in a theatre at Corinth, contained a curious anecdote about loudness due to an ecstasy of joy by a crowd in a theatre: ‘At that occasion one could witness what is often said of the force of human voice: crows flying over the theatre fell down into it, which must have been caused by the disruption of the air. When human voices are loud and numerous, the air breaks and can no longer give support to birds, but lets them tumble’.⁶⁵² Perhaps the conversation

⁶⁴⁹ BKh iii, 56 and 204.

⁶⁵⁰ CP, vol. 2, 65.

⁶⁵¹ BKh iii, 402.

⁶⁵² Plutarch, *Life of Flamininus*, X,6.

was about the effects of loudness in music, perhaps even about the extreme loud, plangent dissonant shrieks in the Ninth Symphony's finale.⁶⁵³

13. (17 December 1824).

By the end of 1824, Beethoven resumed teaching his pupil Archduke Rudolph, after a long interruption. For some time he had set his hopes on becoming *Kapellmeister*, after Rudolph had been appointed Bishop of Olmütz, but this had not been fulfilled. In a letter of 17 December to his publisher he vented his frustration. He assuredly respected and admired his pupil, he wrote, but was disappointed about the financial aspects. 'The urging, from various angles, that "he who owes a lamp should pour oil in it" has no effect here'.⁶⁵⁴

What he dashed off was a well-known expression from Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*, which was partly about frictions between the protagonist and the philosopher Anaxagoras. The latter was much admired by Pericles, but Anaxagoras did not manage to earn his keep. Feeling neglected he decided to starve himself. Only now Pericles would help him, but not out of pity but because he did not like to lose an eminent advisor. The subsequent reaction by Anaxagoras was the same as Beethoven's: a lamp needed oil in order to function properly.

Schott's Söhne in Mainz, recipient of the letter, was publisher of the Berlin AMZ. Perhaps Beethoven secretly hoped that his complaint would be taken up in that paper, although he abstained from requesting this.

14. (March and June 1825).

In March 1825, Beethoven received a letter from his copyist Ferdinand Wolanek, who returned to him a manuscript with a letter in which he expressed his discontent with Beethoven's unreasonable demands. He could no longer accept Beethoven's criticism and peevishness. You will not find me on my knees for you, he asserted, I am not one of those who willingly let themselves be treated like slaves only because they have before them the great Beethoven.

In an explosion of anger Beethoven crossed out these lines, using vacant parts on the paper to curse the man. 'Correct your mistakes, made through ignorance, foolhardiness, arrogance, and stupidity, that is more fitting than lecturing me, because that is exactly as if the sow should want to teach *Minerva*'.⁶⁵⁵ He managed to refer to Plutarch even when in a rage, and evidently in a trice, which would mean that passages were ensconced in his mind. Infuriated, he was alluding to the *Life*

⁶⁵³ Grillparzer had a special interest in the physical effects of sound and thus in loudness; see Johannes Brockt, 'Grillparzer and Music', in *ML* (1947), 242-8, at 247.

⁶⁵⁴ BGA, 1913.

⁶⁵⁵ BGA, 1953.

of *Demosthenes*, in which Demades, an orator of great skill, was introduced as Demosthenes's rival. Plutarch gave examples of his exquisite repartee in conversation, one of which was to Demades's scoff remark: 'Demosthenes teaching me? That would be as if the sow teaches Athena' (Mich will Demostehens lehren, das ist ja, als Wenn die Sau die Minerva lehren wollte) - a reference to a myth now not longer known.

A few months later, on 10 June 1825, Beethoven made a comparable, but this time less agitated and addressed to his brother. Johann van Beethoven should not have the temerity to lecture him 'like the sow did *Minerva* in Demosthenes'.⁶⁵⁶ The Greek orator was repeatedly discussed at Beethoven's lodgings. Karl mentioned his 'Philippinische Rede' (directed against Philipp of Macedon) and recalled his notorious rivalry with Aischynes.⁶⁵⁷

15. (15 July 1825).

'- wenn *Cato* gegen *Caesar* ausrufte dieser u. wir, was soll man gegen einen solchen?!'⁶⁵⁸

Beethoven used this abstruse line in a letter written from Baden to Karl in Vienna, on 15 July 1825. The context remains elusive, but very probably he had Plutarch's *Life of Cato* in mind, where the complicated relationship between the Stoic republican Cato and the power-hungry Caesar - yielding to political manipulation, civil war, tyranny, and ultimately Cato's suicide - was elaborated in great detail.

The blurred context and convoluted wording make a translation slightly awkward. One might suggest 'When *Cato* exclaimed to *Caesar*: "This one, and we, what should one do against such a person?!"', but Beethoven may also have had in mind something like 'When Cato exclaimed about Caesar: "This one, or we" - how should one [act] against someone like this?!' Other interpretations are also possible. The phrase may have been aimed at discrediting brother Johann or one of his associates, elsewhere in the letter. Beethoven often criticized his brother, even publicly, and he may well have meant his remark to posit himself as 'a Cato' who fought against Johann's tyrannical injustice. One wonders how Karl conceived this curious analogy.

16. (September-October 1826).

'Bester Herr u. *Lucullischer Kuchenprocurator*!' - Dear Sir and kitchen-procurator of Lucullus!⁶⁵⁹

When saluting his close friend Karl Holz, Beethoven amused himself by referring to Plutarch's *Life of Lucullus*, a description of the Roman republican military commander. Lucullus

⁶⁵⁶ BGA, 1991.

⁶⁵⁷ BKh vii, 305.

⁶⁵⁸ BGA, 2007.

⁶⁵⁹ BGA, 2081.

was intelligent, cultured, a man of good taste, and he was particularly well-informed about the cult of the Samothracian mysteries. After having retired from public service, he became notorious for his luxurious banqueting.⁶⁶⁰ Other quips about Lucullus can be found in the conversation books.⁶⁶¹

17. (September 1826).

In early August 1826, nephew Karl attempted suicide. He fired the shots near the ruins of Rauhenstein in Baden, was seriously wounded, but was saved by a farmer who drove him back to the city. Prior to the attempt, he had sold his books to be able to buy pistols. About a month after the incident, Beethoven urged Karl to restore his bookcase. Even though he was no longer a University student and pursued a military career now, Beethoven insisted that he should reinstate his Greek and Roman literature. Classical dictionaries were acquired, as well as works by classical writers, like Horace. On the list of essentials was also ‘Plutarch[,] etwa die Tauchnitz’sche Auflage’.⁶⁶² These were the *Parallel Lives* in a Greek edition by Gottfried Heinrich Schäfer, published by Karl Tauchnitz.⁶⁶³ By November, Plutarch had indeed been bought, a strong indication of the pedagogical value that Beethoven attached to these texts.⁶⁶⁴

18. (February-March 1827).

As already noted in Chapter 1, Beethoven returned to Plutarch during his final illness. Mortally ill, he became a member of Armbruster’s library⁶⁶⁵ and Schindler wrote: ‘I will have them hand over to me a catalogue on the ancient Greeks, so that you can choose yourself’.⁶⁶⁶ Beethoven evidently chose for Plutarch, although not all volumes were readily available.⁶⁶⁷

In letters to London, Schindler confirmed that Beethoven had ‘surrounded himself with Plutarch and other Greek writers’. Years later, in his 1840 biography, he claimed that Beethoven had studied this material thoroughly.⁶⁶⁸

These 18 instances, unprepossessing as they sometimes are, can be perceived as proof engagement with Plutarch’s *Lives*, which seems to have been abiding and sincere. Beethoven took the biographies of Greco-Roman heroes seriously, and he delved into them at various periods. Of these,

⁶⁶⁰ Timo Klär, ‘Feinschmecker der Antike. Der kulinarische Genuss in römischer Zeit’, in *Antike Welt* 50 (2019), 75-83.

⁶⁶¹ BKh i, 171.

⁶⁶² BKh x, 218.

⁶⁶³ Plutarch, *Vitae Parallelae*, Gottfried Heinrich Schäfer, ed. (Leipzig: Karl Tauchnitz, 1812).

⁶⁶⁴ BKh x, 296.

⁶⁶⁵ BKh xi, 64, 108 and 167.

⁶⁶⁶ BKh xi, 158.

⁶⁶⁷ BKh xi, 254, 256, and 263.

⁶⁶⁸ Sch40,1-3

1801, 1816, and 1827 can be established with certainty, but there may have been other periods as well. Curiously, the mentioned years were all marked by depression and ill-health: in 1801 there was the imminent loss of his hearing, in 1816 he conceded that ‘life wasn’t worth living’⁶⁶⁹ (plans for compositions saw an early withdrawal),⁶⁷⁰ and in 1827 death was approaching. He seems to have regarded Plutarch as a source of consolation during periods when he was stricken with illness.

6.3 Plutarch’s Characters

The *Lives* were meant as examples of inspiring models. Plutarch explored decisions and actions of heroes, as well as their attitudes towards wealth, fame, praise, adversity, rivalry, etcetera, attempting to remain impartial himself. Personality and character, he emphasized, were reflected not only by momentous acts or decisions, but also in ‘small matter, a remark or a jest’.⁶⁷¹ This ‘protreptic moralism’ (models for imitation, imperatives) provided a handsome guide to the reader’s own conduct, although not seldom questions were thrown back to him, leaving problems about morality and virtue unsolved, so that the reader was forced to take active role in the process of assessing good and bad. A second category was ‘descriptive moralism’, which pointed to truths about human behaviour in general (‘this is how things may go in life’).⁶⁷² This was timeless and aimed at self-evaluation. It was one of Plutarch’s most powerful insights ‘that the same qualities [could] build, then destroy a person’s greatness: that is true of his Antony, his Demetrius, his Alcibiades, his Fabius [Maximus], his Philopoemen and many more’.⁶⁷³ Scattered over his 48 *Lives*, Plutarch sounded an emphatic warning that there was a downside to greatness, and, more generally, that one should always be aware of the precariousness of life.

Characteristic of Plutarch was that he painted his heroes with a broad brush. He depicted what is called ‘integrated characters’, with qualities brought into relation with one another: ‘A few childhood traits, broadly sketched, can suffice. (...) Nothing is surprising as the characterization deepens, and nothing requires any particularly refined explanation’.⁶⁷⁴ This straightforwardness

⁶⁶⁹ KC, 260.

⁶⁷⁰ One of these works was a Piano Trio in F Minor. See Nicholas Marston, ‘In the ‘Twilight Zone’: Beethoven’s Unfinished Piano Trio in F Minor’, in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* cxxxi (2006), 227-286 and William Kinderman, ‘Beethoven’s Unfinished Piano Trio in F Minor from 1816: A Study of its Genesis and Significance’, in *Journal of Musicological Research* xxv (2006), 1-42.

⁶⁷¹ Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander*, quoted from Christopher Pelling, *Plutarch and History: Eighteen Studies* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales and Duckworth, 2002), 259.

⁶⁷² Timothy Duff, *Plutarch’s Lives. Exploring Virtue and Vice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 9.

⁶⁷³ Christopher Pelling, ‘Plutarch on Caesar’s Fall’, in Judith Mossmann, ed. *Plutarch and his intellectual world* (London: Duckworth, 1997), 215-35, at 216.

⁶⁷⁴ Christopher Pelling, ‘Aspects of Plutarch’s Characterisation’, in *Illinois Classical Studies* xiii (1988), 257-74, at 262-3.

yielded to easy-reading, which was much appreciated in Beethoven's time.⁶⁷⁵ The *Lives* were designed in such a way, that they followed a fixed pattern: ancestry, family, education, appearance, character, way of life, style of speech, and approach to death. By choosing suitable material (applying the 'law of biographical relevance')⁶⁷⁶ the development of characters was made logical and predictable. Plutarch did not fabricate or manipulate sources, but he liked to simplify things, helping the truth a little by means of poetic evidence. For example, if heroes had studied Greek philosophy (Marcellus, Marcus Cato, Cicero) they were bound to become strong personalities; if they lacked a proper and necessary education (Coriolanus, Pyrrhus, Marius) this was a foreboding that they would fail in life.

Of paramount relevance to Plutarch was Platonic philosophy, to which he was strongly committed. The irrational should be subordinated to Reason, and a man's character depended on 'the extent to which the rational part of the soul is able to influence, through habit, the irrational. Most vital for [its] formation is childhood, hence the importance of education'.⁶⁷⁷ Hammered home in many of the *Lives* was Plato's threefold division of the soul and the ramifications of this in real life.⁶⁷⁸ Plutarch firmly distanced himself from Stoa and Epicurism, but he explicitly lauded 'the godlike Plato' (*Life of Pericles*) who expressed the 'language of Zeus' (*Life of Cicero*) and whose 'wisdom' (*Life of Timoleon*) and 'philosophy at the Academy' (*Life of Philopoemen*) had been a blessing for Greece.⁶⁷⁹

6.4 Some Effects on Beethoven

Beethoven could use much of Plutarch to his advantage. As he himself made explicit in his letter to Wegeler from 1801, there were lessons to be gleaned. The most obvious ones were: do not avoid emotions, do not lose any time, show your strength in difficult circumstances, think twice before you act, be careful with accepting gifts, deal correctly and responsibly with fame, admiration, greatness, adversity and hardship, and do not allow passions to dominate reasonable assessment. But there was much more. There is ample reason to perceive the aforementioned 18 references as only a weak representation of Beethoven's total involvement with Plutarch.

What most impressed him, it seems, was 'descriptive moralism': insight into the vulnerability of a great man. This was witnessed by his remark that Plutarch had led him to 'Resignation'. It

⁶⁷⁵ Later in the nineteenth century, when the focus shifted to the complexity of the human mind, Plutarch gradually fell out of favour.

⁶⁷⁶ Duff, *Lives*, 110.

⁶⁷⁷ Duff, *Lives*, 72-4.

⁶⁷⁸ Pelling, *Plutarch and History*; Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*; Robert Lamberton, *Plutarch* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

⁶⁷⁹ For a more extensive listing see Roger Miller Jones, *The Platonism in Plutarch* (Menasha: Banta, 1916), esp. 110-51.

could be gleaned from Plutarch's heroes that no matter how successful one was at some juncture in life, one should always be prepared for serious setbacks, and that in the event of a dramatic loss, or of change of luck, it was incumbent on a man to display inner strength. 'For it is weakness, not kindness, that brings men into endless pains and terrors when they are not trained by reason to endure the assaults of fortune' (*Life of Solon* - this was immediately followed by the passage that Beethoven quoted from Solon in the *Tagebuch*; see above No. 6). In the *Life of Timoleon*, Plutarch had a great man exclaim: 'Do you think that I have had no help from Plato, when I bear my change of fortune as I do?'⁶⁸⁰ Plutarch measured greatness through assessing man's reaction to adversity: Marcus Cato took the loss of his son with philosophic resignation; Timoleon endured his blindness; and Demosthenes bore the loss of his daughter in a serene manner. Anger, distress and frustration were of course only human, natural and understandable, but the 'wrong part of the soul' had to be neutralized through Reason, in conformity with Platonic thought. It was the triumph of Reason, then, that must have impelled Beethoven to use the term 'Resignation': according to Plutarch, this was from a philosophical viewpoint the correct stance. Some commentators have assumed that Beethoven meant 'withdraw from social life'.⁶⁸¹ This concept was indeed brought up by Plutarch a few times, but such withdrawal - much like suicide - was only justified under circumstances of a total loss of dignity and morality. In all other cases man should endure 'heat and cold, happiness and misfortune' (*Life of Aemilius Paulus*). It strains belief that Beethoven really had withdrawal from society in mind, which was after all a quintessential Epicurean attitude. The lesson of Plutarch was, that greatness was no guarantee against the buffetings of fate, which should be faced with dignity and undemonstratively. Beethoven was bowing to the inevitable, without loss of dignity.

However, resisting fate was not completely pointless for Plutarch. But it required very careful consideration, and should never be the result of giving rein to unreasoned parts of the soul. In the *Life of Sertorius* he wrote: 'In my view no Fate in the world is capable to alter perfect and well-founded virtue into vice',⁶⁸² a view that came close to that of the Stoics. He noted with satisfaction that a man like Cleomenes 'did not succumb to Fate' - translated by Schirach with 'sich vom Schicksale nicht niederdrücken', which was close to Beethoven's 'ich will dem schicksaal in den rachen greifen, ganz niederbeugen soll es mich gewiss nicht' (I will seize Fate by the throat, it will

⁶⁸⁰ Schirach, vol. 3, 28.

⁶⁸¹ BGA, 65, note 6. Brandenburg took this suggestion from Schmitz ('Begriff der Tugend', 338), curiously without reference. The concept of 'Resignation' was interpreted from a Christian perspective by Schmitz in 'Zur Frage nach Beethovens Weltanschauung und ihrem musikalischen Ausdruck', in *Beethoven und die Gegenwart* (Berlin and Bonn: Dümmler, 1937), 266-95, at 271.

⁶⁸² What Beethoven read was: 'Und nach meinem Urtheile ist auch kein Schicksal in der Welt fähig eine vollkommene und auf grundsätze gebaute Tugend in Laster zu verwandeln' (Schirach, vol. 5, 200-1).

surely not break me completely).⁶⁸³ For Beethoven, the consideration of whether he should resist fate remained undecided for some time, as is witnessed by the 1801-02 cluster of letters to Wegeler and Amenda, and by the Heiligenstadt Testament. Plutarch seems to have played a pivotal role. At one point Beethoven wrote: 'It is patience, one says, that I should choose as my leader' - the 'one says' may have been an allusion to him. He also noted that he felt forced to become a philosopher 'already at the age of 28' - this may also have been a reference to Plutarch, more in particular to his Platonism.

Various expressions by Beethoven betray that Plutarchian ideas were taken on board, for example the passus 'always to have felt drawn to perform great deeds'.⁶⁸⁴ This was structural in Plutarch, as most effectfully elaborated in the lives of *Alexander* and *Themistocles*. Related to this desire was the quest for 'Tugend' which in the eyes of Plato was a 'god-like attribute' that could be acquired by 'learning, forbearance, and the study of wisdom' (*Life of Numa*).⁶⁸⁵ 'Tugend' was in fact identical to insight into good and evil. In an early letter to Wegeler Beethoven emphasized that even if he had once displayed bad conduct, this could not originate from 'deliberate, premeditated wickedness' on his part, for this was impossible for someone who pursued the 'great and good'.⁶⁸⁶ This was thoroughly Plutarchian: 'good natures' could perhaps temporarily show lack of virtue, but never vice, because this was not ingrained in their nature.

A recurring theme marked by Beethoven was that of receiving gifts. True heroes were expected to unconditionally refuse attentions, services or presents. Accepting them was dishonourable, and only those who rejected gifts showed 'Tugend'. Many heroes turned this rhetoric into reality, most prominently Ages, Aratus, Philopoemen and the Catos. Coriolan saw a gift as bribery; Solon and Fabius Maximus were deeply embarrassed by it. Pyrrhus avowed that 'an honest and responsible man is annoyed when he cannot compensate services by others'.⁶⁸⁷ A special case was Pompey, who knew the art of receiving while at the same time maintaining his dignity. For Beethoven, gifts were a matter of overriding concern, throughout his life.⁶⁸⁸ The problem often confronted him. He was easily offended by services rendered and reacted in a manner ranging from quasi-innocent rebuke ('you attack my sense of pride'),⁶⁸⁹ slightly tongue-in-cheek ('you always want me to feel ashamed'),⁶⁹⁰ to acrimonious rebuke ('how much pain your gift causes in me').⁶⁹¹

⁶⁸³ Schirach, vol. 7, 192; BGA, 70.

⁶⁸⁴ BGA, 106.

⁶⁸⁵ Schirach, vol. 1, 189: 'Lernen, Duldsamkeit, und Studium der Weisheit'.

⁶⁸⁶ BGA, 19 (c. 1795).

⁶⁸⁷ Schirach, vol. 4, 13.

⁶⁸⁸ See or example BGA, 661, 740, 821, 1817, 1127, 1282, and 1451.

⁶⁸⁹ BGA, 77

⁶⁹⁰ BGA, 781.

⁶⁹¹ BGA, 1074.

Plutarch's heroes may have helped him find the right way through this minefield of sentiments, which was closely linked to the issue of maintaining his artistic independence.

The Solon excerpt 'One should not protect oneself from the loss of wealth, etcetera ...' eloquently indicates that Beethoven tended to copy maxims and imperatives because they had a tangent to his own conditions (therefore, he cared little about their context and sometimes skipped words and made arbitrary textual modifications).⁶⁹² In this case, he may have held a dialogue within himself: what Solon forbade - avoiding emotional situations - was what he [Beethoven] tended to exhibit, for by his own account he shunned farewells, funerals, mourning etcetera. He once made this explicit in a letter.⁶⁹³ About the time he excerpted Solon (September 1816) he had decided not to be present at the emotional event of nephew Karl's operation, which he regretted afterwards. Solon's imperative probably alerted him to his own conduct, and to his flaws.⁶⁹⁴ His avoidance of potentially emotional circumstances drew wide attention. It was, for example, addressed by Grillparzer in his 1827 funeral oration: 'He who is oversensitive, avoids a display of feeling!'⁶⁹⁵

6.5 Horace

Beethoven's familiarity with the works of Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus, 65-8 BC) has not been given attention to in the literature. Schindler claimed that he knew the *Epistel an die Pisonen* (*Epistle to the Pisos*, better known as *Ars poetica*), an exposition of theoretical principles about the art of writing - the necessity of a clear, preconceived design, choosing the right genres and finding the correct style. Schindler's claim seems without foundation, Beethoven probably never read *Ars poetica* - at least there is no indication that he did. In all likelihood, Schindler was overstating his master's greatness literary sophistication. Tellingly, on the same page of his 1860 edition where he made the claim, he also asserted that Beethoven had known Aristotle's *Politics* and Plato's *Republic*, which invite dismissal as well.⁶⁹⁶

What Schindler plausibly did not know - otherwise he would have used it to his advantage - was that Beethoven actually had a selection of Horace's *Odes* on his shelf. He possessed these in a translation by Karl Wilhelm Ramler (1725-1798), a highly respected eighteenth-century literary figure known in his time as 'the German Horace'.⁶⁹⁷ These *Odes* were taken up in the second volume of Ramler's *Poetische Werke*, an edition from 1801.⁶⁹⁸ Of Horace's four volumes of *Odes*,

⁶⁹² Bernhard R. Appel, 'Beethoven und die indische Geisteswelt', in BL, 48-50.

⁶⁹³ See for example BGA, 1231.

⁶⁹⁴ BGA, 976.

⁶⁹⁵ KC, 373.

⁶⁹⁶ Sch60, vol. 2, 163.

⁶⁹⁷ ZEW (16 November 1818), 1816.

⁶⁹⁸ Karl Wilhelm Ramler, *Poetische Werke* (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1801), 2 vols. At the auction of Beethoven's books on 5 November 1827, Ramler was item No. 22; Jäger-Sunstenau, 'Akten', 11-36; also

twenty were selected. For Beethoven, this was a convenient cross-section of the Roman poet's highly original, fanciful and sometimes satirical texts - his characteristic insulting and obscene ones were of course bypassed.⁶⁹⁹

Horace will not have been a stranger to Beethoven. There are some indirect references to him in the conversation books,⁷⁰⁰ and in one of his letters Beethoven employed a well-known Horatian sentence (but again tacitely): 'Our striving is infinite, but vulgarity makes everything finite!' (1813).⁷⁰¹ Likely he was familiar with some biographical aspects as well, such as Horace's friendship with Maecenas (who in 37 BC he accompanied on a journey to Brundisium, as described in his poems),⁷⁰² the successful manner in which he maintained a healthy independence from his benefactors (although he was a spokesman for the regime of Octavianus), and his philosophical eclecticism, although he had studied at the Academy in Athens dominated by Epicureans and Stoics.

A myriad of expressions and allusions in letters (the Parces, life as a comedy, Bacchus, Brundisium, the divine spark in humans, the furious Medea, the chimera, Apollo's bow, nectar of the gods, the Phaeaken, Lucullus, 'Nulle dies sine linea', 'Vita brevis, ars longa', and others) can be found in Horace's oeuvre, but it is not possible to reconstruct exactly what Beethoven retained from it. Perhaps most noteworthy of Ramler's translations was II,19, the Ode 'Lob des Bacchus', about the god Dionysus teaching the nymphs his songs. This was about myths and rites, such as the tragic fate of the unbeliever Pentheus (in Euripides, see Chapter 5) and the notorious yell 'evohe!', which Beethoven demonstrably knew.⁷⁰³

Also about Bacchus was Ramler's translation of Dryden's 'Alexander's Feast', used for Handel's eponymous oratorio (the re-orchestration of which by Mozart was regularly performed in Vienna).⁷⁰⁴ This was also in Beethoven's volume. It included the praise of Bacchus by means of a recitative ('Sound the trumpets, beat the Drums'), an aria ('Bacchus, ever Fair, and Young') and a chorus ('Bacchus's Blessings are a Treasure'), and his arrival was introduced by festive sounds leading to a chorus that exalted the god's eternal youth. As will be seen in Chapter 8, Beethoven

Leitzmann, *Berichte der Zeitgenossen*, vol. 2, 375-6 (Jäger-Sunstenau, although later, is less extensive than Leitzmann).

⁶⁹⁹ The numbers are: IV,4 - II,19 - IV,8 - IV,5 - II,8 - IV,3 - III,13 - I,18 - I,8 - IV,7 - II,19 - V,13 - V,11 - I,7 - I,4 - III,10 - III,12 - III,4 - II,18 and 'Secularischer Gesang'.

⁷⁰⁰ BKh i, 301; vi, 47 and 157; vii, 43, 147 and 154-6; x, 218; xii, 126.

⁷⁰¹ BGA, 665.

⁷⁰² Beethoven could have read about this in ZEW (1815), 863 and 871.

⁷⁰³ BGA, 914.

⁷⁰⁴ The score, published by Kühnel in Leipzig, was reviewed in the AMZ (1813), 425-9: 'Recension. Alexanders Fest, oder die Gewalt der Tonkunst, eine grosse Cantate, aus dem Englischen des Dryden übersetzt von C. W. Ramler, in Musik gesetzt von G. F. Händel, mit neuer Bearbeitung von W. A. Mozart'. Ramler, vol. 2, 51-7 ('Alexanders Fest oder die Gewalt der Musik').

regularly utilized Bacchus in his compositions; he liked the God's praise of the power of music. In a letter to Goethe from 1810, Bettina Brentano stated that he even identified himself with the god: 'Music (...) is the wine that stimulates new creation, and I am Bacchus who, for his followers, ferments this splendid wine that intoxicates them, so that when they become sober again they may present what they have experienced'.⁷⁰⁵ Admittedly, the letter is probably a fabrication (it is not in BGA), but some of the contents may nevertheless contain a kernel of truth.⁷⁰⁶

As so often, Schindler was thus partly right: Beethoven had known some of Horace's texts, enough to be able to assess his extraordinary originality. But as far as is known, his familiarity was tangential.⁷⁰⁷

6.6. Tacitus

There are strong indications that the Roman historian Tacitus (56-120 AD) was high on Beethoven's wish list. As noted in Chapter 1, he still liked to consult the works of Tacitus on his deathbed - although the volumes were difficult to obtain.⁷⁰⁸ At that time, nephew Karl had left for the barracks in Iglau, so Beethoven can have had no other motives than immersing himself in this material. He obviously considered the writings very worthwhile.

In September 1825, when he had copied in his conversation book an announcement from the Vienna *Intelligenzblatt* about a translation of Tacitus's *Agricola* by H.W.F. Klein.⁷⁰⁹ This time, he may have had Karl's education in mind, for he added to his excerpt: '+auf's Kammergut mit Karl', a reference to a holiday trip to the Salzkammergut at Traunsee (about 200 kilometers to the west of the city). Perhaps he wanted to surprise Karl with Tacitus for his birthday. This tentatively suggests that he knew *Agricola* himself. The preponderating theme in *Agricola* was the mental strength of a great and virtuous man, Tacitus's own father-in-law Agricola, who was a highly respected and successful commander and governor in Britain. So much praise was lavished on him, that it aroused the suspicion and jealousy of Emperor Domitian, who called him back to Rome and had him poisoned. Tacitus related this atrocity with characteristic understatement and irony. The moral of his account was that in times of political instability and imbalance one should best not be successful, for this could be dangerous. These were no times for *splendidae virtutes*, great heroic men, he wrote. Young adults (Karl was nineteen) could take this as a lesson.

⁷⁰⁵ [Bettina Brentano], *Goethe's Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler, 1835), 193.

⁷⁰⁶ See the argumentation in CD, 6-7.

⁷⁰⁷ Apart from Ramler's translations, Beethoven may have known four other *Odes* through E. Kannegiesser published in the ZEW (1814), 30-2. These were I.132, I.32, I.58 and 'Nereus Wahrsagung' (without number).

⁷⁰⁸ BKh xi, 262.

⁷⁰⁹ BKh viii, 78.

Also suitable for adolescents was *Germania*, but the *Annals* and *Histories* of Tacitus, which described harrowing stories about the growth of despotism and the devastating perversity, indecencies and atrocities of a whole range of Roman emperors of the first century AD, were best kept away from young eyes. Already Herder had declared that only adults should consume these, because they were about the ruin of human dignity.⁷¹⁰ Curiously, Schreyvogel, who read the *Annals* in 1811, noted that despite all wickedness he felt ‘uplifted by feelings of virtue’.⁷¹¹

Earlier efforts by Beethoven to become acquainted with Tacitus date from 1807. He was then residing in Baden and requested his friend Ignaz von Gleichenstein in Vienna to send him, ‘if possible, Bahrdt’s translation of Tacitus’.⁷¹² It cannot be deduced from the reply, three days later, as to whether Gleichenstein granted this request, and evidence must remain presumptive whether Beethoven received the books, but it can at least be noted that once more he showed interest in Greco-Roman literature. His curiosity may have been piqued by several factors. Schiller’s *Don Carlos* was one of them (see Chapter 2). Another was the upsurge of German national sentiments fuelled by Napoleon’s invasion of 1805. The reading of Tacitus’s *Germania*, of which numerous translations existed, was a way to regain self-assurance, for Tacitus had sketched a rather complimentary picture of this northern tribe which posed such serious threat to the Romans. As Ronald Syme wrote in his majestic Tacitus study: ‘The Germans were strong and free and numerous, menacing to a political system that rested on servility and corruption, justified riches by refinement, and supplied with culture the lack of vigour and virtue’.⁷¹³ Beethoven could also learn from Tacitus about the situation of his home ground in Roman times - Bonnonia and Colonia Agrippina, Cologne -, in which will surely have taken an interest.

A striking feature of Beethoven’s request was his specification of the translator, Carl Friedrich Bahrdt (1741-1792). He had taken on Tacitus as early as 1781,⁷¹⁴ but in 1796 a three-volume reprint of the edition was issued by Franz Haas in Vienna, the publisher already mentioned with regard to Beethoven’s copies of Homer, Xenophon, Plutarch and *Anacharsis*. Still another reprint appeared in 1801, and this was no doubt the one that Beethoven had in mind.⁷¹⁵

Bahrdt was a colourful man. He had been a Freemason, founding his own lodge under the protection of the Prussian minister Abraham von Zedlitz. Moreover, he was reputed as a freethinker

⁷¹⁰ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität* (Riga: Hartknoch, 1794), letter No. 52.

⁷¹¹ JST, vol. 1, 81.

⁷¹² BGA, 283.

⁷¹³ Ronald Syme, *Tacitus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 126.

⁷¹⁴ Carl Friedrich Bahrdt, *Tacitus* (Halle: Johann Jacob Gebauer, 1781).

⁷¹⁵ Carl Friedrich Bahrdt, *Cornelius Tacitus Sämtliche Werke* (Vienna and Prague: Haas, 1796, second edition 1801). The original 1781 Introduction, where Bahrdt had argued that classical literature was actually not appropriate for the young, was here curtailed. Still another reprint was issued in Halle in 1807, but it seems unlikely that Beethoven had this one in mind when he contacted Gleichenstein.

and an atheist, critical of Christian morals. He wrote a fictionalized life of Jesus (*Bibel im Volkston*) which many perceived as provocative. For this, he was criticized by Caroline Pichler.⁷¹⁶ Schreyvogel called Bahrdt ‘frivolous and lacking character’.⁷¹⁷

Beethoven seems to have been aware of Bahrdt’s idiosyncrasies, for as late as 1825 he mentioned him in a letter to Holz.⁷¹⁸ One is tempted to surmise that when requesting Bahrdt in 1807 Beethoven showed a particular fastidiousness, but the reason why he specified his name seems to have been of a pragmatic nature. Having completed reading Plutarch, he must have encountered in his seventh copy of Schirach’s translation (as said, also published by Haas) a call for a *Pränumeration* for Tacitus (see Figure 19).⁷¹⁹ Having completed Plutarch, he probably wished to continue with Tacitus.

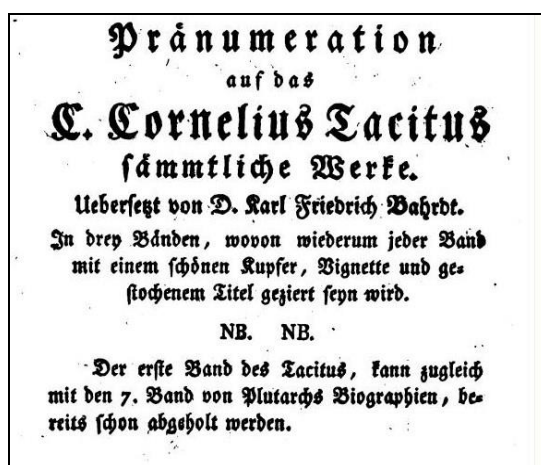


Figure 22. The call for *Pränumeration* to the translation of Tacitus by Carl Friedrich Bahrdt, in volume 7 of Schirach’s Plutarch edition.

This was convenient and logical, for Plutarch’s *Lives* had ended with Julius Caesar and the *Annals* and *Histories* were more or less a sequel to this, with accounts of first-century emperors seen retrospectively from the regime of Trajan. Beethoven thus meant to create for himself a complete reference compendium of the entire Greco-Roman world. The new information comprised such themes as the perversity of Tiberius, the building of the Rhine-bridge by Germanicus, the revolt of Arminius and the Varus Battle, the rebellion of Claudius Civilis, the burning down of the colony

⁷¹⁶ CP, vol. 1, 67 and 379. For an assessment of the historical significance of Bahrdt see Thomas Hoeren, ‘Präjakobiner in Deutschland - Carl Friedrich Bahrdt (1740-1792)’, in *Zeitschrift für Religions- Und Geistesgeschichte* xlvii (1995), 55-72, and Andrew McKenzie-McHarg, ‘Überlegungen zur Radikalaufklärung am Beispiel von Carl Friedrich Bahrdt’, in *Aufklärung* xxiv (2012), 207-40.

⁷¹⁷ JST, vol. 1, 151.

⁷¹⁸ BGA, 2028.

⁷¹⁹ Schirach, *Plutarch*, vol. 7, following the title page.

‘Bononia’ during the reign of Claudius,⁷²⁰ the ‘Bacchusfest’ of Messalina, the strict path of virtue and the admirable death of Seneca, the Poppea-Nero relationship, the Burning of Rome, the revolt of Boudicca in Britain, the rejection of the sect of early Christians, the siege of Jerusalem by Titus and the crimes of the abominable Domitian, who poisoned Agricola. Some of these topics may have been familiar to Beethoven from theatre plays and operas.

By and large, the stories told by Tacitus were depressing and gloomy. Only under Titus and Trajan there had been a restoration of liberty, was his wry conclusion, a time ‘when you are allowed to think what you want and say what you think’.⁷²¹ Tacitus also made a range of philosophical observations. He noted of the Epicurean doctrine that everything happens by chance, without any concern of the gods (Tacitus: ‘and so very frequently things happen to good men and joy to those who are worse’); of the Stoics he wrote that the course of life, once chosen, proceeds according to natural laws and ‘the good’ has little to do with fortune (‘many, although surrounded by wealth, are the most wretched of men’).⁷²² He also had sensible things to say about moral implications of greatness and ambition, and about the machinations and ultimate corruption of power. He frequently stressed how important it was for a great man to fathom the spirit of his own age. A hallmark of his style were his sharp and highly sarcastic closing lines, such as: ‘He was appointed to the post, because he was no good’.⁷²³ The warnings of Tacitus were timeless and universal.

6.7 Summary

The interrogatory orientation of this chapter was towards Beethoven’s engagement with three important writers from Roman times - Plutarch, Horace and Tacitus. Abundant records show that he was seized and transported by Plutarch, the major allround analyst and commentator of the Greco-Roman world. References in the primary sources suggest that this engagement was strong and abiding. Beethoven read Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives* at least in 1801-02, 1816, and 1827 - possibly also during other periods.⁷²⁴

Plutarch wrote about the character and nature of a vast number of great men. The accounts appealed to Beethoven, as is evidenced by memoranda in his *Tagebuch*. The relative ease with which he conjured up details from Plutarch in his correspondence is suggestive of a profound

⁷²⁰ It must have pleased Beethoven that Tacitus was very well-informed about the Rhine region. ‘For towns, tribes, and forts on or near the Rhine Tacitus is impeccable, as indeed the *Historiae* abundantly show’; Syme, *Tacitus*, 452.

⁷²¹ Tacitus, *Histories*, i, I.4. See Ellen O’Gorman, *Irony and Misreading in the Annals of Tacitus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 176-83.

⁷²² Tacitus, *Histories*, vi, 22,1 and vi, 22,2.

⁷²³ Tacitus, *Annals*, year 62 (Tigellinus).

⁷²⁴ That he ‘always carried his writings with him’ (Hans Schmidt, ‘Beethoven und die Deutsche Sprache’, in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* xxxii (1977), 105-118, at 109) was perhaps an overstatement.

absorption, and much of the material must have been ingrained in Beethoven's memory. There is proof that he perceived utterances and remarks from Plutarch and his heroes as useful lessons. Reading this material was a practical and meaningful way of recognizing potential failings. What seems to have impressed him most was 'descriptive moralism': warnings of how lives of great men could eventually turn out, and recommendations as to how a man could come to grips with a dramatic change of fortune. Beethoven may also have been affected by Plutarch's (and Schirach's) denigration of the *demos*: abundant examples were given of situations where a surfeit of egalitarianism led to a retaliation against great men.

It was through the eighteenth-century literary figure Karl Wilhelm Ramler that Beethoven became familiar with poems by Horace. Ramler's translation of the *Odes* were issued in the second volume of his *Poetische Werke*, an edition from 1801 that Beethoven had on his shelf (although not noticed in the literature). Not much can be said about the impact they had on him, but at least this was a way to become conversant with the fanciful and satirical style and expressions of a highly original man, who had once been the protégé of the legendary Maecenas.

Beethoven's initial plan to study Tacitus dates from 1807, and it probably coincided with his finishing reading Plutarch. Tacitus was the most logical next step, for he commenced where Plutarch had ended (Augustus). Regrettably, it is not known whether the translation by Bahrtdt (who Beethoven actively sought out) effectively reached him. The fact that there are no Tacitus excerpts in the *Tagebuch* is not conclusive as evidence: if Beethoven received Gleichenstein's copies he will have returned them after some time, not having access to them in 1812-1818. But Tacitus was still requested by Beethoven in 1827, which suggests that he was well aware of the psychological insights and timeless wisdom accumulated by this great historian.

Chapter 7

The Role of Hellenistic Philosophy

*You amazing self-deceivers! (...) Stoicism is self-tyranny.
It always creates the world in its own image.*
Friedrich Nietzsche, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* (1886, 9)

Predicated on the idea that through reading he could pursue a higher level of *Bildung*, Beethoven indulged in ancient writings. When consulting these, he must necessarily have come across information on ancient philosophy. Greek-Roman culture was dominated by a multifarious assortment of philosophical schools: from the time of Socrates (5th century BC), following the collapse of the city-state, the Hellenistic world saw an emergence of competing strands whose systems of belief were ardently discussed. Plutarch, Xenophon, Horace, Tacitus, Cicero, Epictetus and others (presumably) read by Beethoven all committed themselves to one or other school, and elements of their preferences pervaded their writings. These preferences may have been observed by Beethoven, if only fleetingly.

7.1 Platonism and Stoicism

It stands outside the limits of this study to evaluate these schools. It is adequate to note that from about 300 BC there was great vitality and rivalry on this front in the Greek-Roman world. The Platonic Academy, the Peripatos of Aristotle, the ‘Garden’ of Epicurus, Zeno’s Stoicism, Scepticism, the Cynics, and the Sophists all competed for followers.⁷²⁵

When Beethoven grew to maturity, these ‘Sekten’, as they were called, were discussed at great length. Leading intellectuals of the day like Herder, Meiners, Beyer, and Eichhorn summarized existing knowledge and expounded the doctrines to a broad readership.⁷²⁶ These efforts had a great impact and particularly the Stoa had a major import on the upcoming generation. Young

⁷²⁵ For an overview see Giovanni Reale, *A History of Ancient Philosophy. III. The Systems of The Hellenistic Age* (Albany, State University of New York Press, 1985).

⁷²⁶ Herder, *Briefe*, Letter No. 3; Meiners, *Philosophische Schriften*, vol. 1, 120-32 (Platonism), vol. 2, 45-129 (Epicurism), and 130-65 (Stoicism); Johann Franz Beyer, *Epiktet und sein Handbuch der Stoischen Moral in biographischer und literarischer Rücksicht* (Marburg: Akademischen Buchhandlung, 1794); Johann Eichhorn, *Geschichte*, dispersed comments.

Goethe felt strongly drawn to it: ‘Neither Aristotle nor Plato could inspire me, but (...) I studied Epictetus with much zeal’.⁷²⁷ It was incumbent upon all members of the Illuminati in Bonn to read Stoic writings (as noted above, Chapter 2.8). In 1790, Caroline Pichler admired the Stoa’s ‘superb way of thinking and feeling’ (grossartige Denk- und Empfindungsart) and regarded it as ‘a higher world ordering’.⁷²⁸ Countess Lulu von Thürheim mentioned that during the Napoleonic war of May 1809 she almost lost her ‘painstakingly built philosophy of the Stoa’.⁷²⁹ Schreyvogel was also enraptured: ‘Glorious Stoa! You were the school of great souls! When there is something good in me, it must emerge from suffering and hardship. - Weakness is detrimental to all virtue and autonomy’.⁷³⁰ He referred to Platonism and Stoicism when exclaiming: ‘The two most perfect individuals whom I have hitherto encountered are Socrates and Epictetus’.⁷³¹

The ethical teachings of the schools were practical wisdom, aimed at governing conduct. For Platonism, man on earth should pursue ‘the good and beautiful’, for it was a reflection of the Idea of the Ultimate Good (God). It believed in divine transcendence and that the providence of the Almighty was largely limited to the creation of the cosmos. The Stoic god, by contrast, was believed to physically penetrate the cosmos, as ‘breath’ (pneuma), in such a way as to be totally coextended with it. This divine ubiquity meant that he was present in human beings. He was providential and benevolent in that he purposively acted on the cosmos and constantly cared for it; all beings should therefore contribute to his divine plan: if they did, they acted ‘good’, if they acted against him, this was ‘evil’.⁷³²

Central to both schools was that man should strive after a state of moral perfection through Reason. The Platonists contended that this could be done by a correct use of three parts of the soul, two of which were responsible for leading and controlling a third, encompassing passions. For the Stoics, perfection could only be reached by ‘living in accordance with nature’, so that a match existed between man’s attitudes and the rational course of events plotted and controlled by God (who was identical with Reason, Zeus, Nature, Providence, or Father).⁷³³ Crucial was ‘the correct mental attitude’ towards all that happened in the divine course, even if this would bring pain,

⁷²⁷ Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben*, vol. 1, 141 and vol. 2, 14.

⁷²⁸ CP, vol. 1, 136. Later, she modified her views in favour of Christianity, but she never acknowledged a sharp dividing line between the two; see her ‘Die Stoa und das Christenthum in zwei Briefen’, in *Kleine prosaische Aufsätze* (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1822).

⁷²⁹ *Gräfin Lulu Thürheim. Mein leben; Erinnerungen aus Österreichs grosser Welt*, René van Rhyn, ed. (Munich: Georg Müller, 1914), vol. 1 (1788-1819), 289.

⁷³⁰ JST, vol. 1, 213.

⁷³¹ JST, vol. 1 108.

⁷³² Ricardo Salles, ‘Introduction’, in ed. Ricardo Salles, *God and Cosmos in Stoicism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1-19.

⁷³³ Alexander Long, ‘Dialectics and the Stoic Sage’, in ed. John Rist, *The Stoics* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978), 101-24, at 116.

distress or adversity. In the end, this attitude guaranteed virtue and happiness, for it helped man, beyond anything else, to cope with the ordeals of life.⁷³⁴

Attendant upon the position of both schools was the high premium placed on the concept of ‘natural law’. While other schools propagated that law took its bearings from agreements among men to guarantee security and that there existed no standards but only expediences, for Stoics and Platonists human rights were intertwined with nature. An overarching Law of Nature ruled the divine course.⁷³⁵ Cicero wrote: ‘Law is the highest reason, implanted in Nature, which commands what ought to be done and forbids the opposite’.⁷³⁶

Against this background it is illuminating to read a conversation by Beethoven and his friend Carl Bernard, held in February 1820:

There is no such thing as natural law.

-

It has long been thought that there was, but because there is no such thing as a natural condition, there cannot be a natural law.

-

Rights only emerge in human society.

-

When I live in isolation, I have no right, and no one can claim this from me.

-

A natural condition presupposes an unconstrained human being. As soon as he socializes, he is subjected to constraints and responsibilities, and thus he must respect obligations towards others; they have obligations towards him; he can enforce them, because he has the same obligations. In a natural condition such rights do not exist, because he lives for himself.

-

There is no such thing as natural law; because this would mean that a person lives in full isolation. As soon as there is a society of people, there are mutual rights and obligations, hence a state or a constitution. Society implies state.

-

A right is a constraint, in the sense that I cannot behave as I would like towards others. That is why I can demand of others to abide rules towards me - these are my rights. If, however, there are no other persons requiring considerations and responsibilities, and vice versa, rights cease to exist and a natural condition sets in.

-

All this cannot be found in textbooks, though. Fundamentally wrong. It has long been thought that the sun rotates around the earth, which also turned out not to be true.⁷³⁷

Of interest here are Beethoven’s implied objections. Perhaps the dialogue had something to do with the guardianship battle and the Vienna *Magistrat*, in which he had little confidence, hence his appeal to a higher, universal ‘natural law’. This, however, was denounced as fictional by Bernard, who argued that there were no morals in nature: these were invented by humans and the

⁷³⁴ F.H. Sandbach, *The Stoics* (London: Duckworth & Co, 1975), 11-19.

⁷³⁵ Reale, *Systems*, 282.

⁷³⁶ Reale, *Systems*, 281.

⁷³⁷ BKh i, 292-3.

belief in natural law was as naive as the thought that the sun was moving around the earth. Beethoven was apparently unwilling to share these positivist views. For him, natural law was a fact. An excerpt he had somewhat earlier made of Kant's famous remark about 'the moral law within us' testifies to his adherence to moral duty and to the upholding of supranatural origins of ethics.⁷³⁸ It does not seem likely that Bernard disabused him of his convictions, for these were probably ingrained in Beethoven's thinking: already in the 1790s, Bartholomäus Fischenich had lectured *Naturrecht* at Bonn University.⁷³⁹

It is tempting to observe a link between Beethoven's opinions about natural law - which were closely related to theism, and to the idea that the universe had been 'created' by some divine power whose principles ruled it - and axioms espoused by ancient dogmatic philosophy he picked up - consciously or subliminally. Space forbids consideration of an analysis of Beethoven's character and nature here, but it may be worthwhile to look closely at at least a collection of his attitudes, opinions and biases that betray a direct tangent to ideological constructions of Hellenistic philosophy.

7.2 Beethoven's Reading

He may have drawn information about Hellenistic philosophy from various sources. There were for instance the already mentioned *Anacharsis Reisen*, Meissner's *Alcibiades*, the 'Petiscus', Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* and articles scattered in magazines and newspapers. The works of Goethe and Schiller may also have been helpful. In Goethe's poem 'Die Weisen und die Leute', for instance, the philosophers Plato, Diogenes, Epicurus, Zeno and others playfully explained the tenets of their respective beliefs. As already discussed in Chapter 5.1, Beethoven may have studied focal points of Platonism in *Des Herrn Abt Fraguier Abhandlung von Xenophons Kyropädie*, the treatise of the classicist Frédéric Fraguier added by Borhek to his translation of Xenophon.

Even more important was Plutarch. Throughout his *Lives*, this Greek writer lauded Plato's ideas. In the *Life of Marcus Cato*, he had Plato say that 'the body was the chief detriment to the soul (...) but one can release and purify oneself from bodily sensations through the application of reason'. Plutarch liked to denigrate other schools, casting aspersions on Epicurism (in the *Life of Pyrrhus*: 'they made pleasure the highest good, and shunned political careers on the ground that this was harmful and an intrusion into their state of bliss; and they removed the Deity as far as possible

⁷³⁸ BKh i, 235; see Jacobs, 'Kant'. Beethoven's quote, however, is nearly always cited incomplete. What belongs to it is: 'Littrow Direktor der Sternwarte', which carries important consequences; see Franz Michael Maier, 'Beethoven liest Littrow', in BL, 251-88.

⁷³⁹ CD, 110. See also BIB (1792), 549.

from feelings of kindness or anger or concern for us, into a life that was relaxed and filled with ease and comfort’) and also on Stoicism (in the *Life of Cleomenes*: ‘for great and impetuous natures the Stoic doctrines are somewhat misleading and dangerous’). In the *Life of Solon* he sneered: ‘We see that even virtue, the most important and elevated possession, can vanish under the influence of sickness and medication’ - for the Stoics it was impossible that a virtuous man could lose his correct mentality. Plutarch gave even more pointed expression to his aversion of Stoicism in his *Moralia*, to which Beethoven, however, was oblivious.

Reading Plutarch had important ramifications for Beethoven’s understanding of the most salient differences between the schools, but he may also have read the three prominent Stoics, Marcus Aurelius, Seneca and Epictetus. The first he at least planned to acquire (possibly for Karl);⁷⁴⁰ the second left traces here and there in the *Tagebuch* (see below), and his knowledge of Epictetus can be conjectured from his reaction to Schindler in 1827, who brought it home from a library.⁷⁴¹ Given their significance for the Illuminati, their works will have been available in the library of the Bonn *Lesegesellschaft*.

Indications that Beethoven had theoretical knowledge about philosophy are scarce.⁷⁴² It may be assumed that he had little syncretic grasp of philosophical ideas, and Martin Cooper has plausibly argued that ‘it is surely not credible that [Beethoven] can have understood the marshalling of philosophical arguments’, and, ‘when he reads, he must make his own standards which will be largely instinctive’.⁷⁴³ John Sullivan contended that ‘nothing that Beethoven wanted to express can be called philosophy’.⁷⁴⁴ Indeed, the term philosophy is virtually lacking in the correspondence, with only few exceptions: Beethoven felt ‘forced to become a philosopher’ in the Heiligenstadt Testament and when an acquaintance suffered a financial setback, he urged this ‘philosophical friend’ to remain steadfast and unshakeable.⁷⁴⁵ One of the most cited statements from Beethoven about philosophy, his alleged remark that ‘music is a higher revelation than all wisdom and philosophy’, is of limited value, for it was indirectly transmitted and very probably spurious.⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴⁰ BKh iii, 56 (‘Fessler Marc-Aurel 1810 - 8 fl: w.W.’).

⁷⁴¹ The library of Armbruster possessed translations of *Epiktets Enchiridion* by Johann Georg Philipp Thiele (1790) and Ludwig Immanuel Snell (1798). See Grigat, ‘Odyssee’, 216-7. Beethoven may have uttered to Schindler that he already was familiar with the book.

⁷⁴² In his *Biographie universelle des musiciens et Bibliographie*, 8 vols. (Paris: Librairie H. Fournier, 1835-1844), vol. 2, 111, François-Joseph Fétis used Beethoven’s ‘études historiques et philosophiques’ to explain the oddities of his late style: ‘ses études philosophiques donnèrent à ses idées une légère teinte de mysticisme’. Beethoven indeed showed interest in philosophical matters: in a conversation book (BKh ii, 158) he excerpted ‘System der Philosophie etc. von Dr. Fr. Calker. Professor der P. in Bonn. Bonn 1820’.

⁷⁴³ Martin Cooper, *Last Decade*, 103, 97.

⁷⁴⁴ Sullivan, *Spiritual Development*, 120.

⁷⁴⁵ KC, 727.

⁷⁴⁶ Sonneck, *Impressions*, 80. For an attempt to defend its authenticity, see Edward Walden, *Beethoven’s Immortal Beloved* (London: Scarecrow Press, 2011), 84.

Most likely, Beethoven understood philosophical statements in a sloganized, simplified form. But in spite of his lack of literary sophistication to engage in philosophical discussion, and irrespective of the fact that he perhaps had difficulty in forming ideas about past ages, he showed a lively and perennial interest in issues pertaining to ‘the art of living’, and these were precisely the topics that were prominently debated in ancient philosophy. Given his interest in morals, as his markings in the *Odyssey* and the *Tagebuch* bespeak, and given his referential mentioning of Aristotle and Socrates, it may be rewarding to explore if ancient philosophy had a bearing on his thoughts - especially since some key features of his vocal works show a relationship with it. The concepts of cosmopolitanism, brotherhood and universal joy, for example, were close to his heart, hence the long-deferred project of Schiller’s ‘An die Freude’ about embracing mankind and the entire cosmos by a loving father, such as *Fidelio* (containing ‘A brother seeks his brothers, and gladly helps, if he can’). These concepts were closely linked to the Stoa, for which all bodies in the cosmos were interconnected, which gave man a desire to live with and help other men and to treat them as brothers.⁷⁴⁷ In the words of Marcus Aurelius (2nd century AD):

All things are reciprocally interwoven..., everything is coordinated and confers order to the same cosmos. For the cosmos is a unity made up of all things, and god is one, pervading all things. And there is only one reality and only one law, i.e. universal reason of all the living beings that are intelligent, and there is only one truth, since perfection of the living beings that are alike in kind and participate in the same reason is one, too.⁷⁴⁸

Beethoven may have read this - he at least considered buying these *Meditations*.

What follows in the next paragraph, is a selection of philosophically-orientated statements and actions by Beethoven that emerge from the primary sources. These are investigated from the perspective of various strands of ancient philosophy - mostly Stoic. To be sure, connections can only be conjectured, not asserted: it would be a bridge too far to extrapolate that ancient wisdom alone was responsible for Beethoven’s opinions, utterances, affordances and conduct. But since he endeavoured ‘to understand the ideas of the best and wisest men of all ages’⁷⁴⁹ it seems justified to at least draw attention to some conspicuous agreements, even if incontrovertible causal links are difficult to establish.

7.3 Passions

What took pride of place in Hellenistic philosophy, an underlying premise agreed on by all schools, was that controlling passions was a prerequisite for joy and prosperity. Being devoured by longing

⁷⁴⁷ Sandbach, *Stoics*, 34.

⁷⁴⁸ Cited from Salles, *God and Cosmos*, 16.

⁷⁴⁹ BGA, 408.

for material goods, or displaying a deep craving for such matters as fame, power or success, was regarded not only as fundamentally wrong, but also as the main source of unhappiness. All schools understood that passions could not be softened or cured by giving vent to them, since this would only bring brief respite and would in fact make them stronger. All held that man should hold aloof from everything tempestuous. But they disagreed on whether a softening, radical reduction or elimination was necessary.⁷⁵⁰

Beethoven seems to have placed great store by the subject, as may be inferred from a *Tagebuch* entry from ca. 1816:⁷⁵¹

Blessed is the man who has suppressed all his passions, and who subsequently carries out all affairs of daily life with decisiveness, unconcerned about the outcome!
Selig ist, der alle Leidenschaften unterdrückt hat und dann mit seiner Thatkraft alle Angelegenheiten des Lebens unbesorgt um den Erfolg verrichtet!

Reason, Beethoven learned from Fraguier's illumination of Platonism, should lead all actions in life and should control all passions. For the Stoics, passions were uncontrolled drives, instances of disturbance that rested on an overestimation of indifferent things, hence on faulty judgments. Indulgence in a passion was similar to a diseased state of mind, and therefore the ideal was complete elimination, which would create a blessed state of *apatheia*.

Beethoven seems to have been concerned about the issue of controlling passions. He realized that he was often remiss in this area, although he made efforts to give preference to reason. He once even boasted (to Ries) that he

possessed the gift to hide and hold back my sensitivity towards a great many things⁷⁵²

although this seems to have been a somewhat haughty pose. By that time (1804) he was well aware of Plutarch's warnings on that point, and he no doubt took these to heart - much like Schreyvogel ('Plutarch helps me with restraining my passions').⁷⁵³ There were instances when he was explicit about passions, inveighing against them. In 1816, he jotted down in his *Tagebuch*:

⁷⁵⁰ Reale, *Systems*, 374.

⁷⁵¹ MST, 75 (No. 64a).

⁷⁵² BGA, 186 (1804).

⁷⁵³ JST, vol. 2, 104.

Sensual pleasure without a spiritual union is and remains bestial, afterwards there is no trace of a noble feeling, rather of remorse.
Sinnlicher Genuss ohne Vereinigung der Seelen ist und bleibt viehisch, nach selben hat man keine Spur einer edlen Empfindung vielmehr Reue.⁷⁵⁴

Some scholars have been led to surmise that he formulated this after sexual contact, perhaps with a prostitute,⁷⁵⁵ and that it had the ‘flavour of experience’.⁷⁵⁶ This does not seem persuasive, though. He was perhaps not a ‘model of chasteness’ and had ‘normal sexual urges’, as Max Unger rightly argued (Josephine Deym complained that he was ‘too sensual’),⁷⁵⁷ but there are reasons for assuming that the notice was lifted from ancient dogmatic writings. Helpful here is Schreyvogel, who was at the time absorbed in the topic. He recorded in his diary something conspicuously similar:

Sensual pleasure is only justified in case of spiritual union and the mutual intention of conceiving children (...) All sexual intercourse willingly avoiding conception is f[ornica]tion. (...) There is an alternative for sensual pleasure: exercise and rest (...) That was the diet of Socrates and the real Stoic, who admittedly knew the enjoyment, but did not allow it to control them.

Die Übereinstimmung der Herzen und die gegenseitige Absicht, Kinder zu erzeugen, kann den Geschlechts-genuss allein rechtfertigen. (...) Jede Vereinigung der Geschlechter, wobei die Zeugung absichtlich vermieden wird, ist H - rei.(...) Es gibt einen Ersatz für Sinnlichen Genuss: Bewegung und Ruhe (...) Das war die Diät des Socrates und der echten Stoiker, die das Vergnügen zwar kannten, aber nur nicht zu ihrem Herren machen wollten.⁷⁵⁸

Neither Beethoven’s nor Schreyvogel’s source has been identified, but it is likely that both men paraphrased what they had read. Since Schreyvogel was at the time delving into the Stoics, there is sense to the view that his text was consequent upon reading Epictetus, who in his *Enchiridion* made the recommendation of sexual asceticism before marriage: ‘As for intercourse of the sexes, guard yourself to the best of your power from unlawful contact before marriage. Yet, be not grievous or censorious to those who use such pleasures, nor boast frequently that you yourself do otherwise’.⁷⁵⁹ That Schreyvogel came across this, is confirmed by his diary: ‘The true (practical) Stoics such as Epictetus and Antonin [Marcus Aurelius] were very close to moral perfection’.⁷⁶⁰ It is likely that

⁷⁵⁴ MST, 105 (No. 122b).

⁷⁵⁵ Solomon, ‘Tagebuch of 1812-1818’, 268 and 273.

⁷⁵⁶ Burnett James, *Beethoven and Human Destiny* (London: Phoenix House, 1960), 36.

⁷⁵⁷ Max Unger, ‘Beethovens Konversationshefte als biographische Quelle: zu Georg Schünemanns Erstausgabe’, in *Die Musik* xxxiv (1942), 37-47, at 37. Joseph Schmidt-Görg’s objection that the word ‘sinnlich’ had a different context does not sound convincing; *Beethoven. Dreizehn unbekannte Briefe an Josephine Gräfin Deym geb. v. Brunsvik* (Bonn: Beethovenhaus, 1957), 227. Beethoven’s interest in Josephine must (also) have been of a libidinous nature.

⁷⁵⁸ JST, vol. 1, 72-3 (20 May 1811) and 134-5 (2 December 1811).

⁷⁵⁹ Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, XXXIII.

⁷⁶⁰ JST, vol. 1, 155.

Beethoven was also animated by these ideals and that he took a cue from Epictetus.

Although Reason should always dominate passion, dogmatic philosophy did not allow man to depart too much from the path plotted out for him by Providence. Both Platonism and Stoicism were wary of individualism, egocentricism or extreme autonomy, for these were detrimental to Nature's course. Plutarch recalled what the wise Solon had said about man protecting himself artificially from future losses (of wealth, offspring, friends), which was fundamentally wrong in that one should not be emotionally attached to things that are beyond one's control. It was better to train oneself to accept the temporality of cherished things, to exercise restraint, and to be grateful for the joy they give when they are there. Epictetus wrote: 'Never say of anything, "I lost it", but say, "I gave it back"'. Has your child died? It was returned [to God]'.⁷⁶¹ Plutarch was critical of his heroes Demosthenes and Cicero, who excessively mourned the loss of a daughter. Beethoven copied Solon's statement in his *Tagebuch* (see Chapter 6.2, No. 6) and there are indications that the topic troubled him. In 1811, he had consoled a friend who had lost his wife (the publisher Härtl), musing that 'this separation, which almost every married person has to face, might well deter anyone from entering the state of matrimony'.⁷⁶² Solon's remark may have provoked a shift in attitude and Beethoven may have drawn on him to abjure earlier views.

As for the obligation to show gratitude for the joys in life, he marked in his copy of the *Odyssey*:

Therefore, may man never rebel or be a rogue;
but that he may enjoy the gifts of the gods, in humility!
'Drum erhebe sich nimmer ein Mann, und frevele nimmer;
Sondern genieße, was ihm die Götter bescheren, in Demut!⁷⁶³

Rebelling was defying god's course. It was the wrong mental attitude, caused by lack of reason. Man should regard everything as a gift from the gods, even his own life, and should continuously express gratitude.⁷⁶⁴

7.4 Moral Issues

Much of Hellenistic philosophy was concerned with moral issues: with orders and prohibitions as guides for becoming a 'good' human being. Beethoven showed engagement with morals, throughout his life. One of his earliest utterances, often cited in the literature, was from c.

⁷⁶¹ John Rist, 'The Stoic Concept of Detachment', in Rist, *Stoics*, 259-72.

⁷⁶² BGA, 499.

⁷⁶³ See Appendix F, No. 60 (*Odyssey*, XVIII, 140-1).

⁷⁶⁴ The Stoics had a long tradition in interpreting Homer as a proto-Stoic. They admired him because in their view he had a correct understanding of the world, which fitted theirs. See A.A. Long, 'Stoic Readings of Homer', in ed. R. Lamberton et al., *Homer's Ancient Readers. The Hermeneutics of Epic's Earliest Exegetes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 41-66, at 42.

1798 and addressed to his friend Zmeskall. This was the time when his extraordinary talent began to be widely recognized by contemporaries, and when he himself envisaged a glorious future based on greatness and success:

Go to the devil, I don't want to know anything about your whole system of morals, strength is the moral principle of people who stand out from the rest, and it is also mine.
hol' sie der Teufel, ich mag nichts von ihren ganzen Moral wissen, Kraft ist die Moral der Menschen, die sich vor andern auszeichnen, und sie ist auch die meinige.⁷⁶⁵

This must have resulted from a sense of unclouded self-confidence - indeed, a sense of power. The 27 year-old did not approve of a weak and accommodating attitude. Rather, he espoused a steadfast, resolute, manly and Stoic outlook, which was imperative for a 'great man' to carry out his duty. It is unknown what precisely triggered this jest (with a serious undertone). Perhaps Zmeskall had criticized Beethoven's overly aspirational attitude, his missing out on empathy in some matter; or he may have given financial advice that jeopardized his independence. Either way, Beethoven's response was harsh and self-righteous. In a chapter devoted to 'The Morality of Power', John Sullivan perceived it as 'arrogantly humorous', adding that Beethoven's consciousness of power not merely reflected other people's opinions about him, but that he felt it deeply within himself.⁷⁶⁶ Tia DeNora, who explored the issue from a sociological point of view, deduced that Beethoven's private concerns tended to extend to an impersonal level, which was 'the classic first phase, unintentionally or not, of abuse of power or influence'.⁷⁶⁷ Indeed, the 'Kraft' may be seen as representing a new assertiveness. Perhaps it even adumbrated the second-style heroic idealism and truculence.

It can only be guessed what 'system of morals' (ganzen Moral) Beethoven devoted his superlatives to, but it is tempting to relate it to the Winckelmannian interpretation of ancient art that prevailed in the late 1790s, based on the ideal of strength, nobility of character, endurance, fearlessness, heroic stance in the face of adversity, and Homeric hardiness.⁷⁶⁸ The perfect representation of these qualities was found in the *Laocoon* group, and indeed the 'Kraft' utterance was soon followed by the title *Pathétique* for the Piano Sonata Opus 13 (see Chapter 8). The word 'Kraft' seems to have had a special significance for Beethoven. In later letters he emphasized that this should always prevail: 'a man should persevere without complaints and feel his insignificance'.⁷⁶⁹ He also noted that 'our age needs powerful minds' (kräftige Geister), not weak

⁷⁶⁵ BGA, 35.

⁷⁶⁶ Sullivan, *Spiritual Development*, 93.

⁷⁶⁷ DeNora, *Construction of Genius*, 178.

⁷⁶⁸ This was elaborated by Sulzer, *Schöne Künste*, vol. 2, 602-05.

⁷⁶⁹ BGA, 934.

scoundrels'.⁷⁷⁰ The word also dominated the text of the Chorus Fantasy Opus 80. As a person and artist, Beethoven seems to have radiated an inordinate amount of spiritual strength. Still in 1826, Franz Grillparzer noted: 'If only I had one thousandth part of your strength and perseverance!'⁷⁷¹ Achieving things by way of courageous and persistent endeavour was a hallmark of Beethoven's character.

Two other concepts reminiscent of the Stoa can be found in the letter to the 'Immortal Beloved' from 6-7 July 1812. The first is:

why this deep sorrow, when Necessity speaks -
warum dieser Tiefe Gram, wo die Nothwendigkeit spricht -⁷⁷²

Beethoven was unusually poetical here. He meant to say 'there is no other way', but resorted to a metaphor, the 'speaking' of the concept of Necessity. For the Stoics, Necessity was the outcome of what they called Fate, which was inextricably linked to the belief that all events were predetermined. Fate was an overarching set of causal relations through which everything was connected; it was the instrument by which God exerted his providential activity, leading to an ineluctable Necessity: 'Since everything depends on the immanent *logos*, everything is necessary, even the most insignificant event'.⁷⁷³ *Logos* was identical with Necessity. Later Stoics were concerned about the rather fatalistic stance of this doctrine, because it threatened to make human responsibility meaningless. The manner by which this fragile conflict between free will and Necessity was ironed out must remain outside the scope of this thesis, but a famous simile suffices to illustrate the Stoic view of Necessity: 'Just as a dog tied to a wagon, if it is willing to follow, follows as it is also being pulled, making its own autonomy coincide with Necessity; whereas if it is unwilling to follow, it will in any event be compelled. So it is with human things'.⁷⁷⁴

In an effort to comfort his beloved, Beethoven intimated that it was futile to resist Fate, as was promulgated by Necessity. He was very sensible to this hallmark of the Stoa. In 1815 he wrote: 'There are reasons for human demeanour that cannot be explained easily, although predicated upon an everlasting Necessity'.⁷⁷⁵ In his *Tagebuch* he pondered that someone who suffers with an affliction should realize that he could have perished earlier, 'for instance by murder' - an implicit

⁷⁷⁰ BGA, 2026.

⁷⁷¹ BKh ix, 169.

⁷⁷² BGA, 582. Brandenburg's rendering of the letter is not fully accurate: the word 'auch' (p. 271, line 4) is not in the original.

⁷⁷³ Reale, *Systems*, 251; Sandbach, *Stoics*, 79-82.

⁷⁷⁴ Charlotte Stough, 'Stoic Determinism and Moral Responsibility', in Rist, *Stoics*, 203-31, at 222.

⁷⁷⁵ BGA, 834.

acceptance of Necessity.⁷⁷⁶ This musing was immediately followed by an emphatic exclamation:

Show me your power, fate! We are not master of ourselves, what is decided must be, and so be it!
Zeige deine Gewalt[,] Schicksal! Wir sind nicht Herrn über uns selbst; was beschlossen ist, muss seyn, und so sey es dann!⁷⁷⁷

Another reference to Necessity ('what is decided') was in a letter to Tiedge: 'I had to say with Alcibiades "so after all man has no free will" [so hat denn der Mensch keinen Willen]'.⁷⁷⁸

A second passage from the most comprehensively discussed of Beethoven's letters, the one to his Immortal Beloved, has hitherto received little attention, but it goes to the heart of a key issue of Stoic thinking: the notion of the 'divine in man'. The Stoics denied Platonic transcendence. For them, the cosmos was shot through with a divine 'pneuma' - which actually made them the first pantheists in the history of Western thought.⁷⁷⁹ Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius went out of their way to advance that humans were portions of universal nature, which entailed that there was an element of the divine in them that was constantly active. As Meiners explained, when illuminating Stoic thought by the end of the eighteenth century: 'They said that the human soul is one with the godhead, hence an outgrowth or spark of fiery divine matter; [they] contend that within each of us there houses a god, who is a divine protector, commander and supervisor'.⁷⁸⁰ It was this divine spark that was responsible for an artist's creativity.⁷⁸¹ Indeed, Beethoven often referred to music as his 'divine art'. In the 'Immortal Beloved' letter he articulated:

when I consider myself in the whole of the universe, what am I and what is he - whom one calls the greatest - and yet - on the other hand therein lies the divine element in man.
wenn ich mich im Zusammenhang des Universums betrachte, was bin ich und was ist der - den man den Grössten nennt - und doch - ist wider hierin das Göttliche des Menschen.⁷⁸²

The notion of 'God within us' was a focal point of both Platonism and the Stoa. This is not the place to elaborate Beethoven's concept of God and its ramifications. It suffices to point at a persuasive strand of scholarship that contends that his views about God 'were not founded confessionally or christologically, but rather intellectually', in view of books and personal

⁷⁷⁶ MST, 83 (No. 72).

⁷⁷⁷ MST, 83 (No. 73).

⁷⁷⁸ BGA, 525.

⁷⁷⁹ Reale, *Systems*, 214.

⁷⁸⁰ Meiners, *Philosophische Schriften*, vol. 2, 136-7.

⁷⁸¹ Marcelo D. Boeri, 'Does Cosmic Nature Matter? Some Remarks on the Cosmological Aspects of Stoic Ethics', in Salles, *God and Cosmos*, 173-200.

⁷⁸² BGA, 582.

memoranda.⁷⁸³ The concept of ‘God within us’ exhibits a link to this.

Intimate and philosophical-oriented outpourings like the two mentioned seem to imply that Beethoven expected his Beloved to be receptive to this sort of allusions, and that she could assimilate the tenor of what he attempted to express. The lady in question must therefore have been reasonably sophisticated and well-read.

During more than five centuries, the linchpin of Stoic ethics was the notion of ‘having the right mental attitude’. Man’s excellence, or virtue, did not depend on his success, or on things popularly called ‘good’ in life (health, reputation, honour, wealth), but solely on the insight that by his actions he contributed to the divine course. A ‘perfect’ or morally right act did not proceed from its result but from why it was done, its motive, without stint or condition.⁷⁸⁴ In one of his most extensive *Tagebuch* quotes, Beethoven addressed this issue, chronicling something fundamentally Stoic, albeit not taken from a Stoic source.

Let the motive be in the deed, not in the outcome. Do not be one of those, whose motivator for action is the hope of being rewarded. (...) Be active, perform your duty, banish all thoughts about results and effect, whether this might be good or bad, for such equanimity points to concentration on the spiritual. (...) Find a retreat in wisdom alone, for he who is miserable and unhappy is this solely on account of [his attitude towards] the outcome.
Lass den Beweggrund in der That und nicht im Ausgang seyn. Sey nicht einer von denen[,] deren Triebfeder zum Handeln die Hoffnung des Lohns ist. (...) Sey betriebsam, erfülle deine Pflicht, verbanne alle Gedanken an die Folg[e]n und den Ausgang[,] er möge gut oder übel sey, denn solche Gleichmüthigkeit heisst Aufmerksamkeit auf das Geistige. (...) Suche dann allein in der Weisheit eine Freystatt, denn der Elende und Unglückliche ist diess nur durch den Erfolg der Dinge.⁷⁸⁵

The source from which he took this, has only recently been identified. It was Eberhard Zimmermann, *Taschenbuch der Reisen, oder unterhaltende Darstellung der Entdeckungen des 18=ten Jahrhunderts, in Rücksicht der Länder - Menschen- und Produktenkunde* (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer d. Jung., 1813).⁷⁸⁶ In this book, the cited passage actually reflected the wisdom of ancient India, from about 200 BC (thus curiously contemporaneous with the Stoa). As Appel convincingly argued, cultural-historical contexts were of little importance to Beethoven, who noted the maxims primarily with an eye to his own conditions. What mattered to him was the possibility that he could ‘spiritually identify’ himself with the line of thinking. He must have considered the maxim very meaningful, for he taught it Karl as a moral lesson.⁷⁸⁷

⁷⁸³ Wolfshohl, *Lesepaten*, 114.

⁷⁸⁴ Sandbach, *Stoics*, 45-9; I. G. Kidd, ‘Moral Actions and Rules in Stoic Ethics’, in ed. John M. Rist, *The Stoics* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978), 247-58, at 248.

⁷⁸⁵ MST, 77 (No. 64b, 1815/16).

⁷⁸⁶ Identified by Appel, ‘Indische Geisteswelt’, 38.

⁷⁸⁷ BGA, 2020; there are doubts, though, about the authenticity of the letter.

Karl's inner constitution was always a matter of concern to him. In a letter to his tutor Cajetan Giannattasio del Rio, Beethoven wrote:

... I ask you to give more attention to his sentiments and correct state of mind [Gemüth], in that the latter, if anything, is the lever for all virtues (...) it is regarded by our greatest of writers, like Goethe and others, as a perfect trait, yes, without a correct state of mind it is absolutely impossible, some claim, that an excellent person can exist at all...

... ich bitte sie mehr sein Gefühl u. Gemüth in Anspruch zu nehmen, da besonders das letztere der Hebel zu allen Tugenden ist (...) wird es doch von unsern grössten Schriftstellern wie von Goethe u.a. als eine Vorzügliche Eigenschaft betrachtet, ja ohne Gemüth behaupten manche, dass gar kein augezeichneter Mensch bestehen könne (...)⁷⁸⁸

For someone as attached to the concept of virtue (Tugend) as Beethoven - he employed the term on numerous occasions - the wellspring of all virtues must have been something almost sacrosanct. He called this 'Gemüth', which is difficult to translate, the more so since it was placed against 'Gefühl' (sentiment, feeling). What he possibly envisaged, was the Stoic notion of 'the right mental attitude', the mother of all virtues that spawned four subordinated ones: wisdom, temperance, fortitude, and justice. With 'Gemüth', translated here with 'correct state of mind', Beethoven may have denoted Karl's 'interior spiritual disposition', which for the Stoics was identical with 'correct knowledge', and what was later called 'good will' by the Christians.⁷⁸⁹ It will have been no coincidence that when Beethoven wrote this passage, in 1816, he was absorbed in Plutarch.

The concept of the 'right mental attitude' seems to have been close to Beethoven's heart and links with antiquity seem too coincidental to be ignored. When reading a tragedy about the time of Alexander the Great, for example, which centred about a man (Herostratus) who demonstrated lack of 'Tugend', he could not resist the impulse of citing in his conversation book:

The world is a king, and it likes to be flattered if it is to be well-disposed. However, true art is obstinate, and does not let itself be pressed into forms that flatter. (...) / "One says [that] Art is long [and] Life short - but Life is long and Art is short. Should its breath elevate us to the level of the Gods, then this favour is bestowed upon us for a brief moment -".

Die Welt ist ein König, u. sie will geschmeichelt seyn, Soll sie sich günstig zeigen - Doch wahre Kunst ist eigensinnig, lässt sich nicht in Schmeichelnde Formen zwingen. (...) / "Man sagt die Kunst sey lang, kurz das Leben - Lang' ist das Leben nur, kurz die Kunst; Soll unss ihr Hauch zu den Göttern heben - so ist er eines Augenblickes Gunst -".⁷⁹⁰

This has been quoted in the literature as having been of Beethoven's own invention,⁷⁹¹ but it

⁷⁸⁸ BGA, 928 (1816).

⁷⁸⁹ Reale, *Systems*, 272, 277.

⁷⁹⁰ BKh i, 326.

⁷⁹¹ See for instance Lewis Lockwood, 'Beethoven's Emergence from Crisis: the Cello Sonatas of Op. 102 (1815)', in *Journal of Musicology* xvi (1998), 301-22, at 305.

was actually taken from the Vienna *Conversationsblatt* (9 March 1820), which had brought part of the tragedy *Herostratos* by Franz Maria von Nell.⁷⁹² On the very day that Alexander was born, in 356 BC, a man in Ephesos called Herostratos set fire to the temple of Artemis, one of the seven Wonders of the World. His aim was to gain immortality. In the tragedy he discussed this with the painter Apelles, prior to the act. Apelles himself did not crave notoriety: ‘Art itself incites me’, he said, to which Herostratus replied: ‘And yet you are famous? No, the world is a king...’ - here followed the passage copied out by Beethoven.

As a result, these words came from a low-minded person with a wrong attitude: a man craving for fame at whatever cost, and convinced that ‘Life is long and art short’ - the opposite of philosophical teaching. Beethoven was no doubt triggered by Herostratus’s outrageous opinions about the value of art, time and immortality. As elaborated in Chapter 6.2 (under No. 8) the topic of ‘Life is short’ was a delicate one for him, and he copied sentences on it from Homer and Plutarch. Seneca illuminated the Stoic concept of ‘vita brevis’ in a book from 49 AD, *De Brevitate Vitae*. A wise man is always busy, he asserted, he scarcely allows himself the time to look back in life. Nothing is more valuable than time and one should not let unimportant things interfere.

It cannot be proven that Beethoven read Seneca, but it is conspicuous that various topics Seneca wrote about in great length, received his heartfelt appreciation. There was for instance his *De Beneficiis*, which covered the intricate problem of the effect on giver and recipient of gifts, favours, help and kindness. As already adumbrated, this was of overriding concern to Beethoven. A curious entry in a conversation book from February 1823 is an indication of this:

he was always my enemy, and precisely for that reason I did [him] every possible favour
il’etoit toujours mon ennemi, et c’etoit justement la raison, que je fusse tout le bien que
possible⁷⁹³

Beethoven wrote this in French, so that lower educated people in his vicinity, like servants, could not understand it. His utterance was part of a conversation with Schindler about Wenzel Robert Gallenberg, the spouse of Julia Guicciardi, Beethoven’s one-time piano pupil (1800-01). Gallenberg, who was a composer himself, had been his rival: both men hoped to win Julia’s heart. Gallenberg was the winner and married her. In 1823, Beethoven and Schindler stirred up these old memories.

From a modern standpoint, Beethoven’s reaction to his defeat was an odd one. Not only did he willingly and magnanimously cede his beloved to his opponent (in spite of her having loved him more than she loved Gallenberg, as he said to Schindler), but he overcompensated this by bestowing

⁷⁹² BKh ii, 452.

⁷⁹³ BKh ii, 366.

a gift upon him in the form of a considerable amount of money, by his own account anonymously. Such supererogatory act of altruism and generosity was promoted by ancient philosophy, which took the approach that helping an enemy was beneficial to the giver because it reflected moral greatness and heroic self-denial. There were analogues in Plutarch. Pompey, for instance, saw virtue in it to leave a woman whom he loved to a friend, never to touch her again. Flamininus ‘found more friendship in those who he could help, than in those who were able to bestow this, and he considered the former as subjects upon whom he could exercise his virtue, the latter as rivals to his fame’.⁷⁹⁴ The theme was also touched upon in Meissner’s *Alcibiades*: ‘Even the gods cannot revenge themselves in a more noble way than by lavishing benefits [on a fallen woman]’.⁷⁹⁵ Without delving too deeply into Beethoven’s psyche, it is enough to note that his attitude was related to his life-long hypersensitivity with regard to giving and receiving gifts - in this case ‘giving’ stretched to its very limit.⁷⁹⁶ The Gallenberg case deserves spotlighting because it seems to have been a symptom rather than the bottom line.

A wise man accepts all that happens as providentially ordered; his virtue consists in the right approach to things and actions that are in themselves morally indifferent. This staple feature of Stoic thought entailed that adversity and suffering in life should be accepted as a well-thought-out plan of Zeus, and that these had positive sides, although not immediately recognizable. Life’s ordeals strengthened man’s virtue. As Seneca formulated: ‘God welcomes the sight of a great man struggling successfully with calamities’.⁷⁹⁷ And in the words of Epictetus: ‘It is a man’s duty to bear the pains that God sends him: only if deprived of life’s necessities does he know that God sounds the recall’.⁷⁹⁸ Pivotal was that pain and suffering contributed to God’s overall plan. In a letter to Marie Erdödy from 19 September 1815, Beethoven showed that he was not insensible to such musings:

We, finite beings with an infinite spirit, are born only for misery and for joy, and one might almost say that the better ones obtain joy through suffering.
wir endliche mit dem unendlichen Geist sind nur zu leiden und Freuden gebohren, und beynah könnte man sagen die ausgezeichneten erhalten durch leiden Freude -⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹⁴ Schirach, vol. 3, 509-10: ‘Er suchte mehr die Freundschaft solcher Personen, die seiner Hülfe bedürftig waren, als derjenigen, die ihm helfen konnten, und betrachtete jene als Gelegenheiten, seine grossen Eigenschaften zu zeigen, diese als Nebenbuhler seines Ruhms’.

⁷⁹⁵ Meissner, *Alcibiades*, 159.

⁷⁹⁶ Something similar happened in 1808 with Julie von Vering, a lady also ‘ceded to a friend’ by Beethoven (KC, 343). As for bestowing gifts on enemies anonymously: Beethoven did the same with Johanna (see BKh ii, 364 and 369).

⁷⁹⁷ Sandbach, *Stoics*, 156.

⁷⁹⁸ Sandbach, *Stoics*, 51.

⁷⁹⁹ BGA, 827.

In an effort to comfort his friend, he spoke of himself. Over time, he had created a capacity for suffering, having learned that enduring and resisting was purifying and morally uplifting. For Sullivan, who broadened the discussion to music, Beethoven ‘believed that the price was worth paying’, because he was aware of the relationship between his own creative energy and his (reaction to) misfortunes and the buffetings of fate.⁸⁰⁰ True or not, Beethoven’s incomparably high share of suffering in life (which was common knowledge; in later years it was even publicly discussed in newspapers and magazines)⁸⁰¹ will have sharpened his insight into the ramifications of adversity. By extension, the *Tagebuch* entry ‘The significant distinction of a man of eminence. Endurance in situations of adversity and hardship’ could be mentioned here, which Beethoven remembered from Plutarch’s *Life of Eumenes*. This may count as one of the most compelling articulations of what concerned him personally.⁸⁰² That the Erdödy letter passage was consonant with Stoic views, finds its confirmation in Schreyvogel’s description of a Stoic sage: ‘A calm spirit hardened against suffering’, who ‘despises feelings of lust of a weakling’.⁸⁰³

7.5 Summary

The above anthology leads to the following observations. First, a number of Beethoven’s private opinions and feelings seem indebted to notions celebrated by dogmatic Hellenistic philosophy, in particular Stoicism and Platonism. The overall impression one gets from very different types of sources, widely distributed over time, is that Beethoven adhered to themes that had a direct tangent to premises underlying these philosophies. Ideas about controlling passions, things beyond one’s control, facing adversity, necessity and fate, joy and brotherhood, performing duty etcetera may have been fuelled by sentences, apothegms and wise sayings that he encountered in writings from and about Greco-Roman antiquity.

Second, with allowance made for the fact that there were correlations and overlappings with other schools, Stoic thinking appears to have prevailed - in spite of Plutarch’s reservations. Although Beethoven himself - as far as is known - never mentioned this school, he seems to have been drawn to its tenets, the most pivotal of which was ‘living in conformity with nature’ (that is: accepting one’s particular role in the overall divine design) and maintaining a ‘correct mental attitude’ towards all that happens. Beethoven explicitly alluded to these precepts in a letter from 1816, where he stressed that

⁸⁰⁰ Sullivan, *Spiritual Development*, 69-70.

⁸⁰¹ See for instance JLM (1825), 312, where it was mentioned that in London the Ninth Symphony’s eccentricities were linked to ‘Sorrow, discontent with fate [and a] mood of despair’ (Missmuthe, der Unzufriedenheit mit dem Schicksale [und] verzweiflungsvollen Stimmung).

⁸⁰² MST, 89 (No. 93a).

⁸⁰³ JST, vol. 1, 55.

man's strength should stand the test, that means: he should endure without complaining and feel his insignificance, attaining perfection again, with which the Almighty deigns to honour us.⁸⁰⁴

It is also worth contemplating a source from an earlier period. When Carl Friedrich Kübeck ran into Beethoven in February 1801, this led to a short philosophical discussion, Kübeck expressing the view that human beings were social creatures, to the extent that 'every individual should contribute a tone - a pure and immaculate one - to the total harmony that constitutes society'. Beethoven disagreed with this: 'Not bad, but wrong. I don't like to socialize with a person who always exudes only one tone. What a boring comrade he would be, in spite of its purity. A person by and large represents what goes on in society, just like society stands for a somewhat more extended individual'.⁸⁰⁵ The theme seems close to the Stoic view about 'making its own autonomy coincide with Necessity', and one may at least infer that Beethoven had formed ideas about this already in 1801. This may well have been instigated by reading Plutarch. Schreyvogel affords help in understanding the implications for everyday life: after lauding Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus, the two banner-bearers of Roman Stoicism, he contemplated: 'Only now do I begin to take full advantage of the real benefit of the acquaintance with good writers and great men from antiquity. I sense the desire to reach the level of the best of them, for I pursue the Good'.⁸⁰⁶ Beethoven may have reasoned along similar lines. He believed in hard work and in sacrifice as a path to ultimate achievement.

Third, Beethoven believed in a 'moral law', as is evinced by his discussion about 'Naturrecht' with Bernard and his quote from Immanuel Kant. This notion was firmly ingrained in Stoicism (although not exclusively therein), and it seems prudent to keep open the possibility that he bestowed thought on it because it was a major feature of Hellenistic philosophy. Beethoven's excerpt 'we are not master of ourselves, what is decided must be', mentioned above, testifies to his belief in a supranatural origin of ethics.

The outcome of this calls for a reassessment of statements made by Schindler. Although there is ample reason to mistrust his assertions, it seems nevertheless prudent to attach some credibility to the claim:

He [Beethoven] took to heart, in order to console and elevate himself, what was ingrained in his memory about the practical wisdom of great men from antiquity, if this was applicable to his own circumstances. Occasionally, the Stoic and Peripatetic even held speeches for us about individual doctrines from these philosophical systems. At such moments, his whole being displayed a veritable ancient dignity.⁸⁰⁷

⁸⁰⁴ BGA, 934.

⁸⁰⁵ KC, 473.

⁸⁰⁶ JST, vol. 1, 106.

⁸⁰⁷ Sch60, II, 130.

This was no doubt hyperbole. Little is gained by picturing Beethoven as a philosophical expert, and John Paul Ito was right in assessing that he used maxims as rough, general conceptions rather than as philosophical specifics.⁸⁰⁸ It is conceivable, though, that when Schindler frequented Beethoven's lodgings he occasionally witnessed his master exploring ancient writings, and perhaps there were instances when Beethoven vented his enthusiasm about them. Discrediting Schindler's account completely would be reckless in view of the above discussed pieces of evidence. When he suggested that Beethoven was not beyond learning, and that late in life he still acknowledged that lessons could be gleaned, Schindler may not have been totally offending the truth, as was his wont in so many other cases, in spite of ridiculing caricatures that appeared of him as early as 1852.

⁸⁰⁸ Ito, 'Spiritual Narratives', at 340-1.

Chapter 8

Antiquity in Beethoven's Music

The Dionysian worldview (...) continues to fascinate serious souls in the most miraculous of metamorphoses and aberrations.
Friedrich Nietzsche (*Die Geburt der Tragödie*, 1888 [1871], 17)

Throughout his life Beethoven came into contact with Greco-Roman antiquity by virtue of his profession. From time to time, texts on ancient subjects came his way that were suited to songs, arias, ballet, operas, or theatre music. Some were commissions, others were chosen by himself because they had a personal resonance. Since Beethoven indulged in representing and 'painting' words and concepts musically, he tended to interrogate a text very closely beforehand, penetrating deeply into its meaning and context.

In total thirty-five projects reveal a relationship with antiquity, ranging from brief canons to large-scale stage music. This number includes the unfinished projects, sketches and abandoned plans. The repertory can be divided into three categories. First, projects explicitly and obviously related to antiquity by title and/or by nature. Second, works in which antiquity is present in latent but clearly recognizable form. And third, music in which antiquity is touched upon briefly, indirectly or merely by association.

8.1 A Survey of the Works

A survey of Beethoven's musical output with regard to antiquity - plans, ideas and sketches included - leads to the following synoptic overview:

A. Works and plans directly related to antiquity:

1. Ballet music *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, for orchestra, Opus 43 (1801)
2. Oratorio *Nero*, unrealized (1803)
3. Opera *Vestas Feuer*, Unv. 15, unfinished (1803)
4. Overture *Coriolan*, Opus 62 (1807)
5. Stage music *Die Ruinen von Athen*, for soloists, choir and orchestra, Opus 113 (1811)
6. Opera *Les ruines de Babylone*, unrealized (1811)
7. Opera *Ulysses Wiederkehr*, unrealized (1812-13)
8. Triumphmarsch for the tragedy *Tarpeja*, WoO 2a (1813)
9. Opera *Romulus and Remus*, unrealized (1814-15)
10. Opera *Bachus*, unrealized (1815)
11. Sketch on Homer's 'Wär es ein anderer nun' (1815-16)
12. Sketches for a shepherds choir for Pan (1815-16)
13. Canon 'Und die rosige Frühe', unrealized (1816)

14. Musical phrase on Euripides's *Thut auf*, uncatalogued (1820)
15. Opera *Die Apotheose im Tempel des Jupiter Ammon*, unrealized (1822)
16. Canon on Homer's 'Alle gewaltsame Tat', uncatalogued (1825)
17. Oratorio *Der Sieg des Kreuzes*, unrealized (1815-26)

B. Works latently related to antiquity:

18. Aria *Ah! Perfido*, for soprano and orchestra, Opus 65 (1796)
19. Song 'Opferlied', WoO 126 (1794-98)
20. Terzetto *Tremate, empi, tremate*, for three soloists and orchestra, Opus 116 (1802-3)
21. Symphony with 'griechischer Mithos' and 'Feyer des Bacchus', unrealized (1818)
22. *Opferlied*, for soprano, choir and orchestra, Opus 121b (1822)
23. 3 Canons on 'Ars longa, vita brevis', WoO 170, 192 and 193 (1816, 1825 and ?)
24. Musical phrase and canon on 'Das Schöne zum Guten', WoO 202 and 203 (1823, 1825)

C. Works with antiquity obliquely addressed:

25. Song 'Schilderung eines Mädchens', WoO 107 (1783)
26. Song 'O care selve, oh cara', WoO 119 (1794-95)
27. A cappella piece 'Fra tutte le pene', for choir, WoO 99 No. 11 (1801-02)
28. A cappella piece 'Salvo tu vuoi lo sposo', for choir, WoO 99 No. 12 (1801-02)
29. Duet 'Ne' giorni tuoi felici', for two soloists and orchestra, WoO 93 (1802)
30. Sketches for the song 'Wunsch', on a text by Matthisson (1804)
31. Song 'L'amante impaziente', Opus 82 No. 3 (1809)
32. Song 'L'amante impaziente', Opus 82 No. 4 (1809)
33. Duet 'Odi l'aura che dolce sospira', Opus 82 No. 5 (1809)
34. Canon 'Cacatum non est pictum', WoO 224 (1820)
35. *Bundeslied*, for two voices, choir and wind instruments, Opus 122 (1822-24)

Instead of discussing these works individually, the approach in this chapter is to evaluate the repertory from the viewpoint of recurring themes (Bacchus, Opera Plans, Socrates), for it is not so much the aim to discuss musical aspects, but to explore how Beethoven gave expression to specific texts and story-lines.

8.2 Bacchus

Bacchus, as the Romans called him (for the Greeks he was Dionysus), was famous for the ecstasy of his retinue, the 'thiasus' (from which our word 'enthusiasm' stems: 'being in thiasus', out of control). His followers consisted of wild females, the maenads, and of satyrs with erect penises. The god himself was drawn in a chariot by lions or tigers, often accompanied by a drunken bearded Silenus. All danced and played loud music.⁸⁰⁹ This god of wine, fertility, the theatre and frenzy crossed Beethoven's path more than once. He was present in the ballet *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, was the protagonist of an opera libretto, and Beethoven envisaged incorporating a *Bacchusfest* (or Bacchanale) in the finale of a symphony, which may in turn have marked his choice for the finale of the Ninth Symphony. He also wrote convivial pieces related to him, such as the *Bundeslied*. Beethoven associated Bacchus with exhilarating joy, as may be inferred from an 1811

⁸⁰⁹ For a comprehensive account of Bacchus in music see Eckhard Roch, 'Die Lyra des Orpheus. Musikgeschichte im Gewande des Mythos', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* lxi (2004), 137-59.

letter in which he stated that he had just come from a ‘bacchanal’, admitting that ‘exuberant pleasure often drives me back quite forcefully into myself again’.⁸¹⁰

Plutarch supplied Beethoven with supplementary information. In the *Life of Alexander*, he related about Bacchus’s victorious return from India, accompanied by jubilant sounds of flutes and shawms, song and string playing, and by the cheering of female bacchantes. Tacitus described the sexual extravagances of Messalina, wife of Emperor Claudius, who ‘with flowing hair shook the thyrsus, Silanus at her side, crowned with ivy and wearing the buskin, moved his head to some lascivious chorus’.⁸¹¹ Horace’s ‘Lob des Bacchus’, which Beethoven possessed in a translation by Ramler,⁸¹² comprised in the second stanza the notorious call ‘evohe!’ (see Figure 23). In a letter to Franz Brentano from 1816, Beethoven demonstrated that he knew of this yell: ‘with each offering to Bacchus he deserves the rank of high priest, and no better *Evoe* can be brought forward than through him’.⁸¹³ More musical aspects of the Bacchus rites were described by Euripides, in his *Bacchae* (see Chapter 5). Overall, Beethoven was quite reasonably informed historically.

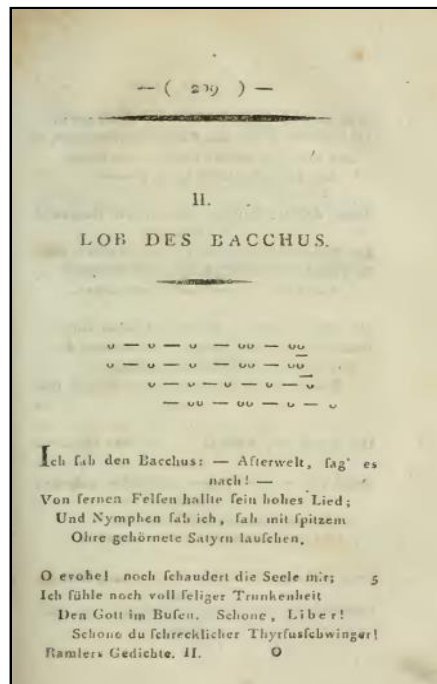


Figure 23. First page of Horace’s ‘Lob des Bacchus’ in Ramler’s translation.

By the end of 1800, he was invited to contribute music to a ballet about the Greek half-god Prometheus. A ballet normally called for a series of short pieces designed to please a contemporary theatre audience. The general character approached that of a divertimento.⁸¹⁴ This explains why

⁸¹⁰ BGA, 485.

⁸¹¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, book XI (year 48 AD).

⁸¹² Ramler, *Poetische Werke*, vol. 2, 209-11.

⁸¹³ BGA, 914.

⁸¹⁴ Beethoven’s *Prometheus* music was unusually action-inspired - which was in fact the main point of

Beethoven's *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* (No. 1 of the above list) largely consists of dances. The story itself was only loosely based on mythology. The theatre bill mentioned that the philosophers of ancient Greece were familiar with the fable of Prometheus, a noble spirit who helped the human race by introducing them to art and science. He created two statues, whom he led onto Mount Parnassus to the God of fine arts, Apollo (Beethoven had him play the harp). The God consequently summoned Amphion, Arione and Orpheus to teach the statues music. Melpomene and Thalia were to teach them tragedy and comedy, and Terpsichore, Pan and Bacchus dance - Pan the shepherd dance and Bacchus the heroic dance.⁸¹⁵

The sequence of names in this bill does not match the sequence of movements in Beethoven's score, which suggests that there were last-minute changes, and possible cancellations.⁸¹⁶ The vexing question is: what movement of Beethoven's *Prometheus* music is the 'heroic dance' of Bacchus? Most commentators have regarded No. 8 of the score as the Bacchus dance.⁸¹⁷ Other have identified No. 12 with it, since the role of Bacchus was played by a certain Ferdinand Gioja at the premiere and Nos. 11 and 12 bear the title 'Coro di Gioja' and 'Solo di Gioja'.⁸¹⁸ But the playbill goes: 'Apollo commands Amphion, Arion and Orpheus to instruct them [the statues] music, Melpomene and Thalia tragedy and comedy, Terpsichore and Pan the most recently invented dance of shepherds, and Bacchus the heroic dance of which he is the inventor',⁸¹⁹ and on this basis one may expect the finale (No. 16) to have been the Bacchus dance.⁸²⁰ An important implication would be that the finale of Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony (which uses the same theme), is not so much a 'Promethean festivity',⁸²¹ but rather a *Bacchusfest*, the exuberant opening being an 'evohe' and the climactic variation of bars 210-256 an ecstatic encomium on the God. Uncertainty prevails, and the topic still needs ongoing research.

In 1815, Beethoven received a letter from his long-time friend Carl Amenda, with whom he had been in close contact in 1798-99. It was accompanied by the opera libretto *Bachus*, written by

criticism. For the comprehensive literature on the music see Voss, 'Schwierigkeiten', 21-40.

⁸¹⁵ For a full transcription of the bill see Witte, 'Beethoven, Homer und die Antike', 32.

⁸¹⁶ Anton Reicha reported that ballet music required much coordination between composer and choreographer. See Klaus Blum, 'Bemerkungen Anton Reichas zur Aufführungspraxis der Oper', in *Die Musikforschung* vii (1954), 429-40.

⁸¹⁷ In a review in JLM (June 1801) it was stated that 'Bacchus, Terpsichore, Melpomene, Pan and Thalia' all had their dances, which suggests that the reviewer had perceived them in that order (hence with Bacchus as No. 8).

⁸¹⁸ Among the adherents are Arnold Schering, *Beethoven und die Dichtung* (Leipzig: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1936), 174, and Cooper, *Beethoven*, 100.

⁸¹⁹ Witte, 'Beethoven, Homer und die Antike', 32.

⁸²⁰ Carl Dahlhaus, *Beethoven* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1989), 50.

⁸²¹ Constantin Floros, *Beethovens Eroica und Prometheusmusik* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1978). The assumption was discredited by Sieghard Brandenburg in 'Rezensionen' in *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* x (1983), 408-11 and by Egon Voss, 'Schwierigkeiten', 23. Among the adherents of Floros is Lewis Lockwood.

Amenda's friend, Rudolf vom Berge, Amenda was smitten by it: 'I remember that you more than once uttered the wish for a libretto on a worthy subject', he wrote, adding that this *Bachus* text was precisely what Beethoven needed - he would surely compose it 'con amore'.⁸²² This is important for assessing Beethoven's opera ambitions in the 1790s, about which little is known by dearth of sources. Evidently, even then he preferred a Classical theme, possibly one from Greek mythology. The libretto of the 'Grosse lyrische Oper' *Bachus* sent by Amenda (No. 10 in the above list) has been preserved, it is now in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (aut. 37,3) and still awaits a scholarly investigation. There are roles for Bacchus, Jupiter, Pluto, Proserpina, Silen[us], Polymnia, the Queen of the Amazons, the King of Thracia and his son. Beethoven did not compose it, although he seems to have appreciated the text.⁸²³ In 1822, he still considered taking it on and even claimed that parts were finished 'in his head'.⁸²⁴

In 1818, Beethoven showed plans for embedding Bacchus festivities in a projected symphony. This is testified by verbal instructions in a sketchleaf.⁸²⁵ While composing the second movement of his Piano Sonata Opus 106 he jotted down much-debated words about a vocal finale for a 'second symphony' for the Philharmonic Society in London:

Adagio canticle - Pious song in a symphony in the old modes - Lord God we praise Thee - alleluia - either by itself alone or as introduction to a fugue. Perhaps the whole second symphony to be characterized in this manner, where then in the last part or already in the Adagio the singing voices enter. The orchestra, violins, etc., are increased tenfold in the last part. Or the Adagio is some way repeated in the last part, whereby then for the first time the singing voices gradually enter - in the Adagio, text of Greek myth Ecclesiastical canticle - in the Allegro, festival of Bacchus.⁸²⁶

Adagio Cantique / Frommer Gesang / in einer Sinfonie / in den alten Tonarten / entweder / fuer sich allein / oder als Einleitung / in eine Fuge / "Herrgott dich loben wir / alleluja" / Vielleicht auf diese Weise die / ganze 2te Sinfonie charakteri= / siert, wo alsdann im letzten / Stück oder schon im adagio / die Singstimmen eintreten / Die orchester Violinen etc. werden beym letzten Stücke verzehnfacht. / oder das adagio wird auf gewisse Weise im letzten / Stück wiederholt wobey alsdann erst die Singstimmen / nach und nach eintreten - im adagio Text /griechischer Mithos Cantique Ecclesiastique / im Allegro Feyer des Bachus.⁸²⁷

Of central concern here are the phrases 'In the adagio the text of a Greek myth Ecclesiastical canticle - in the Allegro, festival of Bacchus'.⁸²⁸ Modern commentators have contemplated that a

⁸²² BGA, 791. Beethoven answered a few weeks later, but he did not mention the libretto.

⁸²³ KC 170. He said this to Karl Bursy, who visited him in the summer of 1816.

⁸²⁴ This was recollected by Ignaz Jeitteles, brother of Alois (KC, 546).

⁸²⁵ Beethoven Haus Bonn, BSk 8.

⁸²⁶ English translation taken from Max Unger, 'From Beethoven's Workshop', in MQ xxiv (1938), 323-40, at 327, note 6.

⁸²⁷ Text taken from Ludwig Misch, 'Eine problematische Aufzeichnung Beethovens', in *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* v (1966), 80-4, at 80-1.

⁸²⁸ About this time, the *Bacchusfest*, consisting of 'lyrical declamations of the deeds of Bacchus', was generally conceived as the origin of Greek tragedy. See ZEW (1818), 886.

fusion of the Christian and the pagan was envisaged here, just like the Ninth Symphony's finale 'mixes phrases from the classicizing apostrophe to the daughter of Elysium with phrases from the Christianizing injunction to be embraced by the world-kiss and seek the transcendental father'.⁸²⁹ By incorporating a Bacchus festivity, Beethoven aimed to link ancient and modern religions: 'The mix of classical and Christian theology is characteristic and allusive and, together with the Turkish music, breaks religious exclusivity decisively open' - although when adapting Schiller's ode he 'reduced the text and its contents by over half, cutting out entirely the Bacchanalian element'.⁸³⁰

A close relationship between the 1818 verbal sketch and the ultimate Ninth had already been posited in the first half of the twentieth century. Arnold Schering, a German musicologist now discredited for untenable and highly speculative theories about Beethoven's works having been inspired by world literature, invested in demonstrating that the 1818 jottings evinced that the Ninth's finale was a venerable *Bacchusfest* or *Dionysosfeier*.⁸³¹ The music was a 'glorifying rendering' (*verherrlichende Darstellung*) of a god bringing joy upon mortals, which was for Schering the Dionysus from Euripides's *Bacchae*. The God was introduced by a priest (tenor) who solemnly introduced the 'song of god', *An die Freude*, followed by several processions, the last of which ended awe-struck with 'Und der Cherub steht vor Gott'. The *Alla Marcia* represented god-possessed priests disguised as satyrs and Silenus (the 'thiasus'), who gave way to an actual bacchanalian ecstasy in the form of the instrumental fugue.

Schering's contextualization and interpretive framework have been discredited. But in defence of them it must be said that Schering was very well-informed: he knew about the 1818 jottings, read Bothe's Euripides translations, was familiar with Berge's *Bachus* text (from which he quoted several pages in an Appendix), and he even knew that Joseph von Collin's text of *Bradamante*, offered to Beethoven in 1808, contained the bacchanial 'evohe' shoutings. Schering perceived both text and music as exclusively Greek-inspired. He stressed that *An die Freude* had been little more than a drinking song, composed as such by dozens of composers.⁸³² Also pagan, in his view, was Goethe's *Bundeslied* (above list No. 35). Indeed, Beethoven originally meant to publish this together with the *Opferlied* and *Der Kuss* - which were pagan and secular in nature as well.⁸³³ The celebration of brotherhood in the *Bundeslied*, devised in the 1790s but reworked in

⁸²⁹ Kramer, 'Harem', 80.

⁸³⁰ Pascall, 'Vision', 121, 119.

⁸³¹ Schering, *Dichtung*, 163-78.

⁸³² Indeed, already in 1798, 57, the AMZ noted that the text had been 'very often' composed, and in 1799 (*Intelligenzblatt*, 66) it reported that again fourteen composers had utilized it. In October 1800, 78, and again in October 1801, 43, the Ode was referred to as a 'Dithirambe', a reinforcement of its pagan properties. In August 1802, 761, it was once more noted in the AMZ that many composers were prepared to compose this 'Gesellschaftslied' (song of fellowship).

⁸³³ This was prevented by a misunderstanding with publisher Schott (see NGA X,2 Armin Raab, 1998).

1822, may also be perceived as a praise of Bacchus, in view of the phrase ‘A god has blessed us with an open outlook on life’. The music was meant to be sung ‘in a circle of conviviality’ (in geselligen Kreisen zu singen). Schering might have used the date of origin of the *Bundeslied* (1822) as circumstantial evidence for his theories, for it was composed in the midst of work on the Ninth symphony.

8.3 Unresolved Dissonances

The figure of Bacchus merits a short digression, for it has long been believed that Beethoven made a serious attempt to set to music the aforementioned *Bachus* text sent by Amenda. Sketches populating page 52 of the *Scheide* sketchbook (1815–16)⁸³⁴ seem to indicate such an attempt, for they have words between the music that seem associated with antiquity: ‘gütiger schützender segender Pan’ and ‘es muss abge[...]tet werden aus dem B.M.- wo der Tanz nur absatzweis -.’ It was held that ‘B.M.’ stood for ‘B[acchus] M[otiv]’.⁸³⁵ On the same page Beethoven jotted down the pregnant contemplation:

Perhaps [leaving] dissonances unresolved throughout the opera, or [having them resolved] in a totally different manner, because our delicate music is incompatible with these unrefined times; the subject assuredly requires a bucolic treatment.

Dissonanzen vielleicht in der ganzen Oper nicht aufgelöst oder ganz anders da sich in diesen wüsten Zeiten unsere verfeinerte Musik nicht denken lässt.—muss das sujet durchaus als schäfermässig behandelt werden.

Ever since the time of Thayer and Nottebohm, scholars have been intrigued by these remarks which seem to suggest that Beethoven toyed with the idea of releasing the stranglehold of classical harmony.⁸³⁶ Some were led to surmise that they were a harbinger of the late style, a ‘seminal formula’ (Grundidee) for the dissonant introduction to the Ninth Symphony’s finale.⁸³⁷ Others related them to sketches from 1817 for ‘a choral symphony involving a “celebration of Bacchus”, recalling his rudimentary sketches for a pastoral opera on Bacchus in the *Scheide* Sketchbook’.⁸³⁸ The first to sound a note of caution was Sieghard Brandenburg, who could not find any agreement between the sketches and the *Bachus* libretto.⁸³⁹

⁸³⁴ Princeton, USA, *Scheide* Library, *Scheide* MA 130.

⁸³⁵ The first to suggest this was evidently Hugo Riemann, in TDR, iii, 503-4. See also Walther Nohl, ‘Beethovens Opernpläne’, in *Die Musik* xxxi (1939), 741–7, and Pečman, *Opernpläne*, 63.

⁸³⁶ TDR, iii, 503-4; Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana*, 329-30. Nohl, *Opernpläne*, 743.

⁸³⁷ Paul Mies, *Die Bedeutung der Skizzen Beethoven zur Erkenntnis seines Stiles* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1925), 131. Reschke, ‘Weltverständnis’, 84-6, linked the sketches to the Ninth Symphony’s second movement.

⁸³⁸ Kinderman, ‘Unfinished Piano Trio’, 41. See also William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 266.

⁸³⁹ BGA, 791, note 2.

Indeed, it can be ascertained here that there existed no connection between the notations and Bacchus. Beethoven's apposite jottings were related to a libretto for a comic opera called *Der Hechelkrämer*, which had been published anonymously in 1813.⁸⁴⁰ This text contained twenty-three vocal numbers with instrumental dances, and it had already been set to music by Friedrich Johann von Drieberg (1780–1856), who was no doubt also the author of the verses. The AMZ mentioned a performance of Drieberg's opera in Berlin on April 28, 1813.⁸⁴¹ Beethoven's words in the *Scheide* Sketchbook derived from No. 20 of the libretto, which was a short chorus on the text 'Ehre sey dir! Gütiger, schützender, segnender Pan, Nimm aus dem Munde der liebenden Deinen, Die sich zu Bitten und Wünschen vereinen, Opfer und lieber gefällig heut' an!' (Glory to you! Benevolent, protective, and blessing Pan, be so kind now to accept offerings and songs from the mouths of those who adore you and who unite in pleas and requests! See Figure 24).⁸⁴²

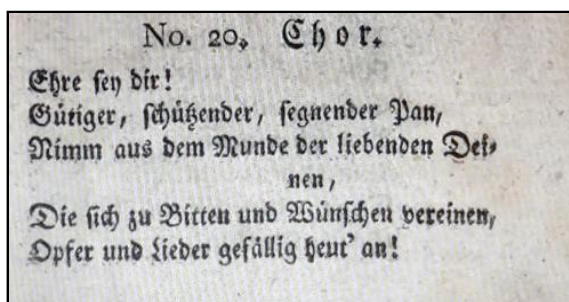


Figure 24. Fragment of page 37 of the libretto of *Der Hechelkrämer*, published in 1813.

Beethoven knew Drieberg, who had studied with Cherubini. At least from 1811 on, both men were in contact and Drieberg submitted to Beethoven the libretto *Les ruines de Babylone*, which was given serious consideration (see the above list, No. 6). Beethoven wrote to Drieberg that he would gladly reciprocate his favours by correcting his compositions.⁸⁴³

Der Hechelkrämer resolves the conundrum of Beethoven's jottings: the sketches in the *Scheide* sketchbook were for a middle-class story about 'Bergleute' (shepherds), 'Bauern' (farmers) and 'Blumenmädchen' (flower girls), and was unrelated to either Bacchus, Euripides or, for that

⁸⁴⁰ *Arien und Gesänge aus der komischen Oper in drei Akten mit Tänzen: Der Hechelkrämer. Musik von Friedrich von Drieberg* (Berlin, 1813, no publisher mentioned).

See <https://books.google.nl/books?id=aB0adkJjEXMC&pg=PT5&lpg=PT5&dq> (accessed March 2019).

⁸⁴¹ AMZ (26 May 1813), 349-50.

⁸⁴² Drieberg's text was based on the novel *Der Mäusefallen- und Hechelkrämer, eine Geschichte sehr wunderbar und doch natürlich* (1792) by Christian Heinrich Spiess (1755–1799), a popular novelist whose stories were very fashionable around 1800.

⁸⁴³ BGA, 502. On Drieberg see Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959), vol. 3, 256-7. Drieberg later developed into an expert on ancient Greek music, which had his lifelong interest. Impressive as the list of his publications is, most of his theories were unfounded.

matter, to antiquity in general. The verses were for a solemn prayer to Pan, the God of flocks and spring, which explains Beethoven's remark that it 'assuredly requires a bucolic treatment'. His 'B.M.' probably denoted 'Bauern Musik' or perhaps 'Blumen Mädchen'. Remarkably, the bold comment about 'unrefined times' requiring 'unresolved dissonances' was aimed at a simple chorus for an outspoken facile genre suited for the Leopoldstadt Theater. His comment 'throughout the opera' would suggest that he envisaged writing more than only the chorus, but it seems that at this stage he had received only the chorus text, perhaps at the behest of Drieberg to compose an *Einlage*. Beethoven sympathized with such undertakings. He had earlier written *Leonore Prohaska* (WoO 96); and 'Es ist vollbracht' (WoO 97) for the collective work *Die gute Nachricht*. In fact, between 1812 and 1816 he wrote quite a number of occasional pieces - songs, canons and choruses, often in an unassuming style.⁸⁴⁴

There is no record of a performance of *Der Hechelkrämer* in 1815-16, the period of the *Scheide* sketchbook. It may nevertheless have been scheduled in that period, for on February 14, 1815, *Der Sammler* recalled the opera's popularity and lauded Drieberg's talent.⁸⁴⁵ Whatever happened, Beethoven evidently had no aesthetic qualms about foraying into the realm of the easy-going, even though this ran more or less parallel with the intricate Cello Sonatas Opus 102 that ushered in the late style so typically shorn of niceties. It remains highly enigmatic that for a mere trifle he showed a readiness to go to the extreme with regard to the standard treatment of dissonance, toying with a conceptual design around lack of resolution and ambiguity, and even to make a note of this in his sketchbook.⁸⁴⁶ As things stand, it cannot be fully ruled out that Beethoven actually submitted to Drieberg his little paean to Pan.⁸⁴⁷ Relatively few Leopoldstadt concert programs have survived and overviews of the repertory are necessarily incomplete. A brief chorus with orchestral accompaniment from Beethoven's hand (the sketches mention 'Corni') may simply have vanished into the twilight of history.

8.4 Other Opera Plans

Amenda's 1815 letter gives a sneak peek of Beethoven's attitude towards opera in the 1790s. Its suggestion is that he was already thinking of a libretto about a Classical subject. He would effectively flesh this out in 1803, with *Vestas Feuer*.

⁸⁴⁴ For details see Willy Hess, *Das Fidelio-Buch* (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1986), 32-4.

⁸⁴⁵ *Der Sammler* (1815), 84.

⁸⁴⁶ The topic of 'dissonances' in 'Gesänge der Alten' was not new and had already been discussed in the AMZ (1799), 562. Beethoven's 'unresolved dissonances' remained controversial for decades, even after his death: 'Mais que pourraient signifier ces épouvantables dissonances qui s'arrêtent brusquement et demeurent sans résolution?' (But what could these dreadful dissonances that abruptly stop and remain without resolution mean?); Oulibicheff about the *Eroica*'s first movement in *Glossateurs*, 177-8.

⁸⁴⁷ In *Prometheus*, it may be recalled, Pan brings Prometheus back to life.

But he had made some operatic steps earlier, the most significant of which was the Scene and Aria *Ah! Perfido* from 1796, written in the style of opera seria (No. 18 in the above list). Although it is seldom mentioned in reference books, this was about antiquity. The introductory scene was taken from Pietro Metastasio's libretto *Achille in Sciro* (already composed by many other composers) and the aria text, the author of which is not known, was a perfect match. The work consists of an attractive series of emotional states: despair, anger, hate, resignation, love and wistfulness. Historical antecedent was the myth of Achilles, hero of the Trojan War (but different from Homer's version). Achilles's mother Thetis, afraid to lose her son in war, sent him to the island Skyros, disguised as a girl. There he falls in love there with princess Daidamia, whom he marries. Since it is prophesied that the Trojan War will not be won without Achilles, the Greek commander Odysseus comes to Skyros to find him. He succeeds by means of a ruse, and Achilles decides to leave, much to Daidamia's horror.⁸⁴⁸ *Ah! Perfido* represents her emotional response: she rages in full fury, calls Achilles names, and requests the gods to revenge her. Once calmed down, she reconsiders and acknowledges that she still loves him. The relaxed aria incorporates a classic lamento: 'I shall die from my anxiety, do I not deserve pity?' Beethoven showed full command of the material here. *Ah! Perfido* was a commission from Prague, where it was first performed in 1796, but there may have been a link with 'Achille in Sciro' by 'Herr Muzzarelli', performed on 6 March 1795 in Vienna.⁸⁴⁹ *Ah! Perfido* was published as late as 1805 by Hoffmeister & Kühnel.⁸⁵⁰

Further forays into the domain of opera were made through a series of exercises that Beethoven made for Salieri, again on texts by Metastasio. Fragments from the immensely popular libretto *L'Olympiade* were used, already set by dozens of composers.⁸⁵¹ The plot drew on Herodotus's *Histories* and told the story of the King of Sicyon (Greece), who at the Olympic Games (c. 580 BC) offered the hand of his daughter in marriage to the winner, thereby eliciting a tangle of spoofing, disguise and mistaken identities. Beethoven chose to set 'Ne' giorni tuoi felici', a duet for two voices and orchestra from 1802 (WoO 93; he was evidently content with it, for he attempted to sell it as late as 1822).⁸⁵² Another popular libretto used by him was *Zenobia*, on historical events

⁸⁴⁸ The story fired the imagination of a range of painters. When Pompeii was excavated, a wall-painting depicting Achilles in Skyros was found in the House of the Dioscuri.

⁸⁴⁹ See WZ, 11 March 1795.

⁸⁵⁰ In May 1803, the AMZ (584) reported that it had been successfully performed in the Leipziger Gewandhaus, which must have been from handwritten material: 'an excellent, extended composition of the well-known scene by Metastasio Ah perfido with the aria Per pietá from Beethoven, very well performed by Miss. Schicht'; see Jos van der Zanden, 'Reassessing Ferdinand Ries in Vienna: Ramifications for Beethoven Biography', in *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* (2021, forthcoming).

⁸⁵¹ Jeffrey O. Segrave, 'Pietro Metastasio's L'Olympiade and the Survival of the Olympic idea in 18th Century Europe', in *OLYMPIKA: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* xiv (2005), 1-28.

⁸⁵² In NGA (XIII, I, ed. Julia Ronge (2014), 71) doubts were raised about Salieri's involvement, because his handwriting is missing in Beethoven's autograph. The argument seems tenuous, though.

that took their bearings from the *Annals* by Tacitus. It was employed for a cappella pieces ('Fra tutte le pene' and 'Salco tu vuoi lo sposo'; above list Nos. 27-29).⁸⁵³ Perhaps not written under Salieri's supervision (though he may have recommended it) was the Terzetto *Tremate, empi, tremate* (Opus 116, No. 20 of the list) on a text from *Medonte, Re di Epiro* by Giovanni de Gamerra. This was most probably envisaged for a projected Akademie in April 1802, which was cancelled.

Although written on topics from antiquity, these works cannot really be regarded as reflecting Beethoven's adherence to the Greco-Roman world. This does hold true, though, for his first plan for an opera, taken on out of esteem for ancient Rome. By the middle of 1803 it was made public that a new opera was forthcoming, written by Beethoven for Emanuel Schikaneder.⁸⁵⁴ He accepted the libretto *Vestas Feuer* in spite of warnings that an earlier antiquity-based text by Schikaneder (*Alexander*, composed by Alexander Teyber) had turned out very badly.⁸⁵⁵

Vestas Feuer was situated in republican Rome. The plot was about two lovers, the daughter of a Roman decemvir (which suggests the 5th century BC)⁸⁵⁶ and the son of his arch enemy. In the garden, the couple is noticed by a slave, who informs the father of the girl about this forbidden meeting. 'Look behind those trees', he says, 'there they are, you should do something about it'.⁸⁵⁷ This slave has his own agenda: he has a crush on the girl himself. Subsequently, the couple sings a love duet. In an ensuing recitative the father reprimands both, but in the end he agrees to let bygones be bygones and accepts his future son-in-law. This was the scene that Beethoven composed, in four musical sections: introduction, duet, recitative and terzetto. He lacked the inspiration to continue and felt not at ease with what followed: a myriad of disguises, dressings up, unmotivated actions, two murders on stage and implausible magic. This embroidery was designed by Schikaneder for the purpose of spectacular theatrical effects by machinery: signs from heaven, collapsing buildings (the Temple of Vesta), conflagrations, sumptuous costumes etcetera.⁸⁵⁸

Beethoven complained to Schikaneder about the text, but in vain. To Rochlitz he wrote: 'Just imagine, a Roman subject (the concept of which, nor anything else, was imparted to me) and language and verses like those of our apple-vendors here'.⁸⁵⁹ He implied that a Roman subject ought to be treated with respect and dignity, thereby intimating his esteem for the Greco-Roman

⁸⁵³ Some years earlier, Beethoven had used *L'Olympiade* for his song 'O care selve, oh cara' (WoO 119). He seems to have had access to Metastasio's texts already in Bonn; Ronge (NGA, 2014), 71.

⁸⁵⁴ Announced in the ZEW (2 August 1803).

⁸⁵⁵ 'A travesty (...) detrimental to the music'; AMZ (1803), 799.

⁸⁵⁶ Decemvirs ('ten-men') were politicians at the time of archaic Rome, when patricians (the aristocracy) and plebeians (commoners) were in conflict.

⁸⁵⁷ The complete text is in Hess, 'Vestas Feuer'.

⁸⁵⁸ All this was maintained when the opera was ultimately premiered on 7 August 1805, with music by Joseph Weigl (see Biberhofer, 'Vestas Feuer').

⁸⁵⁹ BGA, 176.

world. Perhaps he had himself requested the subject, for about a later opera project Schindler wrote: ‘already in advance he enunciated that he wanted a subject from Greek or Roman history’.⁸⁶⁰ Apart from the language, it was no doubt the complexity of the story that troubled Beethoven. *Vestas Feuer* was the opposite of where his natural affinities lay: the straightforward and one-dimensional, heroes and villains, good and evil - as opposed to unconvincing intrigues, unstable characters, or a surplus of oblique innuendos or inner-life mysteries. Before the year came to end, Beethoven threw in the towel. ‘There are no grounds for lamenting the loss of a masterpiece’, Winton Dean wrote about the surviving 81 pages of score.⁸⁶¹ Still, these convey some salient features, such as the feature that the four sections of the scene are contiguous, without any breaks. Beethoven must have been reasonably content with the nucleus, for he re-used the fourth and final section of *Vestas Feuer* in *Leonore/Fidelio*: the terzetto ‘Nie war ich so froh wie heute’ became the duet ‘O namenlose Freude’. The new text did not fit very well, and word repeats had to be used.⁸⁶²

Schikaneder’s choice for republican Rome may have been pragmatic: in 1803 the Austrian government promulgated that censorship should tighten the reins by imposing strict controls and prohibitions on all kinds of publications, librettos included. Not allowed were attacks on religion, the clergy, the monarchy, or rulers of the state. No adverse effects on public morality were admitted and stories about brigands, robbers, pirates, licentious adventurers or secret associations were forbidden (‘even if these take place in a dim and distant past’), as well as glorifications of the terms ‘freedom’ and ‘equality’.⁸⁶³ For playwrights, a way out of this impediment was locating stories in a remote past, avoiding allusions to actual politics (this was why Sonnleithner placed *Leonore* in 17th-century Spain). Antiquity was a relatively safe haven.⁸⁶⁴

Following *Leonore*, Beethoven rejected many librettos that were submitted to him. One of the few exceptions was a story about a Plutarchian hero, Romulus, legendary founder and first king of ancient Rome. In his *Life of Romulus*, Plutarch attempted to make Romulus as historical as possible, ‘purifying away the mythical and making it more like history’.⁸⁶⁵ He embedded this in an account about the immortality of the soul and about virtuous men becoming ‘semi-gods (...) with all passions relinquished’⁸⁶⁶ - a Platonian concept that may have won Beethoven’s sympathy. In

⁸⁶⁰ Sch40, 137. Schindler knew nothing of *Vestas Feuer*.

⁸⁶¹ Dean, ‘Beethoven and Opera’, 337.

⁸⁶² A survey of the music is given in Lockwood, ‘Vestas Feuer’, 78-89.

⁸⁶³ Norbert Bachleitner, *Die literarische Zensur in Österreich von 1751 bis 1848* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2017), 101-4 and 470-7.

⁸⁶⁴ It was likewise a safe haven for Schubert: ‘Many songs [on texts by Mayrhofer] take place in antiquity, out of fear of censorship’; see Michael Aschauer, ‘Drei Stationen einer Auseinandersetzung mit dem System Metternichs’, in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* (2008), 373-88, at 380.

⁸⁶⁵ Pelling, *Plutarch and History*, 198.

⁸⁶⁶ In the words of Schirach (vol. 1, 110): ‘Tugendhafte Seelen werden Halbgötter, aus Halbgötter Dämonen, alle Leidenschaften abgelegt’.

December 1815, *Der Sammler* informed its readers ‘with great joy’ that Beethoven was writing *Romulus und Remus* on a text by Treitschke.⁸⁶⁷ However, negotiations had already been going on for about a year and theatrical authorities hampered progress. In the end, the project had to be cancelled, much to Beethoven’s regret. According to Karl von Bursy, who regularly met him, Beethoven was still considering composing it in June 1816,⁸⁶⁸ and even a year later he claimed that the plan was not yet dead. Yet not a single note was written, even though this was one of the few projects that had his confidence.

When he read about Romulus in Plutarch, Beethoven automatically came across a story about Tarpeja. When Romulus was at war with the Sabines (leading to the famous Rape of the Sabine Women), Tarpeja was the daughter of a Roman commander who betrayed her people by forwarding secret information to the enemy (which she did because she was in love with its leader, or, as other versions have it, because she expected jewelry in return). Tarpeja was torn between two loves, which weighed heavily on her conscience. In the end she was crushed to death, her body being cast from a cliff in Rome that thenceforth bore her name (the Tarpejan Rock). Beethoven’s musical contribution to *Tarpeja* (an insignificant orchestral March, WoO 2)⁸⁶⁹ was written for the staging of a play by his friend Christoph Kuffner (see also Chapter 3.5), on 26 March 1813.⁸⁷⁰ Here Tarpeja’s death - the cliff was left out - led to a reconciliation between Romans and Sabines. A scene from Kuffner’s *Tarpeja* was printed in JLM in March 1809, which suggests that the activities in 1813 were for a re-staging of the play.⁸⁷¹

Yet another Plutarchian hero was Coriolanus, whose ethically charged life Beethoven portrayed in an overture from 1807. This Roman general from the 5th century BC was exiled from Rome as a traitor, after which he led the Volsci, Rome’s enemy. Plutarch emphasized that he was bad at controlling his passions due to a lack of (Hellenic) philosophical education. He destroyed himself, in that he allowed himself to be led by what Plato called ‘the spirited part of the soul’.⁸⁷² Torn between passion and reason he responded to his mother’s forceful appeal to what he owed her. Schirach, in his translation, defined Coriolanus as ‘unbiegsam’ (obdurate), ‘stolz’ (haughty), ‘eigensinnig’ (stubborn), ‘ehrgeizig’ (ambitious), ‘unwillig’ (recalcitrant), ‘erzürnt’ (outraged) and ‘tadelhaft’ (objectionable). Squeamish sentimentalists in Beethoven’s time conceived it as noble

⁸⁶⁷ *Der Sammler* (16 December 1815), 618.

⁸⁶⁸ Otto Clemen, ‘Andreas Streicher in Wien’, in *Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch* iv (1930), 107-17, at 110; see also KC 559.

⁸⁶⁹ The brief March that was formerly catalogued as WoO 2b was actually not part of *Tarpeja*; see Clemens Brenneis, ‘Beethovens “Introduzione del Ido Atto” und die “Leonore” von 1805’, in *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* xxxii (1990), 181-203.

⁸⁷⁰ For the complete text see Willy Hess, ‘Tarpeja’, in *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* v (1966), 92-147.

⁸⁷¹ JTM (1809), 135-42.

⁸⁷² Pelling, *Plutarch and History*, 344-45.

and touching that he allowed himself to be persuaded by his mother not to carry out aggressive plans. ‘Can one imagine a more beautiful scene than that of the crude warrior in his camp before Rome sacrificing revenge and victory because he is distressed to see his mother spending tears?’, Schiller wrote.⁸⁷³ Beethoven probably agreed with Schiller’s musings.

The overture is assumed to have been composed for the theatre play *Coriolan* by Heinrich von Collin, given on 24 April 1807.⁸⁷⁴ However, it was already performed in March at Lobkowitz’s palace. It may have been consequent upon, perhaps even specially composed for, a ‘tableau’, a presentation of a picture or illustration of Coriolanus, with added declamations. These semi-private initiatives were very popular at the time.⁸⁷⁵ No particulars about a commission or payment are known, but the generally accepted view that Collin’s play was the sole incentive rests on shaky ground. As for the music, criticism has agitated itself overmuch on the role of Shakespeare. Wagner implied that the music’s programme derived from his climactic *Coriolan* scene, and this was endorsed by the authoritative Donald Francis Tovey. Also concentrating on Shakespeare was Lawrence Kramer, arguing that Beethoven ‘by juxtaposing terse, dramatic, agitated music to a dilatory, pathetic, ruminative play, (...) posed a hermeneutic problem that has largely determined the course of the music’s critical reception’.⁸⁷⁶ Strikingly, Plutarch, who in his *Lives* linked Coriolanus to Alcibiades, was marginalized and ignored by these writers, although there are strong indications that it was this Greek’s account that impressed Beethoven most of all.⁸⁷⁷ The disintegration of the main theme in the final bars of the overture (comparable to the sobbing ending of the *Eroica*’s second movement), suggest the *derniers soupirs* of a hero succumbing to self-inflicted wounds.

In sum, it would appear that Plutarchian heroes struck Beethoven’s fancy - more than other historical figures. His knowledge of Romulus, Tarpeja, Coriolanus, and Brutus (he suggested to

⁸⁷³ Friedrich Schiller, ‘Die Gesetzgebung des Lykurgus und Solon’, in *Schillers sämtliche Werke*, vol. x (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1838), 451.

⁸⁷⁴ By the turn of the century, Collin was a rising star. He was hoping for ‘the Greek theatre to rise again in its full Olympian glory’; see Dieter Martin, ‘Beethovens ‘verhinderter Librettist’ Heinrich Joseph von Collin. Zum Problem deutscher Operntexte in Wien nach 1800’, in Pierre Béhar and Herbert Schneider, eds., *Österreichische Oper oder Oper in Österreich? Die Libretto Problematik* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005), 133-56, at 140. A range of plays based on Classic-historical themes came from Collin’s pen. On 24 November 1802 his *Coriolan* was premiered, still with music from Mozart’s *Idomeneo*. His text *Coriolan. Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen* (Berlin: Unger, 1804) was in Beethoven’s possession. Beethoven also had the other tragedies by Collin (see BKh iii, 281), but from a later date.

⁸⁷⁵ See CD, 76-7, and Jos van der Zanden, ‘The Shakespeare Connection. Beethoven’s String Quartet Opus 18, No. 1 and the Vienna *Haustheater*’, in *Eighteenth-Century Music* (2021, forthcoming).

⁸⁷⁶ Kramer, ‘Strange Case’, 271, 276.

⁸⁷⁷ Advocates of Plutarch as Beethoven’s main source were Wilhelm von Lenz, *Eine Kunst-Studie. Zweite Periode* (1860), 63-5, Johannes Brahms (Walther Siegmund-Schultze, ‘Beethovens Nachwirkung bei bedeutenden Komponisten des 19. Jahrhundert’, in BKB, 107-14, at 112); and Paul Mies, ‘Zur Coriolan-Ouverture op. 62’, in *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* vi (1969), 260-68. Collin’s play was discredited as ‘academic’ by Carl Leeder, ‘Beethovens Widmungen [V]’, in *Die Musik* iv (1904-05), 177-92, at 191.

Bauernfeld to write for him an opera about [most probably Lucius Junius] Brutus)⁸⁷⁸ evidently provided an extra incentive for artistic considerations. His readiness to cooperate with Theodor Körner in an opera about Odysseus (Chapter 4.2) aligns with this.

8.5 Socrates

Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus had been a low-level scenario, bordering on the trivial. Things were not very much better with *Die Ruinen von Athen*. In 1811, Beethoven was invited to deliver stage music for two of August von Kotzebue's plays, meant to celebrate the inauguration of a new theatre in Pest. *Die Ruinen von Athen* was the epilogue of the two.

In this, Kotzebue invoked antiquity as a glorious period of high culture, for propaganda reasons: the glorification of emperor Franz of Hungary. Minerva (Athena) has awakened from a two thousand year sleep to find her city destroyed and her Parthenon fallen into ruins.⁸⁷⁹ She can only find the former glory in present Hungary, she is told by Mercury. Together with him and the muses Thalia and Melpomene she decides to depart for Pest, where she is honoured by (Classical) priests and maidens. A sudden appearance, between two altars, of a portrait of Franz marks the high point of the play.

Kotzebue had a high regard for antiquity, as is testified by his slim volume *Vom Adel* (1792), in which he generously cited from Homer, Plutarch, Cicero, Seneca and others⁸⁸⁰ - Beethoven had a copy of it. In spite of this, the *Ruinen von Athen* had little to do with antiquity. The narrative thread was about the present, when Greece was occupied by the Ottoman Turks. For this reason, part of Beethoven's music has an oriental, 'Turkish' flavour: there is a March and Chorus of Dervishes (allowed to be performed with all possible noise making instruments)⁸⁸¹ and a Marcia alla turca.⁸⁸² Kotzebue could find information on Dervishes in *Der Sammler* of 1809, where it was explained that these were Muslim monks who had converted the Tower of the Winds in Athens into a mosque.⁸⁸³ Their music was ecstatic, and when they sang their prayers 'they behaved like possessed ones and madmen' (Bessessene und Rasende). In *Die Ruinen von Athen*, the Dervishes indeed occupy the Tower of the Winds, in front of which they sing their chorus 'Du hast in deines Ermels Falten', in

⁸⁷⁸ KC, 36.

⁸⁷⁹ The irony of fate would have it that when Beethoven was composing his music, Thomas Bruce ('Elgin') was transferring the Athenian sculptures to Britain, an act taunted by George Byron as vandalism.

⁸⁸⁰ Kotzebue, *Adel*.

⁸⁸¹ It enjoyed an extraordinary vogue. See *Der Sammler* (22 March 1812), and Steblin, *Chotek*, 179.

⁸⁸² The 'thème Russe' (as one source described it) seems to have been delivered to Beethoven by his friend Oliva. See Leeder, 'Widmungen', 190.

⁸⁸³ *Der Sammler* (November 1809), 527-8. Kotzebue regularly contributed to this magazine himself, so he will have known it. A report of the state of the ruins of Athens (and those of Sparta) was printed in the ZEW (1813), 2025-30.

an oriental style that was repudiated by Minerva as ‘barbaric yelling’.⁸⁸⁴

Carl Czerny heard in Beethoven’s overture ‘the remnants of a once magnificent column’ (in the low strings), and an ‘ancient-Greek manner’ in subdominant modulations.⁸⁸⁵ he may have been stretching the point. The sinister sphere overhanging the opening had to do with the epilogue-character of the music, which was why Beethoven in 1822, when *Die Ruinen von Athen* was revived with a different text, replaced the overture by *Die Weihe des Hauses*. This notwithstanding, he must have enjoyed Kotzebue’s text, for it contained details that reminded him of Plutarch, such as the ‘conqueror at Marathon’, Miltiades, and the Panathenaia, when a peplos was made for the statue of Athena on the Acropolis. He also knew the literary works that Mercury listed as high-standing and written in a Greek vein: *Wallenstein*, [*Wilhelm*] *Tell* and *Die Jungfrau [von Orleans]* by Schiller, *Iphigenia* and *Egmond* (sic) by Goethe, and *Coriolan* and *Regulus* by Collin.⁸⁸⁶

At the heart of Kotzebue’s play - and in point of fact the only concrete reference to antiquity - was the theme of the opening scene. An invisible choir enunciated at Mount Olympus that after two millennia Zeus had terminated his wrath against his daughter, Athena, who had once severely angered him.⁸⁸⁷ Athena (Minerva) had not provided sufficient assistance to ‘the wisest man of Greece’, who according to the Delphic oracle was Socrates. This noble man, sentenced to death in 399 BC, had deserved her intervention because his values accorded with those of Zeus himself. With remorse and regret Minerva admitted her mistake, for he ‘proclaimed only your [Zeus’s] message, devoted as he was to profound Verity, inspired by your divine blaze’.⁸⁸⁸ Minerva and Mercury, while strolling through ruined Athens, meet two depressed Greeks who deplore the state of their beloved city (they sing the sensitive duet ‘Ohne Verschulden, Knechtschaft dulden’). Finally, the gods decide to leave for Pest, where Socratic wisdom and culture still flourish. Here the patriotic propaganda sets in.

Socrates, the leading figure of *Die Ruinen von Athen*, was famous for warning the Athenians that they ought to be worried about the welfare of their souls, rather than about earthly matters. One of his basic principles was that wrongdoing and lack of virtue resulted from ignorance, and not from inherent wickedness. Those who did wrong simply knew no better. Since virtue was sufficient for happiness, it was paramount to gain knowledge, and for this he used the dialectic method of inquiry - the Socratic method - which he predominantly applied to the examination of key moral concepts.

⁸⁸⁴ See NGA, Beethoven Werke, Abt. IX, Vol. 8 (*Festspiele von 1812 und 1822*), ed. Helmut Hell (Munich: Henle, 2014), 368-75. It must have been challenging for Beethoven to compose music that was both aesthetically appealing and yet dismissed by a God.

⁸⁸⁵ KC, 189.

⁸⁸⁶ NGA IX, 373.

⁸⁸⁷ NGA IX, 368. Curiously, *Prometheus* also opened with an angry Zeus. In one of his letters, Beethoven associated Zeus with ambrosia, the drink conferring longevity (BGA, 747).

⁸⁸⁸ NGA, IX, 369.

Many powerful Athenian citizens resented his methods, though, and the ruling classes felt threatened by him. In 399 BC he was found guilty of corrupting the minds of the youth and of impiety - for not believing in the traditional gods. He was sentenced to death and although there were possibilities to be saved, he preferred drinking poison and died.⁸⁸⁹ Kotzebue's libretto was effectively about his trial: why had not Minerva interfered by giving it a critical turn? It was her half-hearted attitude that infuriated Zeus.

Beethoven, who espoused much of dogmatic moral philosophy, realized the importance of Socrates for Western culture. Even more so, he regarded him as 'holy', as may be inferred from a letter from 1812: 'dem heiligen griechischen Socrates'.⁸⁹⁰ The context of this was admittedly a jest (about Socrates's notoriously bad-tempered wife Xantippe), and the expression should not be overrated, but the 'heilig' may yet be seen as indicative of Beethoven's reverence and esteem. 'Holy' has Christian associations, and there is indeed evidence that Beethoven saw the Greek philosopher not only as a 'wise man' (as the Delphic oracle had pronounced), but also as someone who was in close contact with the divine, hence more or less a saint (Socrates himself suggested this by claiming that he was prevented from making mistakes through an inner voice, a 'daimon'). In a conversation book of 1820, Beethoven wrote: 'Socrates and Jesus were my models'.⁸⁹¹ The context of this was that he saw it as a virtue to endure injustice. Both Socrates and Jesus had done so, in utter silence: they had accepted the penalty imposed on them because this resignation squared with their respective doctrines. Beethoven evidently regarded this as uplifting, as a demonstration of inner strength.⁸⁹²

Given his esteem for Socrates, Beethoven may have found relish in composing *Die Ruinen von Athen*. Indeed, he seems to have sailed through the work without much delay, but he nevertheless took an in-depth look at some minute details. He devoted much attention, for instance, to composing the recitative 'Was, mit dem Schicksal kämpfend, grosse Seelen litten, das hat Melpomene uns warnend aufgestellt' (Melpomene has displayed for us, as a warning, what made great souls suffer who struggled against fate). The 'what' must have been the Muse's traditional attribute, a tragic mask. No doubt, the High Priest implicitly referred here to the tragic fate of Socrates, so pivotal to the story. Beethoven may have read into the text something of his own experiences, which may account for the meticulous attention he gave to finding the most suitable

⁸⁸⁹ Hornblower, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1419-20.

⁸⁹⁰ BGA, 545.

⁸⁹¹ BKh i, 211.

⁸⁹² Bracketing together Socrates and Jesus was not uncommon at the time. See for instance Hans Noll, *Hofrat Johannes Büel vom Stein an Rhein - 1761-1830* (Frauenfeld und Leipzig: Huber & Co, 1930), 243. For an assessment of the deaths of these men as symbolizing 'the refusal to compromise with the destructive forces of the world' see James, *Human Destiny*, 20.

expression to the words.⁸⁹³ Hints of a personal association with Socrates are in a letter to nephew Karl's boarding house director Blöchlinger, whom he requested to question Karl 'in the Socratic way'.⁸⁹⁴ On another occasion he said: 'It is not in my nature to regard another person as outright evil',⁸⁹⁵ which carries genuine Socratic undertones. Also tinged with Socratism was what he said to the budding pianist Wilhelm Rust: 'You will still have to play for a long time before you realize that you cannot do anything'.⁸⁹⁶ The famous Socratic paradox was: 'I know that I know nothing', transmitted through Plato.

Plato's praise of his master seems to have impressed Beethoven. His persistent use of the Platonic 'Das Schöne zum Guten', the final verse of Matthisson's *Opferlied* (Nos 19, 22 and 24 in the above list),⁸⁹⁷ encompassing the line 'Grant to me, in youth as in age, at your paternal hearth, O Zeus, Beauty allied to Goodness!' and as an opening 'Die Flamme lodert',⁸⁹⁸ suggests that this 'sacrificial hymn' and 'heartfelt prayer of an idealist and creative artist'⁸⁹⁹ had a personal significance for him. 'Das Schöne zum Guten' was known to be an allusion to the Platonic 'ultimate Good and Beautiful' (the apotheosis of a philosophic path upwards to the 'Sea of Beauty' as discussed in Plato's *Symposium*),⁹⁰⁰ and Beethoven made various efforts to perfect this setting.⁹⁰¹ Socrates and his uplifting philosophical precepts was closely connected with this.

Beethoven composed the *Ruinen von Athen* in the summer of 1811, partly in Teplitz, thereby violating his doctor's advice - he was supposed to enjoy the health spas and to relax. But immersing himself in the topic of Greek antiquity was been no punishment for him. Moreover, he may have found stimulating advice in Teplitz, for interestingly he was in the company there of one of Germany's most outstanding specialists in the field of ancient philology, the much vaunted Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824), famous for his *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (see Chapter 4, introduction). On 25 July Wolf had signed in (Beethoven arrived on 4 August), as can be inferred

⁸⁹³ See Barry Cooper, *Beethoven and the Creative Process* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 141-44.

⁸⁹⁴ BKh ii, 155 and BGA, 1396. What he probably meant was: in such a way, that Karl was forced to examine the validity of his own statements.

⁸⁹⁵ TDR iii, 111.

⁸⁹⁶ KC, 631.

⁸⁹⁷ Brandenburg, 'Taktvorschriften', 41-2.

⁸⁹⁸ Heinrich von Collin's *Coriolan* also opened with: 'Die Flamme lodert. Heilig ist es hier' (*Coriolan. Ein Trauerspiel*, 5 and in Kuffners *Tarpeja* (III, 7) there is also an offering with the text 'Die Flamme lodert'; see Hess, 'Tarpeja', 126.

⁸⁹⁹ Reid, *Song Companion*, 231.

⁹⁰⁰ See Dr. Deycks, 'Platon über die Musik', in *Cäcilia* viii (1828), 69-90, at 72, with the statement: 'This is Plato's premise. His primary principle was: "The Beautiful to the Good"' (Dies ist der Punkt, von welchem Platon ausging. Sein Hauptgesetz war: "das Schöne zum Guten"). The motto was used by Friedrich Leopold Stolberg in his Plato-translations.

⁹⁰¹ Worth mentioning are sketches Beethoven made for a song called 'Wunsch' (c. 1804), also on a text by Matthisson, with the concluding line: 'I shall hasten joyfully towards the wisdom of Xenophon and Plato'; Reid, *Song Companion*, 270-1.

from the ‘Teplitzer Kurlisten vom Jahre 1811’ (see Figure 25). Unfortunately, nothing is known of any contact, but given the extensive gossip in the corridors Beethoven may well have encountered Wolf.⁹⁰²

25.	"	Hr. Fried. Aug. Wolf, k. preuß. Geheimrath aus Berlin, w. in der gold. Kette.
30.	"	Se. Durchlaucht Herr Moriz Fürst v. Lichtenstein, Se. Durchlaucht Herr Louis Fürst v. Lichtenstein, k. k. General Major aus Wien, w. in der langen Gasse in C. G. Karl Nr. 50.
1. Aug.	.	Ihre Durchlaucht die Fr. Fürstin Theresia von Bobrowitz, w. in der gold. Brücke Nr. 181.
4.	"	Hr. Ludwig v. Beethoven, Partik. aus Wien, w. in der Harfe Nr. 75.

Figure 25. Excerpt from the ‘Teplitzer Kurlisten vom Jahre 1811’, in which the arrivals of both Friedrich August Wolf (25 July) and Beethoven (4 August) were documented.⁹⁰³

The premiere of the work was postponed until 1812. Ten years later, in 1822, Beethoven reworked the music for the opening of the newly built Josephstadter Theater and there were plans for yet another (textual) adaptation a few months later.⁹⁰⁴ It was Beethoven’s idea to allude this time to actual political circumstances in Greece, which had declared war on the Turks (who had besieged the Acropolis in Athens and the Acrocorinth in 1822). He apparently sided with the Greeks, but his visitor tempered hope of being able to display this publicly: ‘As regards the idea of an allusion to contemporary Greece, censorship may suppress this’.⁹⁰⁵

8.6 The Problem of *Der Sieg des Kreuzes*

Beethoven’s annuity contract from 1809 stipulated that he was expected to concentrate on grand, sublime and ennobling works of art. Therefore, he was not unwilling to accept a commission by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, in 1815, for a major oratorio. It reached him through Zmeskill, and a fee of 300 ducats was agreed on. There was not yet a text, though, and the project was postponed. Only three years later it was revived, when Beethoven agreed that the editor of the WZ, Carl Bernard, was chosen as librettist. In May 1819, a member of the Society handed over to Beethoven 400 florins, in an effort to increase the pressure. It didn’t help.⁹⁰⁶

⁹⁰² See the article ‘Ueber die Vergnügungssucht in den Bädern’, in ZEW (1816), 873-76.

⁹⁰³ Taken from Max Unger, ‘Beethovens Teplitzer Badereisen von 1811 und 1812’, in *Neue Musik Zeitung* xxxix (1918), 86-93, at 87.

⁹⁰⁴ This was proposed by the writer Hermann von Hermannsthal (1799-1875), who paid Beethoven a visit.

⁹⁰⁵ BKh iii, 115.

⁹⁰⁶ For a complete outline of the project and references see LvBWV, vol. 1, 623-28, and Ladenburger, ‘Sieg des Kreuzes’. See also Sch60, 92-5.

It would seem that Bernard wrote his text half-heartedly, for it did not materialize for a very long time. There was no deadline, and he appears to have received little encouragement from Beethoven. He was a regular guest in his house, but the conversation books show scant cooperation. By December 1819, the topic and the title were determined, *Der Sieg des Kreuzes* - The Triumph of the Cross. Bernard intimated how he confronted the material. 'For the pagans', he wrote, 'I strictly use a harsh, unrhymed metre, whereas the Christians have rhyme; this will surely have the desired effect'.⁹⁰⁷ Beethoven did not throw Bernard much support, and the latter was forced to encourage himself: 'The subject is extremely appropriate. (...) I have the feeling that the poetry is very inspiring for a musical setting'.⁹⁰⁸ He gave Beethoven all opportunity to vent his ideas on the matter,⁹⁰⁹ but his reaction was lukewarm at best. From the very beginning, the plan did not grow in propitious soil.

A long fallow period followed, and it was only four years later, in October 1823, that Bernard reached the finishing line. He handed over his text to Beethoven, to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, and to Archduke Rudolph, to whom it was dedicated. He also informed the press, for on 26 February 1824 a substantial review was devoted to the project in the *Stuttgarter Morgenblatt*, including some pages from the libretto.⁹¹⁰ At the time, Beethoven was very much absorbed in the finale of his Ninth Symphony, and did not give the matter any attention. Only by late summer 1824 he again promised to compose the oratorio, nevertheless focusing on the string quartet. He felt uncomfortable with the text, for Schindler advised him: 'For God's sake, for your peace of mind, return it to the Society and give up this *Sieg des Kreuzes*, for it will give you heaps of trouble'.⁹¹¹ Beethoven, however, did not feel exonerated from his liability: he felt responsible for Bernard's remuneration and therefore delayed matters. His procrastination, though, exacerbated matters and was the cause of irritation, frustration and gossip. He offered a less than wholehearted commendation to the Gesellschaft, admitting with illocutionary force that the text could not stay as it was (23 January 1824).⁹¹² His friend Friedrich Kanne held the same opinion and there was also

⁹⁰⁷ BKh i, 132.

⁹⁰⁸ BKh ii, 171.

⁹⁰⁹ BKh i, 231.

⁹¹⁰ Nohl, *Zeitgenossen*, 186-89 (missing in the collation by Ladenburger).

⁹¹¹ BKh iv, 251. This contradicts Schindler's claims in his biography about Beethoven looking forward to writing the oratorio by summer 1824, 'because he was content with the text, what was not often the case with him' (Sch40,14; Sch60,57). In 1852, Schindler presented yet another account, claiming that Beethoven, in the spring of 1824, left it to his friends (Bernard, Schuppanzigh, Schindler) to decide what work he should henceforth concentrate on. When the decision fell on string quartets, Bernard 'turned away from Beethoven and never wanted to have anything to do with him' (*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 157). Still later he remarked that Beethoven 'halted composing the already commenced work' (Sch60, 162).

⁹¹² BG, 1773.

negative advice by Johann Schick and Christoph Kuffner.⁹¹³ Subsequently, Beethoven, in a preemptive move, suggested that Bernard should find another composer for it. A deadlock was reached and negotiations were broken off. Not a single note for the work was written - at least none have been identified.⁹¹⁴

In *Der Sieg des Kreuzes* Bernard related a well-known story about a crucial moment in the history of both Imperial Rome and Christianity, the battle between two Roman emperors of a tetrarchy, Constantine and Maxentius, at the Milvian Bridge near Rome. Marching from Gaul with his army in the year 312 AD, Constantine, the story goes, was struck by a bright shining cross in the sky just above the sun in which he read 'In hoc signo vinces' – in this sign you will conquer. This convinced him of success when taking up arms. Meanwhile, the cruel and devious Maxentius, as Bernard wrote, consulted sorcerers and the Sibylline books, and he made offerings to his gods, surrounded by devilish demons called Hatred and Discord. It was foreseen by the Sibyl that an enemy of Rome would be defeated, and therefore Maxentius, like Constantine, was eager to engage in battle. At the Milvian Bridge it was Constantine who gained a victory. The army of Maxentius was vanquished, and its leader drowned. The people of Rome lauded Constantine as their liberator and protector. Part and parcel of Bernard's story was that pagan Rome, a pool of moral ruin, degeneration, and superstition, was defeated by the virtuous early Christians.⁹¹⁵

This Milvian Bridge battle was a topos in the history of art. It had been celebrated by many Renaissance and Baroque painters. By the time of the Enlightenment its popularity had gradually decreased. Historians became critical about the real events in the fourth century AD and archaeological and philological studies called into question traditional opinions on Constantine, claiming that his 'vision' and 'dream' in the night before the battle, after which he had his soldiers carrying the heavenly Christ monogram on their shields, was based on unreliable accounts. Voltaire portrayed Constantine as a usurper and a dictator (in that he had no legal right to the throne), a cruel murderer (for he threw the Gauls before the lions, had his own wife suffocated in her bath, and his own son Crispus executed on contrived grounds), and a narcissist, because he had the Roman capital moved to a location bearing his name, Constantinople.⁹¹⁶ The first Christian emperor,

⁹¹³ BKh vi, 77 and ix, 213.

⁹¹⁴ There only exists a general remark in the *De Roda* sketchbook from 1825 (see LvBWV, 628). A loose sketchleaf (SV 321) sometimes invoked as containing sketches for the oratorio (facsimile in Hermann Ullrich, 'Ludwig van Beethovens letzte Oratorienpläne', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* xxxiii (1982), 21-47, at 25) transmits sketches for *Europens Befreiungsstunde*, not for the oratorio.

⁹¹⁵ Bernard's story actually was a bit more complex, see Ladenburger, 'Sieg des Kreuzes', 294-5.

⁹¹⁶ Heinrich Schlange-Schöningen, 'Das Bild Konstantins in der Neuzeit', in *Konstantin der Grosse. Geschichte - Archäologie - Rezeption. Internationales Kolloquium vom 10.-15. Oktober 2005* [etc.] ed. Alexander Demandt and Josef Engemann (Trier: Landesmuseum, 2006), 285-97. Voltaire had also been sarcastic about the so-called 'Donation of Constantine', a forged Roman imperial decree by which the emperor transferred his authority over Rome to the Pope. Beethoven could have read about this in ZEW

Voltaire contended, had been no better than any other ruthless imperial ruler. For Edward Gibbon, who completed in 1788 his notorious *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Constantine had gained his sceptre by treason, deceit and murder, and the Christians were largely to blame for the demise of the ancient world.⁹¹⁷ In Beethoven's years, at least around 1800, these views of Constantine were still widely shared. They pervaded for example the AMZ in 1801, where it was stated (in a review of Forkel's *History of Music*) that from the early Christians onward humanity fell from culture into barbarity, and that 'Constantine, by relocating his political capital and by contributing to the new-platonic / Christian quarrels, made gaps in the dyke that should have kept out darkness. Art now gradually demised'.⁹¹⁸

Today, scholars generally adopt the view that Constantine's 'vision' occurred in the year 310, near the village of Grand in France - thus not immediately before the battle. His conversion to Christianity dated from a much later period. He was certainly not yet a Christian when he faced Maxentius in 312, for coins evidence that he continued to worship the pagan deity of Sol Invictus. The so-called Donation of Constantine by which the emperor supposedly transferred authority over Rome and the western part of the Roman empire to the pope is now known to be a forged Roman imperial decree.⁹¹⁹ This was of course of little concern to Bernard when he wrote his text. He was a practising Catholic and accordingly he felt a personal involvement with a story that professed his own creed. Beethoven may have been somewhat more reserved. There are indications that his views of Constantine were in keeping with those of a brother in art with whom he regularly exchanged ideas: the poet Franz Grillparzer.

Early in 1826, Grillparzer wrote in a conversation book: 'Censorship has killed me'.⁹²⁰ Beethoven did not ask for an explanation, because he knew about his friend's predicament. For a number of years, potential commissions by publishers, organizations or patrons had no longer come Grillparzer's way, for he was looked down on and Viennese censorship controlled his actions. The reason for this was an event that had occurred in 1819, when Grillparzer had travelled to Italy to view the remnants of ancient Rome. As an avid admirer of antiquity⁹²¹ he had expressed his enthusiasm for these glorious remnants in poems, one of which was 'Die Ruinen des Campo Vaccino', consisting of sixteen stanzas. One was about the Colosseum, which at the time of

(1815), 950-51.

⁹¹⁷ Gibbon was translated into German: *Geschichte der Abnahme und des Falls des Römischen Reichs* (Vienna: Joseph Stahel, 1788-92), but there are no indications that Beethoven read it. Caroline Pichler was 'adversely affected' by the vitriolic attack on Christianity (CP, vol. 1, 291).

⁹¹⁸ AMZ (November 1801), 88.

⁹¹⁹ This was already suspected in Beethoven's time, as may be inferred from a contribution to the ZEW (1818), 670.

⁹²⁰ BKH ix, 168 (Die Censur hat mich umgebracht).

⁹²¹ Wilhelm von Hartel, 'Grillparzer und die Antike', in JGG xvii (1907), 165-89.

Grillparzer's visit showed a huge cross, placed there by order of Pope Pius VII in remembrance of the Christian martyrs in ancient time. This very much irked Grillparzer, for whom the cross was a desecration of antiquity. He expressed this discontent in his poem, together with a provoking attack on Constantine. Of all dictators who had crushed empires, he contended, Constantine topped the list because he had wilfully put into ruin a venerable culture:

Hoch vor allen sei verkläret,
Constantin, D e i n Siegesdom!
Mancher hat manch Reich zerstöret,
Aber du das Größte – Rom.
Über Romas Heldentrümmern
Hobst du deiner Kirche Thron;
In der Kirche magst du schimmern,
Die Geschichte spricht dir Hohn.

Higher than anything else, Constantine,
Y o u r Victory Church may reveal itself!
Some have crushed empires,
You, though, the greatest of all - Rome.
On the remains of Rome's heroes
You erected your church's throne,
You may [perhaps] shimmer in church,
History will scorn you.⁹²²

The bone of contention of placing a cross in the Colosseum was addressed in the verses:

Und damit verhöhnt, zerschlagen,
Du den Martertod erwarbst,
Musstest du das Kreuz noch tragen,
An dem, Herrliche! du starbst!
Thut es weg diess heil'ge Zeichen!

And while you were scorned and beaten,
And received the martyr's crown,
You still had to bear the cross,
To which you, o mighty one!, had succumbed!
Away with this holy sign!⁹²³

When published in the almanac *Aglaja*, late in 1819 (this was the year of the 'Karlsbad Resolution' in which the Holy Alliance of Prussia, Austria and Russia attempted to return to a pre-French Revolution status), this poem elicited enormous protest. This was nothing if not subversive and deprecatory, a sacrilege. The Christian community in Vienna, which included the larger part of the

⁹²² Verses 81-88. See *Franz Grillparzer Sämtliche Werke*, ed. August Sauer, vol 10 (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1932), 279. For a comprehensive analysis of the origin of the poem and its relation with Schiller's *Die Götter Griechenlands* see August Sauer, 'Proben eines Commentars zu Grillparzer's Gedichten', in JGG vii (1897), 1-170.

⁹²³ Verses 101-105.

political establishment, reacted with indignation. Clemens von Metternich himself, Austria's political heavyweight, refuted the jibes as objectionable, and he personally informed Emperor Franz.⁹²⁴ The censor who had let it pass, Josef Schreyvogel, feared for his job.⁹²⁵ All yet undistributed copies of the magazine were confiscated and the poem was torn out. Grillparzer was officially reprimanded on the order of Emperor Franz, he fell out of favour and was henceforth branded as a dangerous troublemaker and a mocker of religion. Thenceforth, his writings were checked and double-checked before publication, and this was the background for his lament 'Censorship has killed me' in 1826. Grillparzer added: 'Some time ago I had the most bothersome trouble with the police - only because of a few verses'.⁹²⁶ He had not expected the commotion, although he was aware of the regressive political and religious changes that had followed the Congress years.

During these years, Constantine had gradually regained his position as a figurehead of Christianity. It was hardly coincidental that just about this time Bernard opted for a story about him for Beethoven's oratorio. He was well aware of Grillparzer's predicament and informed Beethoven about it. Already in December 1819, he noted in a conversation book:

Grillparzer, due to his poem 'The old and the new Rome', has been reprimanded by the Minister of Police, for as a Christian he should not have written such verses.⁹²⁷

Bernard thus intimated that he agreed with the official government reaction and that for him Grillparzer (who he regularly met)⁹²⁸ had overstepped his remit. Much later, in April 1823, Schindler broached the theme once more in a conversation book

Two years ago Grillparzer had a poem published in the *Aglaja* about current *Rome* in which he wrote: at the place where once the proud Roman celebrated his victory *etc.* is now a cross resting on 10.000 clergymen [Pfaffen], or something similar. The nuncio filed a complaint against him and the poem had to be torn out; Grillparzer lost his annuity of the empress and all promise of a position at court.⁹²⁹

Beethoven now gave the matter particular interest, for he had an annuity himself and, like Grillparzer, he had hopes for a position at court, and Schindler explained:

Grillparzer (...) told me all about the events, which are really curious.

⁹²⁴ Julius Marx, 'Metternichs Gutachten zu Grillparzers Gedicht "Campo vaccino"', in JGG, *Neue Folge* ii (1942), 49-69.

⁹²⁵ In November 1819 Schreyvogel made several entries in his diary about his fear of being reprimanded (JST, vol. 2, 335-37).

⁹²⁶ BKh ix, 168.

⁹²⁷ BKh i, 168.

⁹²⁸ On 9 February 1819 and 23 December 1820 Schreyvogel noted in his diary that Grillparzer and Bernard had both come to dinner; JST, vol. 2, 320 and 359.

⁹²⁹ BKh iii, 241.

-
Nobody of his stature has experienced anything like it, though.

-
He will show you the poem which made him fall from grace. Not the nuncio, but a writer who lives here was the cause of it. The emperor wrote to the police: one Grillparzer etc., what infamy!! He had to defend himself in writing for the police. (...)

-
Due to this wretched business he has also now lost his position as a theatre poet.⁹³⁰

This 'writer' was Zacharias Werner, an orthodox Catholic. Apparently, Beethoven was now anxious to read the poem himself and the opportunity to do so came about one month later, when Grillparzer visited him for discussing their mutual *Melusina* project.⁹³¹ Soon, their conversation was about censorship, Grillparzer uttering the ponderous words: 'Censorship cannot harm the musician / If only they knew what you t h i n k when you compose!'⁹³²

What, in actual fact, *did* Beethoven think? It is hypothesized here, on the basis of the presented facts, that he was an apologist rather than a detractor of Grillparzer's views and that, like him, he did not allow antiquity to be degraded. Since Bernard's libretto of *Der Sieg des Kreuzes* (completed in October 1823) was about the very two topics that Grillparzer had explicitly named and shamed - the vainglory of Constantine, and the Christian cross that desecrated antiquity - Beethoven may have felt little inclination to put effort any into composing it. He was expected to find a musical idiom for authentic Romans who were 'depraved heathens (pagans)', in the knowledge that censorship forbade the picturing of such people 'with noble and humane features'; these had to be wicked and bad by definition.⁹³³ He may have found it repugnant to diabolize 'bad' Roman culture and to celebrate the Christians as 'good' - even if this was self-evident for Bernard, who designated Catholicism as 'our holy religion'.⁹³⁴ If up to this time Beethoven had not realized the ideological ramifications of the text and its implied religious and political message, it must surely have percolated through to him in 1823: participating to *Der Sieg des Kreuzes* was equal to publicly endorsing reactionary Catholicism, which was perceived in his surroundings as an ominous 'Finsterniss' that swept through Austria ever since the Congress years.⁹³⁵

⁹³⁰ BKh iii, 245-6. These comments were signalled but not elaborated on by Egon von Komorzynski, 'Beethoven und Grillparzer', in *Die Musik* xxxii (1940), 265-70.

⁹³¹ For a detailed survey of this failed cooperation and Grillparzer's life-long ambivalence towards Beethoven's music see Peter Höying, 'For Heaven's Sake, I Will Have You Walk into the Dark: Grillparzer's Containment of Beethoven and the Ambivalence of Their *Melusina* Project', in *Goethe Yearbook* xvii (2010), 275-302.

⁹³² BKh iii, 288. There can be little doubt that Beethoven sympathized with Grillparzer. He had been criticized himself for having portrayed Jesus too much as a wordly figure (in *Christus am Ölberge*) and for composing music on the text 'Es ist vollbracht' (WoO 97).

⁹³³ Glossy, *Theaterzensur*, 8 (1805).

⁹³⁴ See his Beethoven necrology in the WZ of 28 March 1827, in which he noticed that Beethoven had 'left sketches' for the *Sieg des Kreuzes*.

⁹³⁵ For the effects on musical life in Vienna see Aschauer, 'Stationen'. For references to the *Finsterniss* in

Prostrating himself in the face of political pressure did not suit Beethoven's personality. It was one of his overriding concerns not to compromise his artistic sovereignty, which would have been compromised had he taken on *Der Sieg des Kreuzes*. As for the lauding Christianity: he was not anti-Christian, but demonstrably anti-clerical, rejecting the authority of the institutional church. His aloofness on the subject was striking: he eschewed its rituals (baptism, marriage, funeral) and nothing indicates that he ever entered a Vienna house of prayer. This renders the argument less speculative that he abstained from putting effort into *Der Sieg des Kreuzes*, which expected of him to give musical voice to the allegorical figures of Love, Hope and Faith, the three metaphysical creeds of Christian-Romantic otherworldliness. Cooperation would have placed a high premium on compliance and docility, and supervening circumstances considered it is understandable that Beethoven felt reluctant to pursue the project. Apart from that, there may have been musical aspects that repelled him. In the libretto he crossed out choruses of Sorcerers and Demons.⁹³⁶ Moreover, after *Wellingtons Sieg* he may have felt hard put to composing the agitation and turmoil of a military battle and everything connected with it (death, mourning, triumph).

In the event, *Der Sieg des Kreuzes* was a sorry affair for all parties involved. Beethoven's declining of this text, it seems, had more to do with his lack of sympathy for it than with any incidentals of his biography. He must have sensed that this oratorio could damage his posthumous reputation - an aspect so very dear to him. He once exclaimed to Holz: 'How [on earth] should I get enthusiastic about this?'⁹³⁷ Understandably, it remained a road not taken.

conversation books see BKh ii, 189; vii, 110; viii, 258.

⁹³⁶ Berlin, N. mus ms. 37 (see Klein, *Autographe*, 279).

⁹³⁷ KC, 461 (1825 or 1826).

Chapter 9

Closing Observations

The small force that is required to launch a boat into the stream must not be confounded with the force of the stream that carries the boat along.

Yet, this mistake is made in nearly all biographies.
Friedrich Nietzsche, *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches* (1886, II-394)

The main objective of this study was to answer questions about Beethoven's involvement with Greco-Roman antiquity. In Chapter 1, five fields of inquiry were formulated, the results of which can now be evaluated. Predicated on an analysis of the primary sources as collated in Appendices A-E, a number of inferences can be drawn, the most basic one of which is that Beethoven, like many others of his generation, showed a favourable predisposition towards the ancients and that he accorded Greco-Roman writings the status of impeccable truth and wisdom. Inasmuch as he considered these texts morally uplifting and advantageous for the building of character, he was bent on becoming conversant with them, the more so because he felt impelled to reach a higher level of *Bildung*. This makes it understandable that he was determined to ensure that also his nephew was equipped with this information.

For an assessment of what Beethoven considered worth assimilating, the diaries of his contemporary Josef Schreyvogel are helpful. The latter's views on Plutarch, for example, will not have been much different from Beethoven's: 'It is not possible to treat virtue more warmhearted and engaging than he does'.⁹³⁸ Schreyvogel stressed the significance of 'Tugend', the necessity of controlling passions, and more generally the supremacy of the spiritual over the sensual - which made him admire Socrates, Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus above all others. This finds resonance in memoranda in Beethoven's *Tagebuch*.

9.1 Overview of the Findings

In Bonn and Vienna Beethoven was subjected to different sets of influences. As a teenager he was surrounded by people who supported the social upheavals in France (politicians, university professors, Illuminati) and since the revolutionaries identified themselves with historical models of republican Rome, young Beethoven will have understood comparisons that were made between the

⁹³⁸ JST, vol. 1, 104.

sociopolitical climate in France and antiquity. The assumption that he himself espoused republicanism (and Jacobinism) is strengthened by his haircut 'à la Titus' somewhat later in Vienna, but the ramified point of view that he possessed a statuette of Lucius Junius Brutus seems tenuous - this was most probably a forgery. In Bonn, Beethoven came into contact with Nepos and Cicero. There is no hint of other names, but in view of the popularity there of manuals on morality (Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Seneca) it seems likely that these writers came to his attention as well.

In Vienna, it was primarily ancient Greece that stood in high esteem, and through the works of Schiller and Goethe Beethoven learned about Winckelmannian aesthetics. There is no formal proof that he was aware of neoclassical developments in the visual arts, as implemented at the *Akademie für bildende Künste* by Heinrich Füger, but this may be due to dearth of sources - at least nothing suggests the contrary. The statue gallery of Count Joseph Deym offered him opportunity to admire closely such masterpieces as the *Laocoon*, *Apollo Belvedere*, *Dying Gaul* and *Antinous*.

Due to the fact that a vast amount of Greco-Roman translations flooded the German market, peaking in the 1790s, Beethoven had ample means to read the ancients. There is substantial confusion in the literature, though, about what he did and did not consume. The present study established that he assuredly saw fit to read Homer, Plutarch, Horace, Epictetus, Euripides, Ovid, Xenophon, and poetry known as the 'Greek anthology', and that he seriously considered acquiring (for himself) Marcus Aurelius, Tacitus, Quintilian, Isocrates and Lucian. But there is good reason for assuming that he knew more of the repertory, perhaps much more. Given his passionate engagement it seems fair to suppose that he was familiar with a number of items specified in Chapter 3, for instance Caesar, Suetonius or Seneca, whose texts enjoyed great popularity. Evidence of what he read rests on the chance survival of sources (primarily conversation books and *Tagebuch*), and the picture would probably be different if a source like Schreyvogel's extended diary had survived.

Although Beethoven will have consumed more than is now known, Schindler's assertions about his knowledge of Plato, Aristotle and Boethius cannot be taken at face value. There is no warrant for supposing that he read Plato's *Republic*, a claim that has led to much misguided criticism in essays about Beethoven's sociopolitical convictions. Nevertheless, he *did* likely know the elucidatory comments on Platonism (as expressed in volume 1 of Borhek's Xenophon translation), thus in the field of ancient philosophy he was not a total outsider. Popular pedagogical and novelistic material complemented Beethoven's learning. Evidence suggests that he explored Gottlieb August Meissner's *Alcibiades*, the educational novel *Reise des jungen Anacharsis in Griechenland*, Wieland's *Agathon* and perhaps also textbooks on Greek mythology, like the popular 'Petiscus'. The editions he used suggest that he was a visitor of the shop of bookseller and

publisher Franz Haas, located at 'unter der Tuchlauben, dem Schönbrunner-Hause gegenüber'.⁹³⁹ Haas was famed for reprints, of which Beethoven demonstrably acquired Plutarch, Xenophon and Homer's *Iliad*, and probably also Tacitus. Haas's supplies may have partly determined his reading activities.

The surviving copy of Beethoven's *Odyssey*, from 1781, reveals something of his habits while reading, such as applying underlinings, marginal notations, metrical signs, comments and turned-down page corners. Many marks seem to date from the later years, and it can be ascertained that the book was consulted in 1816, 1818, 1822, and 1825, but perhaps also earlier, given the possibly Homeric provenance of phrases in the Heiligenstadt Testament. Other books were no doubt used in the same manner, but have not survived. Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* were Beethoven's favourites, as indicated by manifold references. These volumes were read in 1801-02, 1816, and 1827, but perhaps uninterruptedly. In 1807, he took an interest in Tacitus. Engagement with Euripides can be dated with 1809 - a musical vignette from 1820 on a line from *Trojan Women* suggests that the tragedies were taken on again later (similar plans for musical pieces were made with regard to Homer and Plutarch). In 1810, he subscribed to a translation of Greek epigrams, of which he may have hoped that some were suited to music, but they proved too anacreontic. This subscription is mentioned only peripherally in the literature, but it is a key indicator for Beethoven's sympathy for Greco-Roman antiquity. To complete the picture, his *Iliad* copy was from 1814 and late in 1815 he took on the *Cyropaedia* by Xenophon.

What Beethoven also picked up while reading, wittingly or subliminally, was information about various schools of Hellenistic philosophy, such as Platonism, the Peripatetics, Stoicism, and Epicurism. He must have had an inkling of at least some of their messages, and there are indications that Stoicism and Platonism, if anything, affected his worldview. Notions about controlling passions, things beyond one's control, facing adversity, ephemerality and perennality, necessity and fate, joy and brotherhood, performing duty and other attitudes to life, all extensively discussed in Hellenistic time, were close to him, as is testified by letters and memoranda. A conversation he held in 1820 about the concept of natural law illuminates his personal stance. He relished pondering about how the ideal and divine ruled the universe, which was a paramount theme for the dogmatic post-Socratic philosophical schools from which Christianity emerged (some concepts reappeared in the works of Christian Fürchtegott Gellert). The markings in the *Odyssey* indicate that Beethoven was also particularly engrossed in issues relating to reputation, good and bad, virtue, duty, attitudes towards suffering and fate, sorrow, bereavement, death - in short: he set store by things beyond the

⁹³⁹ Peter R. Frank and Johannes Frimmel, *Buchwesen in Wien 1750-1850* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 70-1.

phenomenal, which perhaps reflected his sometimes desperate world-weariness. The Xenophon excerpts offer a similar picture. One gets the impression that Beethoven was affected by sentiments and viewpoints that he had already formed - the same he hoped to find in poems and librettos for potential new works. He acknowledged, though, that he was not beyond learning and was prepared to modify views, in compliance with what Schreyvogel contemplated: 'Only now do I begin to take full advantage of the real benefit of the acquaintance with good writers and great men from antiquity'.⁹⁴⁰

9.2 Implications of the Source Findings

Insofar as known, Beethoven himself never employed the terms 'Platonism', 'Stoa' or 'Stoicism'. Nor did anyone in his direct surroundings. Occasionally, ancient schools were obliquely mentioned, for instance when nephew Karl remarked: '[He says] you're an Epicurist',⁹⁴¹ or when Beethoven himself referred to 'the great Aristotle' (he may have known Aristotle's popular definition of virtue as a 'condition intermediate between two extremes'),⁹⁴² or to 'the holy Socrates' (Beethoven espoused the typically Socratic conviction that only virtue brings about happiness).⁹⁴³ Nevertheless, a relationship with ancient thinking was sometimes close, suggesting that it resonated sympathetically with him. Beethoven will have endorsed what Schreyvogel chronicled in his diary: 'How poor is our age compared to antiquity as regards wise philosophers! And the ancients demonstrated their philosophy in real life, not only in school'.⁹⁴⁴ Several commentators have pointed to philosophical allusions in the *Tagebuch*. For Maynard Solomon, Beethoven underscored here 'his acceptance of the need to undergo arduous tests of fidelity, diligence, devotion, and obedience - to determine if he is capable of perfecting his moral character'; he concluded that 'Stoical acquiescence in the designs of fate is thus a central topic'.⁹⁴⁵ In a similar vein, Lewis Lockwood held that 'affirmations of stoicism run through it'.⁹⁴⁶

The Stoic reading habits invite reflection, for a major discrepancy presents itself. If any person did not match the Stoic profile, it was Beethoven, a man with a restless temperament and impetuous nature, with sudden rages, uncontrolled emotional states, impulsiveness, thoughtlessness and outbursts, all features anathema to the Stoa. This is hard to reconcile with the balanced,

⁹⁴⁰ JST, vol. 1, 106.

⁹⁴¹ BKH iv, 115.

⁹⁴² BGA, 1286. See Aristotle. *Ethica Nicomachea*, ed. Ingram Bywater (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1963. Perhaps Beethoven had read about Aristotle's views on music, as described in the AMZ (1814), 109-16.

⁹⁴³ BGA, 545; BGA, 106.

⁹⁴⁴ JST, vol. 1, 76 (1811).

⁹⁴⁵ Maynard Solomon, *Late Beethoven* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 167.

⁹⁴⁶ Lockwood, *The Music and the Life*, 121.

modified and reasonable consideration the school so emphatically attempted to foster. Not surprisingly, Thayer downplayed Beethoven's interest in Stoic attitudes, stating that 'he never entirely succeeded in controlling his passions'.⁹⁴⁷ However, it may have been precisely the lapses and foibles that Beethoven recognized within himself that induced him to lavish so much attention on this kind of doctrines. He was aware that he was remiss in the area of suppressing passions, and that an extra effort was needed. He was, so to speak, a smoker reading books about how to quit smoking.

The problem, however, was multifaceted. The *Tagebuch* was begun in 1812, and in that very year Beethoven reflected profoundly and philosophically in a letter that

My irritable nature, it seems, seizes both the bad and the good.⁹⁴⁸

He evidently realized that he should not let run free Putarch's 'unreasoned parts of the soul' (described in the *Tagebuch* as 'the frailties of nature'),⁹⁴⁹ but at the same time these very passions lay at the heart of his capacity to overwhelm listeners with turbulent and highly impassioned music. The 'bad', for Beethoven, was how passions manifested themselves in daily life and interaction with others, while the 'good' were his qualities and skills universally admired by the outside world. Beethoven failed to control hot pangs and pent-up energy, and felt guilty about that, but at the same time these invested his music with genius. To sum up the argument, had Beethoven succeeded in assimilating Stoic guidelines, this would probably have worked to the detriment of his originality, for it would have attenuated the expressive power of his music.

In retrospect, this issue touches on the sensitive topic of synthesizing life and music, which has been at the heart of Beethoven scholarship ever since its beginnings. Tovey's classic warning in this respect has not yet lost its validity: 'To study the lives of great artists is often a positive hindrance to the understanding of their works; for it is usually the study of what they have not mastered, and thus it undermines their authority in the things they have mastered'.⁹⁵⁰

9.3 Possible Ramifications for the Music

Can inferences be drawn from Beethoven's engagement with antiquity in relation to his music? In Chapter 8, about his antiquity-related compositions, a fourth category might have been added with

⁹⁴⁷ TDR vol. 2, 141.

⁹⁴⁸ BGA, 593 (die reizbare natur in mir ergreift eben so das schlechte als gute, wie es scheint).

⁹⁴⁹ Taken from Johann Gottlieb Seume's *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802* ('The frailties of nature are intrinsic to nature itself, and it is incumbent on the ruler Reason to guide and alleviate them through its strength'); see Strässner, 'Et lector', 164-65.

⁹⁵⁰ Donald Francis Tovey, *Beethoven* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), 1.

works that betray allusions to ideas, ideals and concepts that are commonly associated with antiquity, such as heroism, humanism, brotherhood, republicanism, freedom, beauty and truth. It was decided to refrain from this, because it would be depending on interpretative appraisal, and critical opinion defies unanimity in this field. Here is not the place to expound on modern and postmodern paradigms pointing to ‘emotional journeys’, ‘psychological narratives’ (within or beyond the musical organization), ‘contextual processes’, and other hermeneutic viewpoints.⁹⁵¹ These have been present in Beethoven reception from the early nineteenth century on, until today, also with regard to antiquity: Hector Berlioz, August Wilhelm Ambros and Carl Lemeke perceived relations between the *Eroica* and Virgil, Aeschylus and Homer, and Scott Burnham’s *Beethoven Hero* is still about the perception of heroism by modern listeners, who according to the author cannot possibly disengage themselves from Beethoven’s paradigmatic second period style.

Reception and consensus opinion are constantly in flux, and there is little sense in drawing antiquity into the hermeneutic debate. It suffices to recall concrete facts to enrich comprehension of the topic. Throughout his life, Beethoven set his mind on composing an opera on an ancient historical or mythological subject - though he found no libretto to his liking and plans did not materialize. It is also a fact that when Beethoven came across Plutarchian protagonists, such as Romulus, Tarpeja, Brutus, or Coriolanus, this piqued his musical imagination and he showed a readiness to contribute - knowledge was evidently an inspiring factor. Intriguing is the case of the *Sonate Pathétique*, the title of which has always remained somewhat puzzling.⁹⁵² This work was released by Hoffmeister in Vienna in autumn 1799,⁹⁵³ at a time when Winckelmannian discussions on the ‘pathetic’ in art were much in the air, with a pivotal role for the *Laocoon group*. There is sense to the view that the sonata’s title had something to do with this - the more so because in 1799 Beethoven plausibly saw the statue in the Deym museum (see Chapter 3.6). Scholars, however, disagree on this, and assumptions must remain speculative. Extrapolating the ‘pathetic’ to other works on the ground of stylistic similarities with the *Pathétique*, brings with it the danger of making claims that go beyond what evidence supports.

Incidentally, in April 1826, Beethoven saw the *Laocoon* once more, this time as an engraving. He visited the workshop of publisher Mathias Artaria, who showed him a book with 344 engraved

⁹⁵¹ For a recent discussion see James William Sobaskie, ‘The “Problem” of Schubert’s String Quintet’, in *Nineteenth Century Music Review* ii (2005), 57-92, esp. 57-60.

⁹⁵² See Sisman, ‘Pathos’.

⁹⁵³ According to Barry Cooper, in *The Creation of Beethoven’s 35 Piano Sonatas* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 61, the sonata ‘appears to have been completed by mid-1798’. Yet, the title may have originated only a year later, as an afterthought, and perhaps this was instigated by Hoffmeister. Whether one may go so far as to designate the sonata as ‘characteristic’ (Cooper, 143) is open to question. Beethoven generally reserved this term for the unequivocally-descriptive, less for ‘mood painting’.

masterpieces.⁹⁵⁴ A brilliant representation of the *Laocoon* caught Beethoven's eye (see Figure 26) and he asked Artaria the name of the engraver (this was Charles Clément Bervic). Observing Beethoven's admiring gasp, Artaria jested: 'One recognizes Beethoven in his compositions'.⁹⁵⁵ Beethoven's response is regrettably not known - perhaps he said something about his Opus 13 sonata. Interestingly, Ludwig Rellstab had shortly earlier compared the String Quartet Opus 127 to 'expressions of the sufferings of a deeply wounded individual, (...) the work is permeated by the mysterious strains of the manly sufferings of a Laocoon'.⁹⁵⁶ Artaria no doubt knew this review, and it may have incited him to his remark. Had the nickname 'Laocoon Quartet' established itself for Opus 127, this would probably have provoked only few objections.



Figure 26. Engraving of the *Laocoon* in *Le Musée français* (1803-11), viewed by Beethoven in April 1826.

9.4 Conclusions and Recommendations

To sum up the argument of the thesis, it seems fair to conclude that Beethoven maintained an unrelenting engagement with various aspects of Greco-Roman culture - history, philosophy and mythology. This ventured beyond the non-committal. The involvement offers glimpses of his life

⁹⁵⁴ This was a four-volume publication named *Le Musée français, recueil complet des tableaux, statues et bas-reliefs* (Paris: De L'Imprimerie De L.-É. Herhan, 1803-11), dedicated to Napoleon.

⁹⁵⁵ BKh ix, 185 (Man sieht Beethoven in seinen Compositionen).

⁹⁵⁶ *Berliner Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, May 1825. See *Ludwig van Beethoven. Die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, ed. Stefan Kunze (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1987), 551.

beyond his vocational aspirations, a field still very much unexplored. Beethoven's acquisitive mind sharpened his critical spirit, and antiquity may have played an important role in this. It may explain why some contemporaries were extraordinarily impressed by his capacity for persuasion. One of them admired his 'elevated position towards the ordinary', another opined that 'all he says is worthwhile'.⁹⁵⁷

This conclusion yields points of departure for reflection, and perhaps some aspects of it invite fuller exploration, for various fields of inquiry could only be peripherally touched upon here. Provocative, for example, is the possible impact of Beethoven's engagement with Greco-Roman idealism on stylistic features of his creative output, such as the teleological drive and the processive goal-consciousness that characterize so many works (in sharp contrast to Schubert's 'motion without progress'). Can potential correlations be drawn between his philosophical preferences and the Hegelian 'process of becoming' in which musical ambiguity is regarded as an aesthetic quality?⁹⁵⁸ Is it possible to draw relevant parallels between what he admired in the ancients and the narrative metaphors that have dominated the reception history of his music? Interesting from a biographical point of view is whether Beethoven's frugal lifestyle can be mapped onto what he read about the ancients. Perhaps a theme suited for further exploration as well, more from a psychological point of view, is the strong contrast between Beethoven's musical autonomy and his moral heteronomy: there is a curious discrepancy between moral doctrinal reservations and cavalier disregard for those within his own profession. Beethoven flouted compositional rules and strictures with astonishing confidence, and he underscored Longinus's motto by proclaiming: 'Fort mit allen Regeln' (Away with all rules).⁹⁵⁹ Paradoxically, it was this recklessness that made of Beethoven an icon of Western civilization. It was a radical and lasting 'immorality' that rescued him from the limbo of obscurity.

⁹⁵⁷ KC, 98 (Antonie Brentano, 1812) and 316 (Fanny Giannattasio, 1816).

⁹⁵⁸ See Janet Schmalfeldt, 'Form as the Process of Becoming: The Beethoven-Hegelian Tradition and the "Tempest" Sonata', in *Beethoven Forum* iv (1995), 37-71.

⁹⁵⁹ BGA, 2003, Note 9. See also KC, 1054.

Literature Cited

- Albrecht, Theodore, 'Anton Schindler as Destroyer and Forger of Beethoven's Conversation Books: A Case for Decriminalization', in Zdravko Blažeković and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie, eds. *Music's Intellectual History* (New York: RILM, 2009), 169–81.
- *Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence*, 3 vols. (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1996)
- Anonymous, *Erinnerung an Ludwig van Beethoven und die Feier der Enthüllung seines Monumentes zu Bonn am 10., 11. und 12. August 1845* (Bonn: B. Pleimes, 1845).
- Anrich, Ernst, ed. *Die Idee der deutschen Universität: Die fünf Grundschriften aus der Zeit ihrer Neubegründung durch klassischen Idealismus und romantischen Realismus* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964).
- Apel, Johann August, *Kalliroe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1806).
- Appel, Bernhard R. and Julia Ronge, eds., *Beethoven liest* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2016).
- Appel, Bernhard R., 'Beethoven und die indische Geisteswelt', in *BL*, 35-58.
- Aschauer, Michael, 'Drei Stationen einer Auseinandersetzung mit dem System Metternichs', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* (2008), 373-88.
- Bachleitner, Norbert, *Die literarische Zensur in Österreich von 1751 bis 1848* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2017).
- Badura-Skoda, Paul, ed. *Carl Czerny. Über den richtigen Vortrag der sämtlichen Beethoven'schen Klavierwerke* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1963).
- Bahrtdt, Carl Friedrich, *Tacitus* (Halle: Johann Jacob Gebauer, 1781).
- Bahrtdt, Carl Friedrich, *Cornelius Tacitus Sämtliche Werke* (Vienna and Prague: Haas, 1796, sec. ed. 1801).
- Barthélemy, Jean-Jacques, *Reise des jungen Anacharsis in Griechenland*, 8 vols. (Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek, 1789-92).
- Bartlitz, Eveline, *Die Beethoven-Sammlung in der Musikabteilung der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek. Verzeichnis der Autographe, Abschriften, Dokumente, Briefe* (Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 1970).
- Baur, Samuel, *Gemälde der merkwürdigsten Revolutionen, Empörungen, Verschwörungen, wichtiger Staatsveränderungen und Kriegsscenen, auch anderer interessanter Auftritte aus der Geschichte der berühmtesten Nationen*, 10 vols. (Ulm: Verlag Stettinischen Buchhandlung, 1810–1818).
- Becker, Alfred, *Christian Gottlob Neefe und die Bonner Illuminaten* (Bonn: Bouver, 1969).
- Becker, Karl Friedrich, *Ulysses von Ithaka. Eine Erzählung nach Homers Odyssee; Achilles. Eine Erzählung nach Homers Ilias* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1801-03).
- Beethoven, Ludwig van, *Werke: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Munich and Duisburg: Henle, 1961-).
- Behler, Ernst, 'W.A. Schlegel and the Nineteenth-Century *Damnatio* of Euripides', in *Greek-Roman and Byzantine Studies* xxvii (1986), 335-67.
- Bekker, Paul, *Beethoven* (Stuttgart-Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1922).
- Bellofatto, Luigi and Armando Orlandi, 'Beethoven and the Art of Horology', in *BBS* ix (2011), 7-34.
- Bent, Ian, 'Plato - Beethoven: A Hermeneutics for Nineteenth-Century Music?', in *Indiana Theory Review* xvi (1995), 1-33.
- Beyer, Johann Franz, *Epiktet und sein Handbuch der Stoischen Moral in biographischer und literarischer Rücksicht* (Marburg: Akademischen Buchhandlung, 1794).
- Biba, Otto, 'Beethoven und die "Liebhaber Concerte" in Wien im Winter 1807/08', in Rudolph Klein, ed. *Beiträge '76-78. Beethoven-Kolloquium 1977* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 82-93.
- Biberhofer, Raoul, "'Vestas Feuer' Beethovens erster Opernplan", in *Die Musik* xxii (1929-30), 409-14.
- Blum, Klaus, 'Bemerkungen Anton Reichas zur Aufführungspraxis der Oper', in *Mf* vii (1954), 429-40.
- Boeri, Marcelo D., 'Does Cosmic Nature Matter? Some Remarks on the Cosmological Aspects of Stoic Ethics', in Ricardo Salles, ed. *God and Cosmos in Stoicism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 173-200.
- Boettcher, Hans, 'Beethovens Homer-Studien', in *Die Musik* xix (1926-27), 478-85.
- Bonds, Mark Evan, 'Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century', in *JAMS* (1997), 387-420.
- Borhek, August Christian [ed. and transl.] *Xenophons sämtliche Schriften. Aus dem Griechischen neu Übersetzt von August Christian Borhek*, (Vienna and Prague: bey Franz Haas, 1801).
- Borthwick, E. Kerr, 'Beethoven and Plutarch', in *ML* lxxix (1998), 268-72.

- Bourrienne, M. de, *The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1832).
- Brandenburg, Sieghard, ed. *Ludwig van Beethoven: Briefwechsel Gesamtausgabe*, ed. 7 vols. (Munich: Henle, 1996-98).
- 'Beethovens politische Erfahrungen in Bonn', in Helga Lühning ed. *Beethoven zwischen Revolution und Restauration* (Bonn: Beethoven Haus, 1989), 3-50.
- 'Die Skizzen zu Beethovens Cellosonate Op. 69', in Ingeborg Maass et al., eds. *Beethovens Werke für Klavier und Violoncello* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2004), 173-212.
- 'Über die Bedeutung der Änderungen von Taktvorschriften in einigen Werken Beethovens', in Rudolph Klein, ed. *Beiträge '76-'78. Beethoven-Kolloquium 1977* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 37-51.
- 'Rezensionen', in *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* x (1983), 408-11.
- Braubach, Max, *Die erste Bonner Hochschule* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1966).
- *Die Stambücher Beethovens und der Babette Koch* (Bonn: Beethoven Haus, 1995).
- *Beethovens Abschied von Bonn* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1970).
- Brenneis, Clemens, 'Beethovens "Introduzione del Ido Atto" und die "Leonore" von 1805', in *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* xxxii (1990), 181-203.
- [Brentano, Bettina], *Goethe's Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde* (Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler, 1835).
- Breuning, Gerhard von, *Aus dem Schwarzspanierhause. Erinnerungen an L. van Beethoven aus meiner Jugendzeit* (Vienna: Rosner, 1874).
- Brisson, Elizabeth, *Le sacre du musicien. La référence à l'Antiquité chez Beethoven* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2000).
- Brockhaus, Heinz Alfred and Konrad Niemann, eds., *Bericht über den internationalen Beethoven-Kongress 10-12 Dezember 1970 in Berlin* (Berlin: Verlag neue Musik Berlin, 1971).
- Brockt, Johannes, 'Grillparzer and Music', in *ML* (1947), 242-8.
- Burghardt, Franz Joseph, *Der Geheimbund der Illuminaten* (Cologne: [Selbstverlag], 1988).
- Burnham, Scott, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).
- Busch-Weise, Dagmar von, 'Beethovens Jugendtagebuch', in *Festschrift für Erich Schenk (= Studien zur Musikwissenschaft)*, 1962, 68-88.
- Bywater, Ingram, ed. *Aristotle. Ethica Nicomachea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1963.
- Chaniotis, Angelos, *War in the Hellenistic World* (Malden: Blackwell, 2005).
- Clemen, Otto, 'Andreas Streicher in Wien', in *Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch* iv (1930), 107-17.
- Clive, Peter, *Beethoven and his World. A Biographical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Clubbe, John, 'The Mask of Beethoven. Brutus, Revolution, and the Egyptian Mysteries', in *The Beethoven Journal* xxv/i (2010), 4-17.
- Collin, Heinrich von, *Coriolan. Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen* (Berlin: Unger, 1804).
- Comini, Alessandra, *The Changing Image of Beethoven. A Study in Mythmaking* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987).
- Cooper, Barry, *Beethoven and the Creative Process* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).
- *The Creation of Beethoven's 35 Piano Sonatas* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).
- Cooper, Martin, *Beethoven. The Last Decade 1817-1827* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).
- Creuzer, Friedrich, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen* (Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 1812).
- Dahlhaus, Carl, 'E.T.A. Hoffmann's Beethoven-Kritik und die Ästhetik des Erhabenen', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* xlii (1981), 79-92.
- *Beethoven* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1989).
- Dannreuther, Edward, 'Beethoven and His Works, A Study', in *Macmillan's Magazine* xxxiv (1876), 193-202.
- Dean, Winton, 'Beethoven and Opera', in *The Beethoven Companion*, Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune, eds., (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), 331-86.
- Degen, Johann Friedrich, *Litteratur der deutschen Uebersetzungen der Griechen* (Altenburg: Richterschen Buchhandlung), vol. 1 (1797), vol. 2 (1798, *Nachtrag* (Erlangen: Walther), 1801.
- *Versuch einer vollständigen Litteratur der deutschen Uebersetzungen der Römer* (Altenburg: Richterschen Buchhandlung), vol. 1 (1794), vol. 2 (1797), *Nachtrag* (Erlangen: Walther), vol. 3 (1799).
- Dennis, David B., *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870-1989* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).
- [Deym, Joseph] Beschreibung der kaiserl. königl. privilegirten, durch den Herrn Hofstatuarius Müller errichteten Kunstgalerie zu Wien (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1797).
- DeNora, Tia, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius. Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley

- and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995).
- Deutsch, Otto Erich, *Schubert. Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964).
- Deycks, Dr., 'Platon über die Musik', in *Cäcilia* viii (1828), 69-90.
- Dorfmueller, Kurt et al., eds., *Ludwig van Beethoven: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 2 vols. (Munich: Henle, 2014).
- Drieberg, Friedrich von, *Die praktische Musik der Griechen* (Berlin: Trautwein, 1821).
- *Arien und Gesänge aus der komischen Oper in drei Akten mit Tänzen: Der Hechelkrämer. Musik von Friedrich von Drieberg* (Berlin, 1813, no publisher mentioned).
- Duff, Timothy, *Plutarch's Lives. Exploring Virtue and Vice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Eckermann, Johann Peter, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1836).
- Eichhorn, Johann Gottfried, *Geschichte der Litteratur, von ihrem Anfang bis auf die neuesten Zeiten* 3 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1805-12).
- [Eipeldauer] *Der wiederaufgelebte Eipeldauer* (Vienna: Christoph Peter Rehm, 1799-1801).
- Eitner, Robert, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959).
- Engel, Carl, 'Beethoven's Opus 3 an "Envoi de Vienne"?' in *MQ* xiii (1927), 261-79.
- Erichson, Johann, *Griechischer Blumenkranz, eine Auswahl aus der lyrischen Poesie der Griechen in Uebersetzungen. Mit hinzugefügtem Griechischen Text, einem Anhang, eigene Gedichte vom Herausgeber enthaltend, und vier Umrissen* (Vienna: Geistinger, 1810).
- Feder, Johann Georg Heinrich, *Logik und Metaphysik, nebst der Philosophischen Geschichte im Grundrisse* (Göttingen: Dietrich, 1769).
- Fessler, Ignaz Aurelius, *Aristides und Themistocles*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Maurer, 1792; second edition 1809, third edition 1818).
- Fétis, François-Joseph, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et Bibliographie*, 8 vols. (Paris: Librairie H. Fournier, 1835-1844).
- Fleischer, Tsippy, 'The Opera *Médée* by Luigi Cherubini (1797): Overview, Sources, and Cuts', in *Israel Studies in Musicology* vi (1976), 133-52.
- Fleischhauer, Günther, 'Beethoven und die Antike', in *BKBe*, 465-82.
- Floros, Constantin, *Beethovens Eroica und Prometheusmusik* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1978).
- Frank, Peter R. and Johannes Frimmel, *Buchwesen in Wien 1750-1850* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 70-1.
- Fries, Karl, 'Schiller und Plutarch', in *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur* i (1915), 351-64 and 418-31.
- Frimmel, Theodor von, *Beethoven Studien II. Bausteine zu einer Lebensgeschichte des Meisters* (Munich and Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1906).
- Geck, Martin and Peter Schleuning, *Geschrieben auf Bonaparte'. Beethovens 'Eroica': Revolution, Reaktion, Rezeption* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1989).
- Gerhard, Wilhelm, *Anakreon und Sappho. Freie Nachbildung für den deutschen Gesang* (Leipzig: Friedrich August Leo, 1818).
- Gibbon, Edward, *Geschichte der Abnahme und des Falls des Römischen Reichs* (Vienna: Joseph Stahel, 1788-92).
- Glossy, Karl, ed. *Josef Schreyvogels Tagebücher*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Verlag der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, 1903).
- 'Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theaterzensur I (1801-1820)', in *JGG* xxv (1915).
- Goddard, Scott, 'Beethoven and Goethe', in *ML* viii (1927), 165-71.
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, ed. *Winkelmann und sein Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Cotta, 1805).
- *Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Tübingen: Cotta, 1811-14).
- Gramit, David, 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography, and Cultural Values, in *19th Century Music* (1993-94).
- Griffin, Miriam, *Seneca. A Philosopher in Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).
- Grigat, Frederike, 'Die *Odyssee*, Leitbild für Kunst und Leben. Beethoven im Sog der Homer-Begeisterung', in *BL*, 203-50.
- ed. 'Die Sammlung Wegeler im Beethoven-Haus Bonn. Kritischer Katalog', in *BBS* vii (2008, full volume).

- *Beethovens Glaubensbekenntnis: Drei Denksprüche aus Friedrich Schillers Aufsatz Die Sendung Moses* (Bonn: Beethoven-Verlag, 2008).
- Gutiérrez-Denhoff, Martella, 'Neue Mosaiksteine im Bild der Familie von Breuning. Ein Beitrag zum geistig sozialen Umfeld des heranwachsenden Beethoven in Bonn', in ed. Ulrich Konrad, *Musikalische Quellen - Quellen zur Musikgeschichte. Festschrift für Martin Staehelin zum 65. Geburtstag* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 345-61.
- Haas, Theodor, 'Ein Dokument Johann van Beethovens', in *Neue Musik-Zeitung* xl (1919).
- Hagen, Bettina, *Antike in Wien. Die Akademie und der Klassizismus um 1800* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2003).
- Hall, Edith, 'Literature and Performance', in *Ancient Greece*, ed. Paul Cartledge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 219-49.
- Halm, August, *Beethoven* (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1927).
- Hanheide, Stefan, 'Die Beethoven-Interpretation von Romain Rolland und ihre methodischen Grundlagen', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* lvi (2004), 255-74.
- Hansen, Joseph, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Rheinlandes im Zeitalter der französischen Revolution* (Bonn: 1931-8).
- ed. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Rheinlandes im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution. 1780-1810*, 4 vols. (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag 2004).
- Hänzschel, Günter, 'Der deutsche Homer im 19. Jahrhundert', in W. Koppenfels ed. et al., *Antike und Abendland* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1983), 49-89.
- *Johann Heinrich Voss. Seine Homer-Übersetzung als sprachschöpferischer Leistung* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1977).
- Hartel, Wilhelm von, 'Grillparzer und die Antike', in JGG xvii (1907), 165-89.
- Hatwager, Gabriele, *Die Lust an der Illusion - über den Reiz der "Scheinkunstsammlung" des Grafen Deym, der sich Müller nannte* (Vienna: University Diplomarbeit, 2008).
- Herder, Johann Gottlieb, *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität* (Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1792-3).
- 'Homer, ein Günstling der Zeit', in *Die Horen* (1795, 9. Stück), 53-88.
- Hess, Willy, "'Vestas Feuer" von Emanuel Schikaneder', in *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* iii (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1959), 63-106.
- 'Tarpeja', in *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* v (1966), 92-147.
- *Das Fidelio-Buch* (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1986).
- Hirsch, Ferdinand, 'Ludwig van Beethoven und seine Verleger: Im Besonderen dargestellt an seinen Beziehungen zum Leipziger Musikverlag Breitkopf & Härtel', in BKBe, 499-506.
- Hoeren, Thomas, 'Präjakobiner in Deutschland - Carl Friedrich Bahrdt (1740-1792)', in *Zeitschrift für Religions- Und Geistesgeschichte* xlvii (1995), 55-72.
- Hornblower, Simon and Antony Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- Horngräber, Bertha, ed. *Helmina von Chézy. Unvergessenes. Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1858).
- Höying, Peter, 'For Heaven's Sake, I Will Have You Walk into the Dark: Grillparzer's Containment of Beethoven and the Ambivalence of Their *Melusina* Project', in *Goethe Yearbook* xvii (2010), 275-302.
- Howell, Standley, 'Der Mälzelkanon - eine weitere Fälschung Schindlers?', in Harry Goldschmidt, ed. *Zu Beethoven 2* (Berlin: Verlag Neue Musik, 1984), 163-71.
- Hüffer, Eduard, *Anton Felix Schindler* (Münster: Aschendorf, 1909).
- Hummel, Adrian, 'Bürger Voss. Leben, Werk und Wirkungsgeschichte eines schwierigen Autors', in Elmar Mittler, ed. *Johann Heinrich Voss (1751-1826). Idylle, Polemik und Wohllaut* (Göttingen: Bibliotheksschriften, 2001), 137-67.
- Ito, John Paul, 'Spiritual Narratives in Beethoven's Quartet, Op. 132', in *Journal of Musicology* xxx (2013), 330-68.
- Jacobs, Emil, 'Beethoven, Goethe und Varnhagen von Ense', in *Die Musik* iv (1904-05), 387-402.
- Jacobs, Friedrich et al., ed. *Anthologia graeca*, 13 vols. (Leipzig: Dyck, 1798-1814).
- Jacobs, Robert L., 'Beethoven and Kant', in ML xvii (1961), 242-51.
- Jäger-Sunstenau, Hanns, 'Beethoven-Akten im Wiener Landesarchiv', in *Beethoven-Studien. Festgabe der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zum 200. Geburtstag von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1970), 11-36.

- Jakubcová, Alena, 'Neeffe's Melodram *Sophonisbe*', in Helmut Loos ed. *Christian Gottlob Neeffe (1748-1798). Eine eigenständige Künstlerpersönlichkeit* (Chemnitz: Gudrun Schröder, 1999), 65-81.
- James, Burnett, *Beethoven and Human Destiny* (London: Phoenix House, 1960).
- Jander, Owen, 'Beethoven's "Orpheus in Hades": The "Andante con moto" of the Fourth Piano Concerto', in *19th-Century Music* viii (1985), 195-212.
- Janson, Horst Woldemar, *History of Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962).
- Johnson, Douglas, Alan Tyson, and Robert Winter, eds., *The Beethoven Sketchbooks. History, Reconstruction, Inventory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).
- Kalischer, Alfred, 'Bücher', in *Die Musik* ii (1902), 1107-10.
- Kerman, Joseph, 'Beethoven Sketchbooks in the British Museum', in *Proceedings of the Royal Musicological Association* xciii (1966/67), 77-96.
- Kerst, Friedrich, *Die Erinnerungen an Beethoven* (Stuttgart: Verlag Julius Hoffmann, 1913).
- Kidd, I. G., 'Moral Actions and Rules in Stoic Ethics', in John M. Rist, ed. *The Stoics* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978), 247-58.
- Kinderman, William, *Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- 'Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Trio in F Minor from 1816: A Study of its Genesis and Significance', in *Journal of Musicological Research* xxv (2006), 1-42.
- ed. *Artaria 195. Beethoven's Sketchbook for the Missa solemnis and the Piano Sonata in E Major, Opus 109*, 3 vols. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2002).
- 'Beethoven and Napoleon, A Reassessment', in *Beethoven und der Wiener Kongress (1814/15)*, Bernhard R. Appel et al., eds. (Bonn: Verlag Beethovenhaus, 2016), 23-46.
- Klär, Timo, 'Feinschmecker der Antike. Der kulinarische Genuss in römischer Zeit', in *Antike Welt* 50 (2019), 75-83.
- Klein, Hans-Günther, *Ludwig van Beethoven. Autographe und Abschriften. Katalog* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1975).
- Klein, Rudolph and Hans Schmidt, 'Neue Hypothesen um Beethovens "Unsterbliche Geliebte"', in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* xxxv (1980), 28-34.
- Kocziszky, Éva, 'Samothrake. Ein Streit um Kreuzer's Symbolik und das Wesen der Mythologie', in *Antike und Abendland* xliii (1997), 174-89.
- Köhler, Karl-Heinz et al., eds., *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte*, 11 vols. (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1968-2001).
- 'Beethovens literarische Kontakte - Ein Beitrag zum Weltbild des Komponisten', in *BKBe*, 483-88.
- Kolneder, Walter, ed. *Carl Czerny. Erinnerungen aus meinen Leben* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1968).
- Komorzynski, Egon von, 'Beethoven und Grillparzer', in *Die Musik* xxxii (1940), 265-70.
- Kopitz, Klaus Martin and Rainer Cadenbach, eds., *Beethoven aus der Sicht seine Zeitgenossen in Tagebüchern, Briefen, Gedichten und Erinnerungen*, 2 vols. (Munich: Henle, 2009).
- Kotzebue, August von, *Vom Adel* (Leipzig: Paul Gotthelf Kummer, 1792).
- Kramer, Lawrence, 'The Strange Case of Beethoven's Coriolan: Romantic Aesthetics, Modern Subjectivity and the Cult of Shakespeare', in *MQ* lxxix (1995), 256-80.
- 'The Harem Threshold: Turkish Music and Greek Love in Beethoven's "Ode to Joy"', in *19th-Century Music* xxii (1998), 78-90.
- Kramer, Richard, 'Beethoven and Carl Heinrich Graun', in Alan Tyson ed. *Beethoven Studies* (New York: Norton, 1973), 18-44.
- Kuffner, Christoph, *Artemidor im Reiche der Römer*, 4 vols. (Brünn: Trassler, 1822-27).
- Kunze, Stefan, ed. *Ludwig van Beethoven. Die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1987).
- Ladenburger, Michael, ed. *Drei Begräbnisse und ein Todesfall. Beethovens Ende und die Erinnerungskultur seiner Zeit* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2002).
- 'Beethoven und die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien - Mitteilungen zum Oratorium "Der Sieg des Kreuzes" oder: Das Verdienst der Geduld', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* xlix (2002), 253-97.
- 'Neue Dokumente zu zwei Bonner Kopisten', in *BBS* ix (2011), 159-167.
- La Mara [Marie Lipsius], *Beethovens Unsterbliche Geliebte. Das Geheimnis der Gräfin Brunsvik und ihre Memoiren* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1909).
- Lamberton, Robert, *Plutarch* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).
- Leeder, Carl, 'Beethovens Widmungen [V]', in *Die Musik* iv (1904-05), 177-92.
- Leitzmann, Albert, 'Beethovens literarische Bildung', in *Deutsche Rundschau* (February 1913), 271-83.
- *Beethovens Persönlichkeit; Urteile der Zeitgenossen* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1914).

- *Ludwig van Beethoven. Berichte der Zeitgenossen, Briefe und persönliche Aufzeichnungen*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1921)
- Lenz, Wilhelm von, *Beethoven. Eine Kunststudie Dritter Theil, op. 21 bis op. 100* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1860).
- Ley, Stephan, *Beethoven als Freund. Der Familie Wegeler-v. Breuning. Nach den Familien-Sammlungen und -Erinnerungen herausgegeben* (Bonn: Cohen, 1927).
- Lockwood, Lewis, 'Beethoven's Emergence from Crisis: the Cello Sonatas of Op. 102 (1815)', in *Journal of Musicology* xvi (1998), 301-22.
- 'Vestas Feuer. Beethoven on the Path to Leonore', in Curry, Robert et al., eds., *Variations on the Canon. Essays on Music from Bach to Boulez in Honor of Charles Rosen on His Eightieth Birthday* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 78-99.
- and Gosman, Alan, eds., *Beethoven's 'Eroica' Sketchbook: A Critical Edition*, 2 vols. (Champaign and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2013).
- 'Beethoven's Sketches for *Sehnsucht* (WoO 146)', in Alan Tyson, ed. *Beethoven Studies* (New York: Norton, 1973).
- *Beethoven. The Music and the Life* (New York - London: Norton, 2003).
- Long, A.A., 'Stoic Readings of Homer', in R. Lamberton et al., ed. *Homer's Ancient Readers. The Hermeneutics of Epic's Earliest Exegetes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 41-66.
- 'Dialectics and the Stoic Sage', in John Rist, ed. *The Stoics* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978), 101-24.
- Lutes, Leilani Kathryn, *Beethoven's Re-Uses of his Own Compositions (1782-1826)*, 2 vols. (Phil. diss. University of Southern California, 1974),
- MacArdle, Donald W., *Beethoven As I Knew Him* (New York: Norton, 1966).
- 'Anton Felix Schindler, Friend of Beethoven', in *Music Review* xxiv (1963), 50-74.
- Maass, Ernst, *Goethe und die Antike* (Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1912).
- Maier, Franz Michael, 'Beethoven liest Littrow', in *BL*, 251-88.
- Mainka, Jürgen, 'Das Weltbild des jungen Beethoven', in *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* xii (1970), 199-251.
- Mann, Heribert, *Beethoven - Historischer Roman*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Meidinger Sohn u. Comp., 1859).
- Mann, Werner, *Beethoven in Bonn* (Bonn: Peter Wegener, 1984).
- Marek, George R., *Ludwig van Beethoven. Das Leben eines Genies* (Munich: Moderne Verlag, 1970).
- Marston, Nicholas, 'In the "Twilight Zone": Beethoven's Unfinished Piano Trio in F Minor', in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* cxxx1 (2006), 227-286.
- Martin, Dieter, 'Beethovens "verhinderter Librettist" Heinrich Joseph von Collin. Zum Problem deutscher Operntexte in Wien nach 1800', in Pierre Béhar and Herbert Schneider, eds., *Österreichische Oper oder Oper in Österreich? Die Libretto Problematik* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005), 133-56.
- Marx, Adolf Bernhard, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Gebrüder Reinecke, 1902 [first ed. 1859]),
- Marx, Julius, 'Metternichs Gutachten zu Grillparzers Gedicht "Campo vaccino"', in *JGG, Neue Folge* ii (1942), 49-69.
- McKenzie-McHarg, Andrew, 'Überlegungen zur Radikalaufklärung am Beispiel von Carl Friedrich Bahrdt', in *Aufklärung* xxiv (2012), 207-40.
- Meiners, Christian Gottfried, *Vermischte Philosophische Schriften*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Weygand, 1775-76).
- Meissner, August Gottlieb, *Alcibiades*, 4 vols. (Carlsruhe: Schmieder, 1782-88).
- Mies, Paul, *Die Bedeutung der Skizzen Beethovens zur Erkenntnis seines Stiles* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1925).
- 'Zur Coriolan-Ouverture op. 62', in *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* vi (1969), 260-68.
- Melanson, Terry, *Perfectibilists - The 18th Century Bavarian Order of the Illuminati* (Chicago: IPG, 2018).
- Miller Jones, Roger, *The Platonism in Plutarch* (Menasha: Banta, 1916).
- Misch, Ludwig, 'Eine problematische Aufzeichnung Beethovens', in *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* v (1966), 80-4.
- Morrison, Jeffrey, *Winckelmann and the Notion of Aesthetic Education* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).
- Müller, Karl Otfried, *Geschichte hellenistischer Stämme und Städte. Erster Band: Orchomenos und die Minyer* (Breslau: Josef Max, 1820, second vol.: *Die Dorier*, 1824).
- Murr, L.G. von, *Abbildungen der Gemälde und Alterthümer, welche seit 1738 in der verschütteten Stadt*

- Herkulaneum, als auch in den umliegenden Gegenden an das Licht gebracht worden, nebst ihrer Erklärung* (Augsburg: G.L. Kilian, 1793).
- Nägeli, Hans Georg, *Vorlesungen über Musik mit Berücksichtigung der Dilettanten* (Stuttgart und Tübingen: Cotta, 1826).
- Nef, Karl, 'Beethovens Beziehungen zur Politik', in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* xcii (1925), 270-75 and 343-47.
- Nohl, Ludwig, 'Biographische Werke' [review of Thayer's vol. 2], in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* xxxviii (1871), 477-79 and 489-93.
- *Beethovens Leben* (Berlin: Schlesische Verlagsanstalt, 1913, orig. ed. 1864).
- *Beethoven. Nach den Schilderungen seiner Zeitgenossen* (Stuttgart: Verlag Cotta, 1877).
- *Beethovens Brevier* (Leipzig: Seemann [1870]).
- Nohl, Walter, 'Bücher-Notizen Beethovens aus Zeitungen und Zeitschriften', *Neue Musik Zeitung* xcvi (1926), 122-24 and 143-46.
- 'Beethovens Opernpläne', in *Die Musik* xxxi (1939), 741-47.
- Noll, Hans, *Hofrat Johannes Büel vom Stein an Rhein - 1761-1830* (Frauenfeld und Leipzig: Huber & Co, 1930).
- Nottebohm, Gustav, *Zweite Beethoveniana*, ed. E. Mandyczewski (Leipzig: Peters, 1887).
- Oelkers, Jürgen, 'The Origin of the Concept of "Allgemeinbildung" in 18th Century Germany', in *Studies in Philosophy and Education* xviii (1999), 25-41.
- O'Gorman, Ellen, *Irony and Misreading in the Annals of Tacitus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Oulibicheff, Alexandre, *Beethoven, ses critiques et ses glossateurs* (Paris: Gavelot, 1858).
- Parker, Harold Talbot, *The cult of antiquity and the French revolutionaries; A study in the development of the revolutionary spirit* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965 [first ed. 1937]).
- Pascall, Robert, 'Beethoven's Vision of Joy in the Finale of the Ninth Symphony', in *Beethoven Forum* i (2007), 103-28.
- Pečman, Rudolf, *Beethovens Opernpläne* (Brno: J.E. Purkyne, 1981).
- Pederson, Sanna, Review of *Beethoven in German Politics*, in *JAMS* 50 (1997), 483-90.
- Pelling, Christopher, 'Aspects of Plutarch's Characterisation', in *Illinois Classical Studies* xiii (1988), 257-74.
- *Plutarch and History: Eighteen Studies* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales and Duckworth, 2002).
- 'Plutarch on Caesar's Fall', in Judith Mossmann, ed. *Plutarch and his intellectual world* (London: Duckworth, 1997), 215-35.
- Petiscus, August Heinrich, *Der Olym, oder Mythologie der Aegypter, Griechen und Römer: Zum Selbstunterricht für die erwachsene Jugend und angehende Künstler* (Berlin: Amelang, 1821).
- Pichler, Caroline, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben*, 2 vols. (Munich: Müller, 1914 [first ed. 1844]).
- 'Die Stoa und das Christenthum in zwei Briefen', in *Kleine prosaische Aufsätze* (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1822).
- Pistiak, Arnold, 'Gebändigt? Ungebändigt? Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Beethoven zu Goethe', in *BBS* vi (2007), 115-46.
- Plutarch, *Vitae Parallellae*, Gottfried Heinrich Schäfer, ed. (Leipzig: Karl Tauchnitz, 1812).
- Pörtner, Rudolf and Bob Tadema Sporry, *De Romeinen op hun weg naar de Lage Landen* (Baarn: Hollandia, 1959).
- Primer, Paul, *Schillers Verhältnis zum klassischen Altertum* (Frankfurt: Rupert Baumbach, 1905).
- Prod'homme, Jacques-Gabriel, 'Beethoven's Intellectual Education', in *MQ* xiii (1927), 168-82.
- Probst, Eugen, 'Johann Baptist von Alxinger' in *JGG* vii (1897), 171-202.
- Prössler, Berthold, *Franz Gerhard Wegeler* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2000).
- Rachold, Jan, ed. *Die Illuminaten. Quellen und Texten zur Aufklärungsideologie des Illuminatenordens (1776-1785)* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1984).
- Ramler, Karl Wilhelm, *Poetische Werke*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1801).
- Reale, Giovanni, *A History of Ancient Philosophy. III. The Systems of The Hellenistic Age* (Albany, State University of New York Press, 1985).
- Reichardt, Johann Friedrich, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Oesterreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809* (Amsterdam: Kunst- und Industrie-Comtoir, 1810).
- Reid, Paul, *The Beethoven Song Companion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

- Reinitz, Max, 'Beethovens Prozesse', in *Deutsche Rundschau* clxii (1915), 248-82.
- Reschke, Renate, 'Selbst- und Weltverständnis in antiker Dimension. Anmerkungen zum Antikebild Ludwig van Beethovens', in *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* xviii (1976), 69-106.
- Rhyn, René van, ed. *Gräfin Lulu Thürheim. Mein leben; Erinnerungen aus Österreichs grosser Welt*, vol. 1 (1788-1819) (Munich: Georg Müller, 1914).
- [Richter, Joseph], *Der wiederaufgelebte Eipeldauer* (Vienna: Christoph Peter Rehm, 1799-01).
- Riedel, Volker, 'Zwischen Klassizismus und Geschichtlichkeit. Goethes Buch "Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert"', in *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* xiii (2006), 217-42.
- 'Goethe und Homer' in: *Wiedergeburt Griechischer Götter und Helden - Homer in der Kunst der Goethezeit*, Max Kunze, ed. (Stendhal: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), 243-59.
- Riethmüller, Albrecht, 'Wunschbild: Beethoven als Chauvinist', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* lviii (2001), 91-109.
- Rist, John, 'The Stoic Concept of Detachment', in John Rist, ed. *The Stoics* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978), 259-72.
- Robaillard-Péronville and Pierre Laurent, ed. *Le Musée français, réqueil complet des tableaux, statues et bas-reliefs* (Paris: A. et W. Galignani, 1803-11).
- Roch, Eckhard, 'Die Lyra des Orpheus. Musikgeschichte im Gewande des Mythos', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* lxi (2004), 137-59.
- Rolland, Romain, *Vie de Beethoven* (Paris: Hachette, 1910).
- *Goethe and Beethoven* (New York/London: Harper and Brothers, 1931).
- Rosen, Charles, *The Classical Style. Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1971).
- Rumph, Stephen, *Beethoven after Napoleon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
- Sakolowski Paul, ed. *Ludwig Nohl, Beethovens Brevier* (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1902).
- Salles, Ricardo, 'Introduction', in Ricardo Salles, ed. *God and Cosmos in Stoicism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1-19.
- Sandbach, F.H., *The Stoics* (London: Duckworth & Co, 1975).
- San-Galli, Thomas, *Ludwig van Beethoven* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1912).
- Sassen, Brigitte, 'Major Trends in the Early Empiricist Reception of Kant's Critical Philosophy', in Brigitte Sassen, ed. *Kant's Early Critics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1-52.
- Sauer, August, 'Proben eines Commentars zu Grillparzer's Gedichten', in JGG vii (1897), 1-170.
- Schering, Arnold, 'Die Eroica, eine Homer-Symphonie Beethovens?', in *Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch v* (1933), 159-77.
- *Beethoven und die Dichtung* (Leipzig: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1936).
- Schiedermaier, Ludwig, *Der junge Beethoven* (Leipzig: Verlag Quelle & Meyer, 1925).
- Schiller, Friedrich, 'Ueber die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reyhe von Briefen', in *Die Horen* i (1795, 2. Stück), 7-48.
- *Schillers sämtliche Werke* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1838).
- 'Die Gesetzgebung des Lykurgus und Solon', in *Schillers sämtliche Werke*, x (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1838).
- Schindler, Anton, 'Etwas über Beethovens 7. Sinfonie in A dur', in *Bäuerle's Theater Zeitung* (1831), 5-8.
- *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1840).
- *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1845).
- *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, 2 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1860).
- Schirach, Gottlob Benedict von, *Biographien des Plutarchs mit Anmerkungen*, 8 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig (various publishers, 1776-80).
- Schlange-Schöningen, Heinrich, 'Das Bild Konstantins in der Neuzeit', in *Konstantin der Grosse. Geschichte - Archäologie - Rezeption. Internationales Kolloquium vom 10.-15. Oktober 2005* [etc.] Alexander Demandt and Josef Engemann, ed. (Trier: Landesmuseum, 2006), 285-97.
- Schlegel, August Wilhelm von, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg: Mohr & Zimmer, 1809-11).
- Schlosser, Johann Aloys, *Ludwig van Beethoven. Eine Biographie desselben, verbunden mit Urtheilen über seine Werke* (Prague: Buchler, Stephani and Schlosser, 1828).
- Schmalfeldt, Janet, 'Form as the Process of Becoming: The Beethoven-Hegelian Tradition and the "Tempest" Sonata', in *Beethoven Forum* iv (1995), 37-71.
- Schmidt, Hans, 'Beethoven und die Deutsche Sprache', in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* xxxii (1977), 105-118.

- Schmidt, Leopold, *Beethoven. Werke und Leben* (Berlin: Wegweiser-Verlag GmbH, 1924).
- Schmidt-Görg, Joseph, 'Missa solemnis. Beethoven in seinem Werk', in Carl Dahlhaus et al., *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn 1970* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971), 13-25.
- ed. *Des Bonner Bäckermeisters Gottfried Fischer. Aufzeichnungen über Beethovens Jugend*, (Munich-Duisburg: G. Henle Verlag, 1971).
- *Beethoven. Dreizehn unbekannte Briefe an Josephine Gräfin Deym geb. v. Brunsvik* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1957).
- Schmitz, Arnold, 'Beethovens Begriff der Tugend', in *Das Musikleben* iii (1950), 337-41.
- 'Zur Frage nach Beethovens Weltanschauung und ihrem musikalischen Ausdruck', in *Beethoven und die Gegenwart* (Berlin and Bonn: Dümmler, 1937), 266-95.
- Schneider, Eulogius, *Gedichte* (Frankfurt: Andrätschen Buchhandlung, 1790).
- Schrade, Leo, *Beethoven in Frankreich. Das Wachsen einer Idee* (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1980; orig. published 1942 in French).
- Schünemann, Georg, 'Czernys Erinnerungen an Beethoven', in *Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch* ix (1939), 59-74.
- Segrave, Jeffrey O., 'Pietro Metastasio's L'Olympiade and the Survival of the Olympic idea in 18th Century Europe', in *The International Journal of Olympic Studies* xiv (2005), 1-28.
- Selfridge-Field, Eleanor, 'Beethoven and Greek Classicism', in *Journal of the History of Ideas* xxxiii (1972), 577-95.
- Seyfried, Ignaz von, 'Mozart der Operncomponist', in *Cäcilia* xv (1833), 11-29.
- Siegmund-Schultze, Walther, 'Beethovens Nachwirkung bei bedeutenden Komponisten des 19. Jahrhundert', in *BKBe*, 107-14.
- Sincerus, E., *De Vita Excellentium Imperatorum. Oder: Deutliche, und nach dem Begriffe der Jugend endlich recht eingerichtete Erklärung des Cornelii Nepotis, nebst einem dreyfachen Register* (Ingolstadt und Augsburg: Crätz, 1776).
- Sisman, Elaine, 'Pathos and the Pathetique: Rhetorical Stance in Beethoven's C-Minor Sonata, Op.13', in *Beethoven Forum* iii (1994), 81-105.
- Sismondo Ridgway, Brunilde, 'The Aphrodite of Arles', in *American Journal of Archaeology* lxxx (1976), 147-54.
- Sobaskie, James William, 'The "Problem" of Schubert's String Quintet', in *Nineteenth Century Music Review* ii (2005), 57-92.
- Solomon, Maynard, 'Beethoven: The Nobility Pretense', in *MQ* lxxv (1975), 272-94.
- *Beethovens Tagebuch* (Mainz: Hase & Koehler Verlag, 1990).
- 'Beethoven's Tagebuch of 1812-1818', in Alan Tyson, ed. *Beethoven Studies* 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 193-285.
- 'Beethoven, Freemasonry, and the Tagebuch of 1812-1818', in *Beethoven Forum* viii (2000), 101-46.
- 'On Beethoven's Creative Process: A Two-Part Invention', in *ML* lxi (1980), 272-83.
- 'Beethoven and Schiller', in Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven Essays* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 205-15.
- 'Schubert and Beethoven', in *19th-Century Music* (1979), 114-25.
- *Late Beethoven* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).
- Sonneck, O.G., ed. *Beethoven: Impressions of Contemporaries* (New York: Schirmer, 1926).
- Sprengel, Peter, 'Heroische Anekdoten. Jean Pauls Plutarch-Rezeption', in *Antike und Abendland* xxiv (1978), 171-90.
- Stadlen, Peter, 'Schindler's Beethoven Forgeries', in *The Musical Times* cxviii (1977), 549-52.
- 'Beethoven und das Metronom', in Rudolf Klein, ed., *Beiträge '76-78. Beethoven-Kolloquium 1977* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 52-64.
- Stahelin, Martin, 'Beethoven und die Tugend', in *Divertimento für Hermann J. Abs*, Martin Stahelin ed. (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 1981), 69-87.
- Steblin, Rita, *Beethoven in the Diaries of Johann Nepomuk Chotek* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2013).
- Stechow, Wolfgang, "'The Love of Antiochus with Faire Stratonica" in Art', in *The Art Bulletin* xxvii (1945), 221-37.
- Sterba, Editha and Richard Sterba, *Beethoven and his Nephew* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1957).
- Sternfeld, Frederick W., 'The Musical Springs of Goethe's Poetry', in *MQ* xxxv (1949).
- Stough, Charlotte, 'Stoic Determinism and Moral Responsibility', in John Rist, *The Stoics* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978), 203-31.
- Strässner, Matthias, 'Et lector in Europa Ego. Beethoven liest Johann Gottfried Seume', in *BL*, 143-70.

- Sullivan, John, *Beethoven, His Spiritual Development*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936).
- Sulzer, Johann Georg, *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (Leipzig: M.G. Weidemanns Erben und Reich, 1771).
- Swales, Martin, *The German Bildungsroman from Wieland to Hesse* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).
- Syme, Ronald, *Tacitus*, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958).
- Szlezak, Thomas, 'Schleiermachers "Einleitung" zur Platon-Übersetzung von 1804', in *Antike und Abendland* xliii (1997), 46-62.
- Tellenbach, Marie-Elisabeth, *Beethoven und seine "Unsterbliche Geliebte" Josephine Brunswick* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1983).
- Thayer, Alexander Wheelock, rev. Hermann Deiters and Hugo Riemann, *Ludwig van Beethovens Leben*, 5 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1917-23).
- Tiedge, Christoph August, *Theodor Körners Poetischer Nachlass* (Leipzig: Hartknoch, 1815).
- Tomaszewski, Mieczyslaw, 'Beethoven zwischen Musik des Nordens und des Südens', in Tomaszewski, Mieczyslaw et al. ed. *Beethoven. Studien und Interpretationen* iii (Craców: Akademia Muzyczna, 2006), 267-273.
- Tovey, Donald Francis, *A Companion to Beethoven's Pianoforte Sonatas* (London: Royal Schools of Music, 1945).
- *Beethoven* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944).
- Tyson, Alan, Review of Cramer etudes edited by Hans Kann, in *The Musical Times* (1977), 247-49.
- Ullrich, Hermann, 'Ludwig van Beethovens letzte Oratorienpläne', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* xxxiii (1982), 21-47.
- Unger, Max, 'Beethovens Teplitzer Badereisen von 1811 und 1812', in *Neue Musik Zeitung* xxxix (1918), 86-93.
- *Ein Faustoperplan Beethovens* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1952).
- 'Beethovens Handschrift', in *Die Musik* xvii (1925), 432-41.
- 'Beethovens Konversationshefte als biographische Quelle: zu Georg Schünemanns Erstausgabe', in *Die Musik* xxxiv (1942), 37-47.
- 'Beethovens Konversationshefte als biographischer Quelle', in *Musik im Kriege* i (1943-44), 209-15.
- 'From Beethoven's Workshop', in *MQ* xxiv (1938), 323-40.
- Velestinies, Regas, *Charta tis Ellados* (Vienna: Publios and George Markides, 1797).
- 'Beethoven and E. Th. A. Hoffmann', in *Zeitschrift für Musik* cii (1935), 1204-11.
- Virneisel, Wilhelm, *Beethoven. Ein Skizzenbuch zu Streichquartetten aus Op. 18*, 2 vols. (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 1974).
- Volkman, Hans, 'Beethoven als Epigrammatiker', in *Die Musik* vii (1907-08), 26-31.
- *Beethoven in seine Beziehungen zu Dresden* (Dresden: Melchert, 1942).
- Voss, Egon, 'Schwierigkeiten im Umgang mit dem Ballett 'Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus' von Salvatore Viganò und Ludwig van Beethoven', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* liii (1996), 21-40.
- Voss, Johann Heinrich, *Homers Ilias* (Vienna: Haas, 1814).
- *Zeitmessung der deutschen Sprache* (Königsberg: Niclovius, [1802]).
- *Homers Odyssee* (Hamburg: auf Kosten des Verfassers, 1781).
- Voskamp, Wilhelm, 'Skizzen zu einer Schilderung Winckelmanns', in *Goethe-Handbuch* iii (Stuttgart, 1997), 612-19.
- Wagner, Karl, 'Beethovens Beziehungen zur zeitgenössischen Literatur und Presse', in *Ein Wiener Beethoven Buch*, Alfred Orel ed. (Vienna: Gerlach und Wiedling, 1921), 132-67.
- Wähner, Friedrich, 'Ludwig van Beethoven', in *Janus* i (1818), 1042.
- Walden, Edward, *Beethoven's Immortal Beloved* (London: Scarecrow Press, 2011).
- Walling Howard, Martha, *The Influence of Plutarch in the Major European Literatures of the Eighteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1970).
- Watson, John Selby, *Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius, Literally translated, with Notes and a General Index* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853).
- Wegeler, Franz and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Coblenz: Rädiker, 1838); *Nachtrag* by Franz Wegeler (Coblenz: Rädiker, 1845).
- Weise, Dagmar, *Beethoven. Entwurf einer Denkschrift an das Appellationsgericht in Wien vom 18. Februar 1820* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 1953).
- Welschinger, Henri, *Le Théâtre de la Révolution, 1789-1799 avec des documents inédits* (Paris: Charavay

- Frères, 1881).
- Wieland, Christoph Martin, *M. T. Cicero's sämtliche Briefe aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt und mit Erläuterungen versehen von C. M. Wieland* (Vienna: Anton Doll, 1813-1823), 7 vols.
----- *Sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig: Göschen, 1794).
- Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Mahlerey und Bildhauer-Kunst* (Dresden: Waltherischen Handlung, 1764).
----- *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (Dresden: Waltherischen Handlung, 1764).
- Witte, Reinhard, 'Beethoven, Homer und die Antike', in *Das Altertum - Sonderdruck* (2003), 3-54.
- Wolfshohl, Alexander, 'Lesepaten für Beethoven?', in *BL*, 296-98.
- Woodfield, Inan, 'Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Bonn National Theatre, with New Light on the Beethoven Family', in *ML* xciii (2012), 289-315.
- Zammito, John, *Kant, Herder, The Birth of Anthropology* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002).
- Zanden, Jos van der, 'Graecophile Beethoven: On His Interest in Greek Lyric Poetry', in *The Beethoven Journal* xxxii (2017), 4-25.
----- 'The Shakespeare Connection. Beethoven's String Quartet Opus 18, No. 1 and the Vienna *Haustheater*', in *Eighteenth-Century Music* (2021, forthcoming).
----- 'Beethoven and Neefe - A Reappraisal', in *ML* (2021, forthcoming).
----- 'Reassessing Ferdinand Ries in Vienna: Ramifications for Beethoven Biography', in *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* (2021, forthcoming).
- Zauper, Joseph Stanislaus, *Homer's Werke* (Prague: Calve, 1826-27).
- Zimmermann, Eberhard, *Taschenbuch der Reisen, oder unterhaltende Darstellung der Entdeckungen des 18=ten Jahrhunderts, in Rücksicht der Länder - Menschen- und Produktenkunde* (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer d. Jung., 1813).
- Zinar, Ruth, 'The Use of Greek Tragedy in the History of Opera', in *Current Musicology* xii (1971), 80-95.

Appendices

Appendices A-E consist of repositories, alphabetically ordered, of references that directly or indirectly have a bearing on Greco-Roman antiquity (that is roughly the thousand-year period from Homer to Boethius) selected from five categories of primary sources: letters, conversation books, reminiscences of contemporaries, diaries and other documents, and music-related sources. Most are of names, concepts, mythological allusions, Latin or Greek phrases, and allusions to Classical subjects. Appendix F lists Beethoven's pencil markings in his 1781 copy of Homer's *Odyssey*.

Appendix A - The Letters

Numbers refer to letter numbers in *Ludwig van Beethoven: Briefwechsel Gesamtausgabe*, Sieghard Brandenburg, ed. 7 vols (Munich: Henle, 1996-98; BGA). In rare occasions, where an illustration is concerned, a volume and page number is given. References between brackets are indirect: people or concepts alluded to, but not specified (also true of the other Appendices). Brandenburg's footnotes are treated as part of letter texts. Not included in Brandenburg is Beethoven's draft of a judicial petition published as *Beethoven. Entwurf einer Denkschrift an das Apellationsgericht in Wien vom 18. Februar 1820*, Dagmar Weise ed. (Bonn: Beethovenhaus, 1953). This edition is referred to as 'Denkschrift' with page number added.

Aegide	1438
Aesculap (Asklepias)	594, III-p152, 1296
<i>Ah! Perfido</i> , op.65	1317
Alcibiades	525, 683
Alexander the Great	1286
ambrosia	747
<i>Anakreon und Sappho</i> (poems)	1141
Anathem	907
Anaxagoras	[1913]
<i>Antigone</i> (libretto)	1946
Antiochus	65
antique temple	206
Apollo	54, 303, 507, 605, 637, 733, 819, 1242, 1318, 1327, 1873, 1881, 1882, 1915, 2015, 2022, 2136
arcanum	770
Aristotle	1286
'Ars longa, vita brevis' (Hippocrates)	1651, 1698, 2136
arts and science	585, 1267, 1600, 1898, 1989, 2012
Athena	1953
Atlas	553
<i>Attila</i> (libretto)	546, 1946

Aurora	1996
avoidance of emotions	1231
Bacchanal	485
<i>Bacchus</i> (libretto)	791
Bacchus	914
Bahrdt, Carl Friedrich	283, 2028
<i>Belisar</i> (libretto)	1946
Bildung (sophistication)	270, 465, 728, 1044, 1348, 1974
Boreas	286
Bothe, Friederich Heinrich	392, 398
Brundisium	1587
Brutus, Marcus Junius	1224, [1833]
busts	1463
Camillus	277
carcere	1277
Castalia fountain (<i>castalische Quelle</i>)	1003, 1292
Cato	2007
Cicero	[1277], 1348
Circe	1314
compassion	70
Coriolan	246
Daedalus	553
daimon	65, 439, 789
Demades	1953, 1991
Demosthenes	1953, 1991
<i>Der Sieg des Kreuzes</i> (oratorio libretto)	1255, 1259, 1307, 1356, 1772, 1773, 1775, V-64, 1812, 1854, 1882, 964, 1991
deus ex machina	492
<i>Dido</i> (libretto)	1946
<i>Die Apotheose im Tempel des Jupiter Ammon</i> (libr.)	1518, 1520
<i>Die Ruinen von Athen</i> , op.113-114	523, 531, 564, 569, 630, 652, 688, 838, 1486, 1505, 1731, 1920, 2178
Diogenes Laertius	[2097]
Diogenes	2097
divine spark in humans	582
dark ages	546
Elesaischen Felder	1881
Epirus	1587
Euripides	392, 394, 398
Eurus	950
Evo[h]e	914
Faust	193, 337, 465, 588
French language	167, 936
Genius	302, 479, 585, 875, p211
Gerhard, Wilhelm	1141
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von	395, 398, 400, 442, 465, 474, 485, 493, 509, 545, 570, 583, 586, 588, 591, 592, 928, 1304, 1562, [1675], 2028, 2069
Gottheit (deity), Götter (gods)	106, 555, 582, 645, 1438, 1686
Grazien (graces)	437
great man	6, 65, 70, 97, 106, 430, 819, 928, 1047,

	1814, 1833, 1939
Greek literature	2261
Greek epigrams	458, 461
Greek history	1562
Greek language	395, 1286
Greek mythology	1735
Hercules, Heracles	430, 553, 1229, 1239
Higea	656, III-p152
Homer	395, [665], [1314], [1439], 1773, [2065], 2136
Horace	[665]
humanity	608, 1348
inter lacrimas	428
Iphigenia	246, 453, 454, 1959
Isis	827
Italy	486
Julius Caesar	1224, [1833], 2007
Jupiter	1468
Juvenal	[1352]
Kant, Immanuel	2178
Latin and Greek studies Karl	1562, 1571, V-p220
Latin phrases	59, 157, 158, 414, 465, 474, 594, 883, 949, 1116, 1172, 1313, 1315, 1321, 1362, 1562, 1723, 1738, 1759, 1773, 1814, 1926, 1950, 2097, 2273, Denkschrift pages 40, 43, 55 and 57
<i>Les ruines de Babylone</i> (libretto)	501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 510
librettos about the Romans	176
Lucullus	2081
Medea	176, Denkschrift p.46
Meissner, August Gottlieb	169, 525
Menelaos	1439
Mephitis	1967
<i>Minerva</i> (magazine)	2154
Minerva	1953, 1991, Denkschrift p.47
Muses	1, 875, 1086, 1093, 1166, 1479, 1873, 1881
Napoleon Bonaparte	164, 188, 391, 802
Nero	169
Necessity	582
Odysseus	665, 2065
Olymp	1468
Omphale	430
<i>Opferlied</i> , op.121b	1774, 1966
<i>Orest</i> (libretto)	1946, 1959, 1961
Parnassus	1282
Parzen (goddesses of Fate)	106, 455, [1729]
Pegasus	2256
Pericles	[1913]
Petiscus, August Heinrich	1734, 1735
Phaeaken	725, 1259, 2048
Philipp of Macedon	1286

philosopher, philosophy	106, 300
Phoenix	827
Plato	[2040]
‘plaudite amici’	2286, 2291
Pliny	1885, 2236
Plutarch	65, [277], [683], [2007?], [1224], 1286, [1833?], [1913], 1953, 1991, 2081
<i>Prometheus</i> (magazine)	337, 391, 392
<i>Prometheus</i> -music, op.43	57, 140 144
Proteus	1439
Providence	106, 1798, 1978, Denkschrift p.55
Pylades	1959
reading, library	392, 395, 408, 442
resignation	65, 67, 1142
Roman and Greek culture	1571
Roman people	1277
<i>Romulus und Remus</i> (libretto)	760, 765, 769, 828, 863, 875
rostrum victoriatum	1979
Samothrace	1633, 1650, 1665, 1719
Schiller, Friedrich	125, 155, 395, 398, 400, 485, 576, 587, 703, 1292, 1773
Schöne und Gute (after Plato)	357, 442, 593, 1083, 1084, 1162
Sirens	665
Socrates	545, [1315], [1316], 1396
Stein, Anton Joseph	1223, 1286
Stoic reflections	934, 935
Styx	1738
suicide	106, 439
Tacitus	283
Tarpeja	646, 652, 661, 1468
Terentius	1313, [1362], [1562], [1723], [1773], [2097]
<i>Tremate, empi, tremate</i> , op.116	1840
Virtue (Tugend)	106, 119, 273, p320, 928, 1260, 1286, 1292, 1326, 1571, 2026, 2206
<i>Ulysses’ Wiederkehr</i> (libretto)	574
Untergötter, Erdengeister	747, 1158, 1715, 2015
veni, vidi, vi(n)ci	967, 1349
Venus Urania	444
<i>Vestas Feuer</i>	176
weak times	1008
Wieland, Christoph Martin	125, 400, 1864
Xantippe	545
Zeus	747

Appendix B - The Conversation Books

The data are from the eleven volumes of *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte*, Karl-Heinz Köhler and others, eds. (Leipzig, 1968-2001; BKH). The Roman numeral refers to the volumes, with page number added. Footnotes (and also Schindler’s fictitious notations) are included. Since most

texts were written by family members, friends, guests and visitors, Beethoven's commitment to the mentioned names and topics can only be deduced from the context of the conversation, or by external account. It should be remembered that some may have a relationship with nephew Karl's study of Latin and Greek, which can be potentially confusing.

Abdera	II-181
Achilles	IV-115, IV-282
Aegist	VII-237
<i>Aeneis</i> (Virgil)	III-35
Aeschylos	III-198, X-216-7
Aeschynes	VII-305
Alcibiades	III-171
Amphion	VIII-53
<i>Anacharsis Reisen durch Griechenland</i>	I-58
ancient theatres	III-389
Antiochus	IV-270
Apollo	VIII-131, IX-233
Aristides	III-56, III-204
Aristophanus	V-245, VII-154, [IX-217]
Aristotle	V-197, XI-203
Ars longa, vita brevis (Hippocrates)	I-326, I-364, VI-241
<i>Artemidor</i> (Kuffner)	IX-218
arts and science	I-210, I-341, VI-146, VII-266, X-165, X-248, XI-188
Aulis	VI-158
Bacchantin	VIII-141
Bacchus	VIII-125
Bergmann, Joseph	VI-281
Bildung (sophistication)	I,71; III-36, III-325, I, IV-195, VI-204, VII-110, VII-305, VIII-104, VIII-148, VIII-258, IX-215, X-155
Boethius	I-252
Briareus	VII-78
Brundisium	I-301
Brutus, Lucius Junius	X-108
Brutus, Marcus Junius	[IV-270]
busts	I-195
Cassandra	VII-237
<i>Castor und Pollux</i>	XI-81, XI-109
Charybdis	VIII-148
Cicero	II-61, III-117, VII-154, VII-305
Circe	II-252
classical art	I-333
classical literature	II-216
Constantine	IX-184
<i>Coriolan</i> overture, op.62	I-32
Cynics	IV-115
Demosthenes	VII-305
<i>Der Sieg des Kreuzes</i> (oratorio)	I-43, I-101, I-103, I-114, I-131-2, I-145, I-

	230-1, I-269, I-285, II-61, II-66, II-133, II-169-71, II-173, II-198, II-205, II-223, II-225, II-237, III-221, III-369-70, IV-56, IV-236, IV-251, VI-52, VI-58, VI-77, VI-235-6, VI-43, VII-32, VII-42, VII-62-3, VII-83-5, VII-87, VII-92-3, VII-162, VII-258, VII-330, VII-340, VIII-45, VIII-118, IX-25, IX-37-8, IX-156, IX-161, IX-184, IX-214-5, X-221, IX-300
<i>Die Apotheose im Tempel des Jupiter Ammon</i> (libr.)	II-348, II-349-50
<i>Die Ruinen von Athen</i> , op.113-114	III-42, III-46, III-101, III-110, III-114-5, III-403, IV-211, IV-295
Diodorus Siculus	IX-233
divine spark in humans	II-40
Egypt (inscriptions)	I-190, I-193, VIII-282
Epictetus	XI-257
Epicurus	IV-115
Euripides	VII-154, X-217, XI-204
Faust	III-148, III-377, IV-276-7, XI-204
Feder, Johann Georg	I-308, IV-224, IV-236
Fessler, Ignaz Aurelius	III-56, III-204
Flamininus (?)	[III-402]
Funke, Carl Philipp	I-67
Furien	III-300
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang	I-122, I-129, I-130, I-140, I-251, I-341, I-348, II-28, II-72, II-98, II-105, II-121, II-361, III-23, III-27, III-137, III-158, III-319, III-377, III-389, IV-47, IV-78, IV-158, IV-181, VII-219, VIII-35, VIII-45, VIII-56, VIII-100, IX-38, IX-66, IX-132, IX-190, [IX-196], [IX-212], IX-216-7, IX-228, X-123, X-144, X-216-7, X-234
Gottheit (deity), Götter (gods)	I-326
Grazien (graces)	III-300
great man	III-157, V-154, VI-29, VIII-119, IX-290, X-118, XI-188, XI-261
Greek literature	IX-254, X-43, XI-158, XI-277
Greek archaeology	X-158
Greek epigrams	II-290
Greek history	I-349
Greek language	I-301, II-180, III-133, III-302, IV-203, V-247, VI-92, VI-268, IX-217
Greek music	I-197, III-402, V-197-8, VIII-72
Greek mythology	V-177-8, VIII-53, X-118
Greek war of independence	XI-33, XI-94
Grillparzer (poem on Constantine)	I-168, [I-203-4], III-189, III-241, III-245-6, III-288, IX-168-9
Hadrian	VI-244
Hannibal	IV-115, IX-102
hedonism	X-285
Hercules, Heracles	II-367, IV-283, VI-54, VII-302, VIII-231,

Herder, Johann Gottfried	X-316
Herodot	I-257
Herostratus	[VI-53]
Hippocrates	[I-326], II-452, IX-302
Hohler, Ernst Theodor	IV-101
Homer	III-35-6
	I-273, I-357-8, II-124, II-190, II-227-8, II-232, II-241, II-291, II-323, III-222, [III-302], IV-282-3, V-37, VII-64, VIII-53, IX-216-7, X-180, XI-180
Horace	[I-301], [VI-47], [VI-157], [VII-43], [VII-147], [VII-154], [VII-155-6], [X-218], XI-126
Icarus	VIII-132
Iphigenia	III-402-3, VI-35, VI-158, VI-202
Isocrates	VII-154
Julius Caesar	III-35, IV-270
Jupiter	VIII-148, IX-73
Kant, Immanuel	I-235, I-308, X-221
Kuffner, Christoph (on antiquity)	IX, 215-20
Laocoon	[IX-185]
Latin and Greek studies Karl	I-157, I-273, I-283, I-357, II-25, II-126, II-188, II-190, II-227-8, II-251, II-316, III-89, III-135, III-388, IV-70, IV-91, IV-208-11, IV-227, IV-264-5, IV-271, V-84, V-109, V-180, V-186, VI-60, VI-280-1, VI-283, VI-289, VI-299, VI-316-7, VI-340, VII-28, VII-139, VII-191, VII-205, VII-212, VII-255-6, VIII-21, X-218, X-235, X-296
Latin phrases	I-108, I-134, I-164, I-208-9, I-228, I-247, I-251, I-252, I-253, I-254, I-263, I-301, II-290, II-312, IV-48, VI-27, VII-43, VII-159, VIII-113, VIII-161-2, IX-120, IX-216, IX-220, IX-283, X-136, XI-80, XI-144, XI-278
Latin dictionary	I-374, II-192
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim	I-247, IX-255
Lucian	VII-154
Lucullus	I-171
Marc Aurelius	III-56
Mars	IX-185
Marsyas	IX-233
<i>Maximes et sentences morales</i>	I-152
Medea	II-285, XI-204
Mercurius	III-114
Minerva	III-114, IV-211, IX-302
Moritz, Karl Philipp	V-178
Müller, Karl Otfried	I-349
Muses	I-341
Napoleon Bonaparte	I-209-10, I-246-7, I-345, I-353, II-68, II-70, II-201, II-358, IV-59-60, IV-109, IV-212, IV-215, IV-308, V-34, V-81, V-175, VI-

	323, VI-362, VII-35, VII-184, VII-267, VIII-103, VIII-262, IX-185, XI-105, XI- 109
natural law (discussion)	I 292-3, IV-103
Nemesis	XI-263
Odysseus	IV-115, IV-210-1
<i>Opferlied</i> , op.121b	VII-342
<i>Orest</i> (libretto)	VII-237-8
Orest	V-178, VI-125, VI-158, VI-219
Orpheus	I-251, VIII-53
Ovid	[VIII-113], [IX-120], XI-179
Pan	VIII-131
Pausanias	X-23
Peripatetics	III-374
Petiscus, August Heinrich	IV-42, IV-86
<i>Phaedra</i> (Racine)	II-355
Philipp of Macedon	VII-305
Philippica	XI-82
philosopher, philosophy	II-158, II-293, II-315, II-350, IV-204-5, IV- 212, IV-324, IX-179, IX-219, IX290-1, X- 221, XI-147
Plato	I-350, I-352, III-171
Pliny	IX-220
Plutarch	[III-56], [III-204], [III-171], [III-402?], [IV- 270], [VII-305], X-218, XI-254, XI-256-7, XI-263
Potter, Johann	X-158
<i>Prometheus</i> -music, op.43	IV-126, VII-114, X-68
Pylades	V-178, VI-125, VI-219
Pythagoras	IV-223, IX-220
Quintilian	IX-114
reading, library	II-28., III-389, IV-212, VIII-56, IX-138, IX-190, X-142-4, X-158, X-181, X-216-8, XI-64, XI-108, XI-158, XI-167, XI-186, XI-235, XI-254, XI-256-7, XI-263
<i>Regulus</i> (play by Collin)	V-34
Regulus	VIII-263
republic	I-72; I-346
Roman and Greek culture	VII-18, VII-305, VII-312, VIII-262, XI-277
Romans	IV-117, IV-118, IV-203, VI-203, VI-244, VIII-78, IX-218
Sallust	II-23
Samothrace	II-326, [V-133]
Sappho	I-41, III-189, X-277
Schiller, Friedrich	I-130, I-297, I-341, II-19, II-123, II-323-4, II-334, [II-340], III-136-7, III-140, III-168, III-252-4, III-287, III-389, IV-47, IV-114, IV-158, IV-202, IV-207, IV-225, IV-233, IV-245, IV-256-7, V-37, V-78, V-138, V- 147, V-249, V-258, VI-26, VI-50, VI-80, VI-243, VI-340, VII-25, VII-34, VII-45-6,

	VII-53, VII-161, VII-279, VII-286, VII-301-2, VII-306, VII-310, VIII-119, VIII-228, VIII-282, IX-27, IX-66, IX-138, IX-218, IX-249, IX-267-8, IX-288, IX-308, X-130, X-160, X-179, X-216-7, X-221, X-287, XI-77
Schindler (Latin phrases)	V-20, V-75, V-86, VI-47, VI-53, VI-91, VI-157, VI-163
Schleiermacher, Friedrich	I-349, I-350, II-24
Schneider, Eulogius	I-70
Seneca	I-253
Serapis	I-146
Sirens	II-252
Socrates	I-211, I-316, II-155
Sophocles	III-198, III-220, VI-307, X-217
Stein, Anton Joseph	II-25, III-33, III-37, IV-208-11, IV-270, IV-280, IV-316, V-248, VI-280, VII-153, X-221
Stolberg, Friedrich Leopold	I-352, I-398
suicide	II-292, X-100
Tacitus	VIII-78, XI-262
Tantalus	IX-130
Themistocles	III-56, III-204
Theseus	VII-23
Thetis	X-264
Thoas	VI-158
Trajan	IV-104
<i>Tremate, empi, tremate</i> , op.116	VI-210, VI-227, IX-80, IX-163, IX-166, IX-172-3, IX-182, X-22, X-62, X-71, X-78, X-82, X-199, XI-233-4
Venus	IX-185
Vesta	V-79
Virgil	III-35
Voss, Johann Heinrich	I-200, I-399, III-320, V-200, VII-37, IX-214, IX-216, X-73, X-180
<i>Wanda, Königin der Sarmaten</i> (play by Werner)	II-318-9, II-323, II-348, III-27
Wieland, Christoph Martin	I-102, I-170-1, VII-154
Winckelmann, Johann	I-349
Wolf, Friedrich August	VII-64
Wolff, Christian (philosopher)	I-308
Xantippe	VIII-218
Xenophon	I-316, VII-154
Zeus	IV-211
<i>Zum Verstehen der alten Classiker</i> (book)	I-67

Appendix C - Recollections by Contemporaries

Numbers refer to page numbers in *Beethoven aus der Sicht seiner Zeitgenossen in Tagebüchern, Briefen, Gedichten und Erinnerungen*, Klaus Martin Kopitz and Rainer Cadenbach, eds., 2 vols (Munich: Henle, 2009; KC). Not included in this edition, and referred to by individual codes, are the following publications:

- JAS Johann Aloys Schlosser, *Ludwig van Beethoven. Eine Biographie desselben, verbunden mit Urtheilen über seine Werke* (Prague: Buchler, Stephani and Schlosser, 1828);
- GF *Des Bonner Bäckermeisters Gottfried Fischer Aufzeichnungen über Beethovens Jugend*, Joseph Schmidt-Görg, ed. (Munich-Duisburg: Henle Verlag, 1971);
- WR Franz Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Koblenz: Rädiker, 1838); with *Nachtrag* by Franz Wegeler (Koblenz: Rädiker, 1845) = WR(N);
- IvS Ignaz von Seyfried, *Ludwig van Beethoven's Studien* (Leipzig: J. Schuberth & Co, 1852 [orig. ed. 1832]), Anhang 27-94;
- Sch40 Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1840);
- Sch45 Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1845);
- Sch60 Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1860), 2 vols;
- GvB Gerhard von Breuning, *Aus dem Schwarzschanerhause. Erinnerungen an L. van Beethoven aus meiner Jugendzeit* (Vienna: L. Rosner, 1874);
- BB Although it is apocryphal, a letter by Bettina Brentano about Beethoven supposedly written in 1810 is included here. She published it in: [Bettina Brentano], *Goethe's Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde* (Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler, 1835), vol. 2, 190-201.

Achilles (Paër)	[222] (Czerny), WR,80
Aeschylus	1040 (Wähner), 1079, 1083 (Weissenbach)
Ah! <i>Perfido</i> , op.65	Sch60,58
Alexander the Great	607 (Müller)
Amphion	1083 (Weissenbach)
An die Freude	IvS,40
Antiochus	WR,26, WR,37
Apollo	566 (Mähler), 619 (Neugass), WR,65, IvS,33, Sch60,I.113, GvB,30
Apollo's daughters	Sch45-Nachtr2,84
Apples	1086 (Weissenbach)
Aristides Quintilianus	Sch60,II.163
Aristotle	Sch45,282, Sch45,290, Sch60,II.136, Sch60,II.163
ars longa, vita brevis	[86] (De Boer), 937 (Sporschil)
arts and science	92 (Braun von Brauntal), 174 (Bursy), 900 (Seyfried), Sch40,42, Sch40,81, Sch45,290, Sch60,II.75, BB197
Athenaeus	Sch60,II.163
Attila	685 (Rellstab)
Attila (play)	870 (Schwarz)
bachanal	Sch45,Nachtr2,160, Sch60,II.349
Bacchus (opera)	[172-3], 175 (Bursy), 546 (Jeitteles)
Bacchus	BB193
Belisar	685 (Rellstab)
Bergmann, Joseph von	78-9 (Blöchlinger)

Boethius	Sch60,II.163
Brundisium	Sch60,II.50
Brutus	47 (Bauernfeld)
Brutus, Lucius	Sch40,3, Sch60,xviii, Sch60,II.188, Sch60,II.373
Cato	Sch40,174, Sch60,II.25, Sch60,II.124
Cicero	570 (Mäurer), Sch40,174, Sch60,II.36
<i>Coriolan</i> -overture, op.62	227 (Czerny), 461 (Holz), 666, 667 (Reichardt), 757 (Rust), Sch60,I.141-3
Cothurnus	1083 (Weissenbach)
Croesos	93 (Braun von Brauntal)
Dämon	WR,23, WR,46, Sch60,I.42
<i>Das Schöne zu dem Guten</i> , WoO 203	699 (Rellstab)
Demosthenes	Sch60,II.36
<i>Der Sieg des Kreuzes</i>	461, 465 (Holz), 717, 719 (Rochlitz), 794-5 (Schindler), [690], 702 (Rellstab), 1049-1050 (Wähner), 1113-14 (Ziegler), Sch40,142, Sch40,162, Sch60,II.32-3, Sch60,II.54-7, Sch60,II.91-7, Sch60,II.104, WR,147
<i>Die Apotheose im Tempel des Jupiter Ammon</i> (Sporschil)	936, 938 (Sporschil)
<i>Die Ruinen von Athen</i> , op.113	227 (Czerny), WR,125, WR,162, Sch60,I.183-4, Sch60,I.194, Sch60,I.209, Sch60,II.6, Sch60,II.151
Diogenes	607 (Müller)
divine spark in humans	478 (Hüttenbrenner), 977 (Stumpff), 1079 (Weissenbach), Sch40,30, Sch40,65, GvB,112, BB199
education	217 (Czerny), 289 (Funck), 855 (Schultz), WR,9
Egypt(ian phrases)	791 (Schindler), Sch60,II.161-2, Sch60,II.372
emotions	215 (Czerny), 267-8 (Ertmann), 391 (Grillparzer), 806, 814, 826 (Schlösser), 845 (Schnyder von Wartensee), 1056 (Wähner), BB194
Epirus	Sch60,II.50
Eristratos	WR,37
Euripides	1040 (Wähner), Sch45,291
Faiaken	Sch60,II.108, Sch60,II.129
Fatum	1008 (Trémont), 1045 (Wähner), Sch40,241, Sch60,I.158, Sch60,II.140, WR,25, WR,26, GvB,109
<i>Faust</i> (Bernard)	520 (Körner)
<i>Faust</i> (Goethe)	364 (Förster), 397 (Grillparzer), Sch40,162, Sch45,278, Sch45,291, Sch60,II.34, Sch60,II.54, Sch60,II.91, Sch60,II.181, Sch60,II.292, Sch60,II.329, GvB,97
Feder, Johann Georg	570-1 (Mäurer)
Fortuna	IvS,36
freemasonry	464, 469 (Holz), WR,47, WR,67-9
French language	1004 (Trémont)
Heinrich Fügen	WR,37
<i>Germanicus</i> (stage work)	Sch60,I.251
Glaukon	Sch60,I.103-6
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang	90 (Boucher), 97, 100 (Antonie Brentano), 269 (Eskeles), 230 (Czerny), 341 (Giannattasio), 355-64 (Goethe), 388 (Pierson), 397 (Grillparzer), 463 (Holz), 515 (Kloeber), 519 (Körner), 541-42 (Löwenthal), 635 (Pessiak-Schmerling), 716 (Rochlitz), [784] (Wegeler),

	816, 828 (Schlösser), 856 (Schultz), 900 (Seyfried), 717 (Rochlitz), 937 (Sporschil), 963 (Novello), 1035 (Varnhagen), 1041-50, 1056 (Wähner), 1083-92 (Weissenbach), 110-11 (Zelter), JAS,37, JAS73, JAS,80, JAS,85, Sch40,42, Sch40,80-4, Sch40,123-4, Sch40,162, Sch45,Nachtr2,92, Sch45,Nachtr2, 158-62, Sch45, Nachtr2,172, Sch60,xxiii, Sch60,I.102-3, Sch60,I.107, Sch60,I.174-79, Sch60,I.215, Sch60,I.218, Sch60,I.225, Sch60,II.18, Sch60,II.54, Sch60,II.91, Sch60,II.139, Sch60,II.144, Sch60,II.152, Sch60,II.181, Sch60,II.281-2, Sch60,II.349-50, WR,37, GvB,96, BB190-202
graecophile (<i>Griechenfreund</i>)	Sch60,II.163
great man (<i>grosser Mann</i>)	388 (Pierson), 437 (Hiller), 677 (Rellstab), 970 (Stumpff), Sch40,14, Sch45,281, GF,40, Sch45,Nachtr2,161, Sch45,Nachtr2,165, Sch60II.4, Sch60,II.130, GF,68, GF,72
Greek and Roman literature	1006 (Trémont), 855 (Schultz), 1040, 1049 (Wähner), 1077-92 (Weissenbach), Sch40,3, Sch40,266, Sch60, xviii, Sch60,I.17, Sch60,I.102, Sch60,II.136, Sch60,II.163, Sch60,II.180-1
Greek and Roman history	684 (Rellstab), Sch40,137, Sch60,II.22, Sch60,II.130
Greek and Roman opera subjects	685 (Rellstab), Sch60,II.47-8
Greek music	227 (Czerny), Sch45,282, Sch60,I.104, Sch60,II.163, Sch60,II.168
Greek temple	GvB,57
Greeks	684-85 (Rellstab), 1081 (Weissenbach)
harmony of spheres	222 (Czerny)
Herder, Johann Gottfried	515 (Kloeber), Sch40,42
Herkules, Heracles	898 (Seyfried), Sch40,34, Sch45,279, [WR,40]
history study	900 (Seyfried), JAS,32, JAS,45
Homer	542 (Löwenthal), 791 (Schindler), 828 (Schlösser), 856 (Schultz), 1080 (Weissenbach), Sch40,117, Sch45,Nachtr2,172, Sch60,xxiii, Sch60,I.17, Sch60,I.41, Sch60,I.48, Sch60,I.99, Sch60,I.104, Sch60,II.12, Sch60,II.108, Sch60,II.119, Sch60,II.120, Sch60,II.127, Sch60,II.128, Sch60,II.136, Sch60,II.181, GvB,50-1
Horace	785-87 (Wegeler), [1083], 1091 (Weissenbach), WR,18, Sch60,II.163
inter lacrimas	838 (Schneller)
Iphigenie	228 (Czerny), 804 (Schlösser), 847 (Schnyder von Wartensee)
Italy	122 (Stephan von Breuning), WRN,216, WRN,218
<i>Julius Caesar</i> (Handel)	IvS,41
<i>Julius Caesar</i> (Shakespeare)	48 (Bauernfeld), 51 (brother Johann), 1042 (Wähner), Sch60,II.124
Jupiter tonans	Sch45,Nachtr2,36
Kant, Immanuel	366 (Gräffer), WRN,205-6, WRN,219, Sch60,I.218
knowing how to die	303 (Giannattasio)
<i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> (Mozart)	IvS,41

Laocoon	542 (Löwenthal)
Latin	167 (Burney Payne), 570 (Mäurer), 784 (Wegeler), 858 (Schultz), 900 (Seyfried), 1042 (Wähner), 1106 (Wurzer), GF,32, Sch40,18, Sch40,73, Sch40,115, Sch40,266, Sch45,Nachtr2,xi, Sch45, Nachtr2,83, Sch45,Nachtr2,176, Sch60,I.226, Sch60,I.262, Sch60,I.267, Sch60,II.21, Sch60,II.25, Sch60,II.57, Sch60,II.320, WR,51, WR,116, WRN,205, WRN,210
Latin and Greek studies Karl	78 (Blöchlinger), 855 (Schultz), Sch45,Nachtr2,168
<i>Les Danaïdes</i> (Salieri)	IvS,41
<i>Les Ruines de Babylon</i>	1032 (Varnhagen)
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim	1042 (Wähner), Sch40,42, 1086 (Weissenbach)
Livy	WRN,210-1
Lucian	Sch60,II.163
lyre	566 (Mähler), 619 (Neugass), IvS,93
maxims	341 (Giannattasio)
<i>Medea</i>	394 (Grillparzer), 817 (Schlösser), Sch45,291, IvS,41
Meissner, August Gottlieb	379 (Griesinger), 576-78 (Meissner)
moderation (food)	317, 333, 342 (Giannattasio), 404 (Grillparzer), 856 (Schultz), 937 (Sporschil), 1054 (Wähner), Sch40,173, Sch45,Nachtr2,169
muses	1082 (Weissenbach)
Napoleon Bonaparte	218, 227 (Czerny), 258 (Jahn), 286 (Fuchs), 572 (Magerle), 940 (Sporschil), 1003-11 (Trémont), 1030-31 (Varnhagen), [1090] (Weissenbach), 1093 (Wieck), Sch40,55-7, Sch40,240, Sch60,I.102, Sch60,I.107-9, Sch60,I.230, WR,5-6, WR,78, WRN,217
Nepos, Cornelius	1106 (Wurzer)
Nero	577 (Meissner)
<i>Odyssey</i>	856 (Schultz)
<i>Opferlied</i> , WoO 126	WR,67
<i>Opferlied</i> , op. 121b	225 (Czerny), 703 (Rellstab), WR,161, Sch60,II.152
Orestes	685, 701 (Rellstab)
<i>Orpheo</i> (Gluck)	804 (Schlösser)
<i>Orpheus</i> (Kanne)	Sch60,II.163
Ovid	791 (Schindler)
<i>Palmira</i> (Salieri)	270-71 (Eybenberg)
Parzen	IvS,28
peripatetics	Sch60,II.130
plaudite amici	484 (Hüttenbrenner), 1068 (Wawruch), Sch40,189, Sch60,II.142-3, GvB,104
philosophy	[534] (Kübeck), 804-05 (Schlösser), 974 (Stumpff), 1005-06 (Trémont), Sch40,81, Sch60,II.75, Sch60,II.130, Sch60,II.163, IvS,28, BB193
Plato (<i>Das Schöne zum Guten</i>)	[534] (Kübeck), 699 (Rellstab), 1092 (Weissenbach), Sch40,56, Sch60,I.102-7, Sch60,II.136, Sch60,II.163
Plutarch	856 (Schultz), Sch40,1-3, Sch60,xvii, Sch60,I.17, Sch60,I.43, Sch60,I.102, Sch60,II.136, WR,25
<i>Prometheus</i> , op.43	220, 222, 236 (Czerny), 286 (Fuchs), 736 (Rosenbaum), 1116 (Zinsendorf), Sch60,78-9, Sch60,I.111, Sch60,I.124

Quintilian	Sch60,II.163
reading, library	828 (Schlösser)
<i>Regulus</i> (play)	624 (Nisle)
republic(an outlook)	47 (Bauernfeld), 572 (Magerle), 1007-08 (Trémont), Sch40,56, Sch40,126-7, Sch60,I.102-3, Sch60,I.107, Sch60,I.165, WR,xii
resignation	WR,25, IvS,28, Sch60,I.17, Sch60,I.43
Romans	WR,78
<i>Romulus und Remus</i>	170-1 (Bursy), 654 (Thayer)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques	1006 (Trémont)
<i>Ruinen von Athen</i> , op.113-4	225, 227 (Czerny), 887 (Seyfried), Sch40,120, [Sch40,269], IvS,40
Samothrace	Sch60,II.51
<i>Sappho</i> (Grillparzer)	394 (Grillparzer)
<i>Sappho</i> (Kanne)	Sch60,II.163
Schiller	70 (Biedenfeld), 272-4 (Fischenich), 227, 230 (Czerny), 397-8 (Grillparzer), 462 (Holz) 480 (Hüttenbrenner), [784] (Wegeler), 856 (Schultz), 937-38 (Sporschil), 1056 (Wähner), 1084-5 (Weissenbach), JAS,73, Sch40,215, Sch40,284, Sch45,Nachtr2,33, WRN,224, Sch45,Nachtr2,160, Sch45,Nachtr2,172, Sch60,I.103, Sch60,I.107, Sch60,I.218, Sch60,II.55, Sch60,II.181, Sch60,II.348, Sch60,II.353
Schönbrunn garden	Sch40,48, Sch45,Nachtr2,158, Sch60,I.90, Sch60,II.347, GvB,48, GvB,62, GvB,74-5, BB195
Seneca	[1085], 1091 (Weissenbach)
Socrates	767 (Schindler), 1090, 1092 (Weissenbach), Sch60,I.103-6, Sch60,II.142
Sonate <i>Pathétique</i> , op. 13	Sch60,I.183
sophistication (<i>Bildung</i>)	277 (Freudenberg), 297, 306, and 318 (Giannattasio), 412 (Guicciardi), 533 (Kübeck), 653 (Potter), 839 (Schnyder von Wartensee), 856 (Schultz), 874 (Schwencke), 900 (Seyfried), 1006 (Trémont), 1040-42 (Wähner), 1087 (Weissenbach), 1112 (Ziegler), JAS,47, GF,25, WR,9, Sch60,I.17, Sch60,I.24, Sch60,I.117, Sch60,II.28, BB191 1040 (Wähner), 1079 (Weissenbach)
Sophocles	Sch40,2, Sch40,111, [Sch40,250], Sch60,II.130
Stoa	WR,37
Stratonice	900 (Seyfried)
study of history	WR,46, IvS,26, IvS,29
suicide	463 (Holz), IvS,40, Sch60,II.155
<i>Tarpeja</i> , WoO 2a	898 (Seyfried)
Telemach	Sch40,157, Sch60,I.194, Sch60,II.42, Sch60,II.73, Sch60,II.151
Terzet <i>Tremate, empi, tremate</i> , op.116	812, 818 (Schlösser)
Terence	GvB,29
Thebes	Sch60,I.103
Thrasymachos	199, 203 (Czerny)
Titus-hairstyle	900 (Seyfried), 1055 (Wähner), IvS,29
<i>Tugend</i> (virtue)	520 (Körner)
<i>Ulysses' Wiederkehr</i>	812, 818 (Schlösser)
veritas odium parit	

<i>Vestas Feuer</i>	[378] and [382] (Griesinger)
Voss, Johann Heinrich	WR,18, Sch60,I.17
vox populi	437 (Hiller)
Wieland, Christoph Martin	93 (Braun von Brauntal), Sch40,42
Winckelmann, Johann	1057 (Wähner), [Sch40,43]
Zeus	1082 (Weissenbach)

Appendix D - Sundry Documentary Material

This composite category combines the following sources:

DWJt	Beethoven's first diary, known as the <i>Jugendtagebuch</i> , kept in 1792-94. It was published in: Dagmar von Busch-Weise, 'Beethovens Jugendtagebuch', in <i>Festschrift für Erich Schenk (= Studien zur Musikwissenschaft)</i> , 1962, 68-88. Following 'DWJt' is the folio number of the diary;
MST	Beethoven's second 'diary', known as the <i>Tagebuch</i> , kept in 1812-18. It has been published in: Maynard Solomon, <i>Beethovens Tagebuch</i> (Mainz: Hase & Koehler Verlag, 1990). What follows 'MST' is the item number in this edition. Annotations by the editor have been included;
JS	The listing of Beethoven's library as found in his estate, published in: Hanns Jäger-Sunstenau, 'Beethoven-Akten im Wiener Landesarchiv', in <i>Beethoven-Studien. Festgabe der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zum 200. Geburtstag von Ludwig van Beethoven</i> (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1970), 11-36, at 22-23. Following 'JS' is the item number in Sunstenau's collation;
EB	Before Beethoven's library was checked and listed for auction, Schindler had taken some books into his possession. These landed in what is now the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussische Kulturbesitz. They were specified in: Eveline Bartlitz, <i>Die Beethoven-Sammlung in der Musikabteilung der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek. Verzeichnis der Autographe, Abschriften, Dokumente, Briefe</i> (Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 1970), 207-18. Following 'EB' is the library shelf-mark;
MB	These concern family albums published in: Max Braubach, <i>Die Stammbücher Beethovens und der Babette Koch</i> (Bonn: Beethoven Haus, 1995). Following 'MB' is the page number of the album.

Adagio cantique	MST162
Alfieri, Vittorio	MST21
Apollo, lyre	DWJt12r, MB49
ars longa, vita brevis	MST7a, MST25a
Cicero	JS38
divine spark in human beings	MST63
education (Karl)	MST67
Epictetus	[MST115]
farmer life	MST41, MST66, MST95
fate	MST1, MST7b-e, MST26, MST49, MST60, MST73, MST105a
freemasonry	MST71
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von	MST96, JS25, EBaut40,1
great man	MST43, MST49, MST93
Greek verse	MST49
Greek and Latin studies Karl	MST134
Greeks	MST10
Hektor's death (from <i>Iliad</i>)	MST49
Herder, Johann Gottfried	MST5, MST6, MST55-59, MST63, MB18

Hesiod	MST68b
Homer	MST26, MST49, MST74, MST96, MST169, MST170, EBaut40,3
<i>Iliad</i>	MST26, MST49
Italy	MST12, MST116, MST120
Kant, Immanuel	MST105a-b, MST106a-c, MST108, JS2
Kotzebue, August von (<i>Vom Adel</i>)	JS8
<i>La Vestale</i> (libretto)	MST39
Lacedaemonians	MST100
Latin	MST113, MST114, MST115, MST125a, MST168, EBaut40,7, EBaut40,8
reading/library	MST21, MST31b, MST48, MST70
Lucretius	MST105a
Meissner, August Gottlieb	JS39
Minerva	MB49
Muse	MST31, MB49
Nemeic Games	MST96
Necessity (<i>Nothwendigkeit</i>)	MST105a
<i>Odyssey</i>	MST74, EBaut40,3
Ovid	MST125a, MST136
Philopoemen	MST96
philosophy	MST94
Pilades	MST96
Plato	MST68a, MST[68b], MST87
Pliny the Younger	MST113, MST114, MST127
Plutarch	MST96, MST100, MST103, MST150, JS38
post coitum	MST122
Praxitiles	DWJt14v
<i>Prometheus</i> (journal)	JS33
<i>Prometheus</i> -music, op.43	MST82
proverbs	MST5, MST6, MST29, MST30
Romans (Pompei)	MST138
Rosamunda	MST21
Schiller, Friedrich von	MST21, MST96, MST111, MST112, MST118, JS26, MB7, MB22, EBaut40,6
Schirach, Gottlieb Benedict von	MST96
Seneca	MST[25a]
Sertorius	MST150
Seume, Johann Gottfried	MST138, JS4, JS5
Socrates	MST87
Solon	MST103
Stoic reflections	MST1, MST26, MST43, MST60, MST64, MST67, MST72, MST73, MST78, MST93a, MST105a, MST126, MST138h, Jt12v
suicide	MST20(?)
Timotheus	MST96
Venus	DWJt14v
Virtue (Tugend)	MST63, MST64, MST67, MST68
Voss, Johann Heinrich	MST26, MST74, MST169, MST170, MB49, EBaut40,3
work morals	MST25

Appendix E - Compositions

This list refers to completed, envisaged and aborted works assembled in the *Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (Munich: Henle, 2014, LvBWV), 2 vols. References are to page numbers.

Also included are references to

- JTW sketches and autographs as specified in *The Beethoven Sketchbooks. History, Reconstruction, Inventory*, Douglas Johnson, Alan Tyson and Robert Winter, eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985): JTW followed by page number;
- TWV Beethoven's musical estate as specified in Alexander Wheelock Thayer's *Chronologisches Verzeichniss der Werke Ludwig van Beethoven's* (Berlin: Ferdinand Schneider, 1865), 173-82: TWV followed by item number;
- HGK the catalogue of Hans-Günther Klein, *Ludwig van Beethoven. Autographe und Abschriften. Katalog* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1975): HGK with page number.

a cappella songs, WoO 99,11-12	II,250-1
Adagio cantique	II,583
<i>Ah! Perfido</i> , op.65	I,249, I,269, I,355-9, II,108, II,578, II,608
<i>Alexander's Fest</i> (Handel)	TWV182
Amor	I,42
<i>An die Freude</i>	I,283, I,738, I,813-32
Antigone	II,620
<i>Ars longa, vita brevis</i> , WoO 170	II,486
<i>Ars longa, vita brevis</i> , WoO 192	II,517-8
<i>Ars longa, vita brevis</i> , WoO 193	II,518-9
Attila	II,613, II,620
Bacchus	I,142, II,583, II,615
Baur, Samuel	JTW340-3
Belisar	II,620
Brutus	II,619
<i>Cacatum non est pictum</i> , WoO 224	II,565-6
Chloe	I,848
<i>Coriolan</i> , op.62	I,315, I,350-5
dark times	II,613
<i>Das Schöne zum Guten</i> , WoO 202	I,249, II,529-30
<i>Das Schöne zu dem Guten</i> , WoO 203	I,249, II,231-2
<i>Der Sieg des Kreuzes</i>	I,36, II,624-8
Deym, Joseph	II,85-7
<i>Die Apotheose im Tempel des Jupiter Ammon</i>	I,726, II,616-7
<i>Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus</i> , op.43	I, 119, I, 203-4, I,226, I,230-40, I,296, II,167, TWV174
<i>Die Ruinen von Athen</i> , op. 113-4	I,483, I,724-37, I,747, I,752-6, I,803-4, II,342-3, II,613, TWV178, TWV179, JTW207-19

Epirus	I,744
Europa	II,565
<i>Faust</i>	I,470, I,472, II,611-2
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von	I,282-7, I,469-81, I,518-21, I,521-37, I,687, I,718-23, I,770, I,784-7, II,88, II,147, II,183-4, II,220, II,222, II,263, II,300, II,322, II,315-8, II,330, II,357-9, II,489, II,499, II,506-8, II,578-9, II,599, II,607, II,608, II,611, II,620
Hadrian	I,515
Herder, Johann Gottfried	II,318-9, II,336, II,482
Hippocrates	II,486-7, II,517-9
Homer	I,721, II,626, JTW241-6
<i>Idomeneo</i> (Mozart)	TWV181
Inter Lacrimas	I,383
<i>Iphigenie auf Tauris</i> (Gluck)	TWV174
<i>Julius Caesar</i> (Handel)	TWV182
Jupiter	II,565
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb	II,626
<i>L'amante impaziente</i> , op. 82 Nos. 3 and 4	I,513-7, I,543
<i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> (Mozart)	TWV181
Latin	II,565-6
<i>Les Danaïdes</i> (Salieri)	II,646, TWV181
<i>Les ruines de Babylone</i>	II,537, II,613
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim	I,282-7
<i>L'Olympiade</i> (Metastasio)	II,231-3
<i>Medea</i> (Cherubini)	TWV181
Meissner, August Gottlieb	II,621
Merkur	I,727
Minerva	I,727
Musen	I,727
Napoleon Bonaparte	I,297-8, I,300, I,459, II,233, II,242, [II,288], II,291, II,688
<i>Ne'giorni tuoi felici</i> , WoO 93	II,231-3
Nero	II,621
<i>Opferlied</i> , WoO 126	I,249, I,778, II,298-300, II,530
<i>Opferlied</i> , op. 121b	I,249, I,762, I,776, I,778-83, I,846, II,298, II,530, TWV177, JTW299-305, 415-8
'opera on antiquity'	II,615, JTW245
<i>Opferlied</i> , WoO 126	JTW77-83, 124-9
<i>Orpheus and Euridice</i> (Gluck)	TWV174
Orest	II,619
<i>Pathétique</i>	I,67-71
Plato	[II,529-30], [II,231-2]
<i>Prometheus</i> (magazine)	II,315, II,320
republicanism	II,619
<i>Romulus und Remus</i>	II,537, II,614-6
Sarti, Giuseppe	I,744
Schiller, Friedrich	I,283, I,524, I,738, I,814-32, II,184, II,262-3, II,475-7, II,480-1, II,561, II,626
Schneider, Eulogius	II,216
Schöne und Gute	I,383

Seneca	II,486
Stein, Anton Joseph	II,264
Sulzer, Johann Georg	II,650
<i>Tarpeja</i> , WoO 2a	II,5-8, TWV178
<i>Tremate, empi, tremate</i> , op.116	I,743-8, II,539, JTW124-9, 130-6
<i>Ulysses Wiederkehr</i>	II,614
veritas odium parit	I,719
<i>Vestas Feuer</i> , Unv 15	I,296, I,409, II,563, II,597-9, II,610, JTW137-45
Voss, Johann Heinrich	I,284, I,780, II,275, II,277, II,280-1, II,299, II,329
<i>O care selve</i> , WoO 119	II,285-6
<i>Zenobia</i> (Metastasio)	II,250-1
Zeus	II,565

Appendix F - Markings in Homer's *Odyssey*

List of markings by Beethoven in his 1781 copy of Homer's *Odyssey* (underlining, marginal notations, metrical signs, comments and turned-down page corners). Every item is introduced by the page number in the book, the chapter ('Gesang') and verse number, and the form of the marking:

- _ underlining
- | marginal vertical stroke
- || double stroke
- hyphen

Themes are designated with 'G' ('Götter'), 'S' ('Sterbliche'), 'M' (Musik) and 'T' ('Tugend').

1. p. 6 (dedication to Friedrich Stolberg); | and lines 13 and 14 ||
 (Auf! und heilige dich, daß du, ihr würdiger Herold,
 Einen der Kränze, besprengt mit erfrischem Nektar, heraufbringst.
 Fleuch der Ehre vergoldeten Saal, des schlaun Gewinstes
 Lärmenden Markt, und die Gärten der Ueppigkeit wo sie in bunter
 Muschelgrotte ruht, und an der geschnittenen Laubwand.
 Suche den einsamen Nachtigallhain, den rosenumblihten
 Murrenden Bach, und den See, mit Abendröthe bepurpert,
 Und im reifenden Korne den haselbeschatteten Rasen;
 Oder den glatten Kristall des Winterstroms, die Gebüsche,
 Blühend von duftigem Reif, und in hellfrierenden Nächten
 Funkelnde Schneegefilde, von Mond und Sternen erleuchtet.
 (Siehe da wird mein Geist dich umschweben mit lispelnder Ahndung,
 Dich die stille Pracht der Natur und ihre Geseze
 Lehren, und meiner Sprache Geheimnisse: daß in der Felskluft
 (Freundlich erscheinend dir die Jungfrau reiche den Nektar.)

2. p. 17 (I, 215); |
 Meine Mutter die sagt es, er sei mein Vater; ich selber

Weiss es nicht: denn von selbst weiss niemand, wer ihn gezeuget.

3. p. 22 (I, 337); || (Thaten ... Sängern _) M, G
Fämos, du weisst ja noch sonst viel reizende Lieder,
Thaten der Menschen und Götter, die unter den Sängern berühmt sind.

4. p. 23 (I, 351); + (first two lines) and _ (last two lines) M
Nicht die Sänger sind des zu beschuldigen, sondern allein Zeus,
Welcher die Meister der Kunst nach seinen Gefallen begeistert.
(Zürne denn nicht, weil dieser die Leiden der Danaer singet;)
Denn der neuste Gesang erhält vor allen Gesängen
Immer das lauteste Lob der aufmerksamen Versammlung:

5. p. 23 (I, 368); metrical signs
Tälemachos

6. p. 24 (I, 383); metrical signs
Aber Eupeithäs Sohn Antinoos gab ihm zur Antwort:

7. p. 37 (II, 277); _ and +, T
Wenige Kinder nur sind gleich den Vätern an Tugend
Schlechter als sie die meisten, und nur sehr wenige besser.

8. p. 69-70 (X, ca 150-200); dog-ear

9. p. 89 (IV, 691); ||| M
da sonst der mächtigen Könige Brauch ist,
Dass sie einige Menschen verfolgen, und andre hervorziehn?

10. p. 95 (V, 1); _ des edlen Tithonos Lager, G, S
Und die rosige Frühe entstieg des edlen Tithonos
Lager, und brachte das Licht den Göttern und sterblichen Menschen.

11. p. 101; major dog-ear

12. p. 103 (V, 222); _ from Busen _
Mein Herz im Busen ist längst zum Leiden gehärtet!
Denn ich habe schon vieles erlebt, schon vieles erduldet,

13. p. 105 (V, 272); _
Auf die Pleiaden gerichtet, und auf Bootäs,

14. p. 111 (V, 447); _ G, S
Heilig sind ja, auch selbst unsterblichen Göttern, die Menschen,
Welche von Leiden gedrängt um Hülfe flehen! Ich winde

15. p. 120-1 (VI, 181-5); | and 119-120 dog-ear, G
Mögen die Götter dir schenken, so viel dein Herz nur begehret,
Einen Mann und ein Haus, und euch mit seliger Eintracht
Segnen! Denn nichts ist besser und wünschenswehrt auf Erden,
Als wenn Mann und Weib, in herzlicher Liebe vereinigt,

Ruhig ihr Haus verwalten: den Feinden ein kränkender Anblick,
Aber Wonne den Freunden; und mehr noch geniessen sie selber!

16. p. 121 (VI, 188); _ and 121-122 dog-ear, G
der Gott des Olümpos ertheilet selber den Menschen,
Vornehm oder geringe, nach seinem Gefallen ihr Schicksal.

17. p. 121 (VI, 194); |
Zeigen will ich die Stadt, und des Volkes Namen dir sagen:
Wir Faiaken bewohnen die Stadt und diese Gefilde.

18. p. 129 (VII, 51); first line | and 129-130 dog-ear
Dem Kühnen gelinget
Jedes Beginnen am besten,

19. p. 135 (VII, 210); _ and dog-ear, S
ich gleiche sterblichen Menschen.
Kennt ihr einen, der euch der unglücklichste aller
Sterblichen scheint; ich bin ihm gleich zu achten an Elend!

20. p. 142 (VIII, 63); | M
Diesen Vertrauten der Muse, dem Gutes und Böses verliehn ward;
Denn sie nahm ihm die Augen, und gab ihm süsse Gesänge.

21. p. 143 (VIII, 83); metr. signs
Dämodekos

22. p. 148 (VIII, 233); |
(Denn ich saß nicht eben mit Zehrung)
Reichlich versorgt im Schiff;
drum schwand die Stärke den Gliedern.
Also sprach er, und alle verstummt umher, und schwiegen.

23. p. 150 (VIII, 293); - and dog-ear 149-150
Komm, Geliebte, zu Bette, der füßen Ruhe zu pflegen!
Denn Häfaistos ist nicht daheim; er wandert vermutlich

24. p. 152 (VIII, 331-2); | and dog-ear 151-152, G
(Also ertappt Haefaistos, der Langsame, jezo den Aräs,)
Welcher am hurtigsten ist von den Göttern des hohen Olümpos,
Er der Lahme, durch Kunst. Nun büsst ihm der Ehebrecher!

25. p. 155 (VIII, 408-9); || and _
Und fiel ein kränkendes Wort hier
Unter uns vor, so mögen es schnell die Stürme verwehen!

26. p. 157 (VIII, 469); -
Also sprach er, und setzte sich hin zur Seite des Königs.

27. p. 157 (VIII, 478-82); | M, S
Gerne möcht' ich ihm Liebes erweisen, wie sehr ich auch traure.

Alle sterblichen Menschen der Erde nehmen die Sanger
Billig mit Achtung auf und Ehrfurcht; selber die Muse
Lehrt sie den hohen Gesang, und waltet ber die Sanger.
Also sprach Odusseus. Der Herold reicht' es dem edlen

28. p. 159 (VIII, 517); metr. signs
Daisobos

29. p. 159 (VIII, 518); metr. signs, dog-ear
Sohn Menelaos

30. p. 159 (VIII, 524-6); | M
(Dieses sang der berhmt Damodokos. Aber Odusseus
Schmolz in Wehmut, Thranen benetzten ihm Wimper und Wangen.
Also weinet ein Weib, und strzt auf den lieben Gemahl hin,)
Der vor seiner Stadt und vor seinem Volke dahinsank,
Streitend, den grausamen Tag von der Stadt und den Kindern zu fernem;
Jene sieht ihn jetzt mit dem Tode ringend und zuckend,

31. p. 160 (VIII, 565); metr. signs
Poseiaddon der

32. p. 161 (VIII, 584-6); ||
Oder etwa ein tapferer Freund von gefalligem Herzen?
Denn frwahr nicht geringer, als selbst ein leiblicher Bruder,
Ist ein treuer Freund, verstandig und edler Gesinnung.

33. p. 204 (X, 573-4); | M
Leicht uns vorberschlpfend. Denn welches Sterblichen Auge
Mag des Unsterblichen Gang, der sich verhllet, entdecken?

34. p. 212 (XI, 204-5); | and _ inniger Sehnsucht
Also sprach sie; da schwoll mein Herz vor inniger Sehnsucht,
Sie zu umarmen, die Seele von meiner gestorbenen Mutter.

35. p. 214 (XI, 257); + and 'Navarin' (bottom of the page)
Pulos

36. p. 220-1; dog-ear

37. p. 221-2; dog-ear

38. p. 248 (XIII, 60-1); | S
(Lebe bestandig wohl, o Knigin, bis dich das Alter)
Sanft beschleicht und der Tod, die allen Menschen bevorftehn!
Jezzo scheid' ich von dir. Sei glcklich in diesem Palaste,

39. p. 266 (XIV, 83-4); | and  , G, T
Alle gewaltsame That misfallt ja den seligen Gttern;
Tugend ehren sie nur und Gerechtigkeit unter den Menschen!

- 40.** p. 269 (XIV, 157); _ and P
(Denn der ist mir verhasst, wie die Pforten der untersten Tiefe,
von Mangel verführt, mit leeren Erdichtungen schmeichelt!
- 41.** p. 269 (XIV, 177); _
(den Vater)... an Geist und Bildung (ein Wunder)
- 42.** p. 271 (XIV, 214); _
(Dennoch glaub'ich, du wirst noch aus der) Stoppel die Aehre
(Kennen)
- 43.** p. 271 (XIV, 227-8); | M, G
Aber ich liebte, was Gott in meine Seele geleet;
Denn dem einen gefällt dies Werk, dem anderen jenes.
- 44.** p. 274 (XIV, 304); _
über der Tiefe.
- 45.** p. 279 (XIV, 444-5); _ G
Wie du es hast. Gott giebt uns dieses, und jenes versagt er,
Wie es seinem Herzen gefällt; denn er herrscht mit Allmacht.
- 46.** p. 280 (XIV, 462-5); | M
Höre mich jetzt, Eumaios, und hört, ihr übrigen Hirten!
Rühmend red' ich ein Wort, vom bethörenden Weine besieget,
Welcher den Weisesten oft anreizt zum lauten Gesange,
Ihn zum herzlichen Lachen und Gaukeltanze verleitet,
- 47.** p. 297 (XV, 393); _
auch vieles Schlafen ist schädlich.
- 48.** p. 297-8 (XV, 399); _
denn auch der Trübsal denket man gerne,
(Wenn man so vieles erduldet)
- 49.** p. 298 (XV, 420-1); _ and | T
die das Herz der biegsamen Weiber
Ganz in die Irre führt, wenn eine die Tugend auch ehret.
- 50.** p. 310 (XVI, 162-3); _ and |
Nur die Hunde sahn sie, und bellten nicht, sondern entflohen
Winselnd und zitternd vor ihr nach der andern Seite des Hofes.
- 51.** p. 311 (XVI, 191); _
Stürzten die Thränen zur Erde, die lange verhaltenen Thränen.
- 52.** p. 312 (XVI, 313-4); _
bitterlich weinend.
Und in beiden erhob sich ein süßes Verlangen zu trauren.
- 53.** p. 313 (XVI, 242); _

Deines Mutes im Kampf, und deiner Weisheit im Rathe.

54. p. 313 (XVI, 264-5); _ G, S

(...) hoch in den Wolken, und herrschen mit Almacht
Ueber die Menschen auf Erden, und alle unsterblichen Götter.

55. p. 333-4 (XVII, 322-3); _ T

Zeus allwaltender Rath nimt schon die Hälfte der Tugend
Einem Manne, sobald er die heilige Freiheit verlieret.

56. p. 336 (XVII, 382-6); || with barbs, M

Denn wer gehet wohl aus, und ladet selber den Fremdling,
Wo er nicht etwa im Volk durch nützliche Künste berühmt ist,
Als den erleuchteten Seher, den Arzt, den Meister des Baues,
Oder den göttlichen Sänger, der uns durch Lieder erfreuet?
Diese laden die Menschen in allen Landen der Erde.

57. p. 339 (XVII, 470-2); _ (first line) and the rest |, also dog-ear

(Nicht der) mindeste Schmerz noch Kummer beuget die Seele
Eines Mannes, der, streitend für seine Güter, vom Feinde
Wunden empfängt, für die Heerden der Rinder und wollichten Schafe:

58. p. 341 (XVII, 518-21); | M

So aufmerksam ein Mann den gottbegeisterten Sänger
Anschaut, welcher die Menschen mit reizenden Liedern erfreuet;
Voller Begierde horcht die Versammlung seinem Gesange:
Eben so rührt' er mein Herz, da er bei mir sass in der Hütte.

59. p. 350 (XVIII, 131-6); | and last two lines _, G

Siehe kein Wesen ist so eitel und unbeständig,
Als der Mensch, von allem, was lebt und webet auf Erden.
Denn so lange die Götter ihm Heil und blühende Jugend
Schenken; trotz er, und wähnt, ihn treffe nimmer ein Unglück.
Aber züchtigen ihn die seligen Götter mit Trübsal;
Dann erträgt er sein Leiden mit Ungeduld und Verzweiflung.
Denn wie die Tage sich ändern, die Gott vom Himmel uns sendet,
Aendert sich auch das Herz der erdebewohnenden (sic) Menschen.

60. p. 350 (XVIII, 140-1); |

Drum erhebe sich nimmer ein Mann, und frevele nimmer;
Sondern genieße, was ihm die Götter bescheren, in Demut!

61. p. 352 (XVIII, 201-4); | G

Einen so sanften Tod beschere die göttliche Jungfrau
Artemis mir, jetzt gleich! damit ich Arme nicht länger
Mich abhärme, vor Gram um meines trauten Gemahles
Edles Verdienst; denn er war der Herlichste aller Achaier!

62. p. 366 (XIX, 154); |

Da verriethen mich Mägde, die Hündinnen sonder Empfindung!

63. p. 373 (XIX, 328-34); | (in 3 parts)

Es sind ja den Menschen nur wenige Tage beschieden.
Wer nun grausam denkt, und grausame Handlungen ausübt;
Diesem wünschen alle, so lang' er lebet, nur Unglück,
Und noch selbst im Tode wird sein Gedächtniss verabscheut.
Aber wer edel denkt, und edle Handlungen ausübt;
Dessen würdigen Ruhm verbreiten die Fremdlinge weithin
Unter die Menschen auf Erden, und jeder segnet den Guten.

64. p. 374 (XIX, 360); | S

Denn im Unglück altern die armen Sterblichen frühe.

65. p. 429 (XXII, 374); |

Wie viel beßer es sei, gerecht als böse zu handeln.

66. p. 431 (XXII, 412); | S

Ueber erschlagene Menschen zu jauchzen, ist grausam und Sünde!

67. p. 443 (XXIII, 217); |

es giebt ja so viele schlaue Betrieger!

68. p. 447 (XXIII, 339); | S

Welche von Herzen ihn hoch, wie einen Unsterblichen, ehrten,

69. p. 459 (XXIV, 285); _ and | S

denn Pflicht ist des Guten Vergeltung.

70. p. 468 (XXIV, 513-4); || G, T

Welch ein Tag ist mir dieser! Ihr Götter, wie bin ich so glücklich!
Sohn und Enkel streiten den edlen Streit um die Tugend!