A SCHENKERIAN ANALYSIS OF BEETHOVEN'S E MINOR PIANO SONATA, OPUS 90

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This thesis examines the history and origins of Beethoven’s E minor piano sonata and examines the possibility of the programmatic conception of the work. Dedicated to Beethoven’s friend Count Moritz Lichnowsky, the sonata may have been inspired by the Count’s illicit affair with his future wife, the singer and actress Josefa Stummer. Providing a thorough Schenkerian analysis of both movements, the inner harmonic structure of the composition is revealed and explained. The author also investigates and details the unpublished original analyses of the composition by Heinrich Schenker, Erika Elias, and Hans Weisse. Both English and German language sources are incorporated into a comprehensive examination of Beethoven’s piano sonata, op. 90.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The music of Ludwig van Beethoven poses problems that are both interesting and challenging. Some aspects of Beethoven’s music are indeed quite puzzling, and one is genuinely challenged to deduce the meaning of various musical events. Dedicated to the Count Moritz Lichnowsky, the two-movement E Minor Piano Sonata, opus 90, is Beethoven’s twenty-seventh piano sonata; the first movement is in sonata form, and the second is a seven-part rondo based on a charming lyrical melody in E major.

This research provides a detailed analysis of the sonata and compare and contrast this analysis with the work of Heinrich Schenker and other scholars. To improve our understanding of the music, it is important to investigate the semantics of the sonata, and explore the possibility that the E minor piano sonata is a programmatic work. Widely scattered information published in English and German sources are combined with analysis of the music and the autograph score to augment current knowledge concerning this composition. The unpublished work of Heinrich Schenker is examined and discussed. This project will help foster a thorough understanding of this enigmatic work.

A Brief History

The importance of Beethoven’s piano sonatas is perhaps best stated by author Rudolf Kastner, “In the whole of Beethoven’s output, however, the thirty-two piano sonatas represent the most personal side of his genius. Throughout the whole of his life
Beethoven confided to the piano his most secret thoughts and made it the interpreter of his visions.”

Ludwig van Beethoven composed his twenty-seventh piano sonata in the summer of 1814. In a letter dated 21 September of that year, Beethoven wrote to Count Moritz Lichnowsky telling him that a new sonata had been completed and dedicated to the Count, who was a long-time friend of Beethoven,

...As I do not want you to think that a step which I have taken was prompted by a new interest or anything of that kind, I tell you that a new sonata of mine will soon appear which I have dedicated to you. I wanted to surprise you, for the dedication was set apart for you a long time ago, but your letter of yesterday leads me to make the disclosure now. No new cause was needed for the public expression of my feelings for your friendship and kindness—but you would distress me with anything resembling a gift, since you would totally misapprehend my purpose, and everything of the kind I could only refuse.—

From Beethoven’s letter, we see that the sonata was not a commissioned work and that Beethoven refused compensation because that was not his purpose in writing the work. The fact that Beethoven composed the piece entirely on his own initiative raises the question of his motivation for its creation?

A distinct possibility raised by scholars is that the sonata is a programmatic work. In his book Beethoven, Denis Matthews writes, –Two piano works also brought Beethoven back to a familiar medium after a long absence: the Polonaise in C op. 89 was written for the Empress of Russia, one of the many crowned heads attending the Congress [of Vienna]; and the short but important two-movement Sonata in E minor op.

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90, dedicated to Lichnowsky’s brother Moritz, who was offered an informal ‘programme’ for the music, relating it to his forthcoming marriage to a singer.”

Another scholar, Hartmut Krones, provides much more detail regarding the possible program. Krones quotes an account by Anton Schindler saying that Beethoven had wanted to set Lichnowsky’s love story to music, —When asked about certain intentions within the music, the author [Beethoven] wanted to set Lichnowsky’s love story to music, and wanted to title the first movement, ‘Kampf zwischen Kopf und Herz’ and the second, ‘Conversation mit der Geliebte.’ Yet another account of the meaning of the dedication comes from Danish author William Behrend who provides further detail:

The sonata was now interpreted on the strength of this dedication, and on the following grounds. The Count who had been divorced from his wife, and had but lately married a young and beautiful Viennese dancer, is said to have asked Beethoven what the sonata meant, and to have received the answer, given with “a boisterous laugh,” That the first movement represented “a struggle between the head and heart,” and the second “a conversation with the beloved,” this being a supposed allusion to the Count’s matrimonial affairs. This at once led to an interpretation that was very much in favour for some time, of Beethoven’s music, as expressing a struggle between two principles, and it was now applied to this sonata.

Notice that Behrend refers to the lady involved as a dancer rather than singer, but the word ‘Schauspielerin” could encompass singing, dancing, and acting. Because of these accounts, I believe that the issue of a programmatic origin of the music should be given consideration; but even if we disregard programmatic possibilities, then the

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question arises as to why the sonata was written and whether or not it is absolute music. While the accounts differ, Krones suggested as much; as we shall see, Schindler changed the time-line of events concerning Moritz and his mistress – later wife – in order to protect his family reputation.\(^6\)

Beethoven did not have the sonata published until well into the next year (1815), and even had to request that a manuscript copy of the score, belonging to the Archduke Rudolf, be loaned to him so that he could proofread the publisher's engraving.\(^7\) To me, this suggests that Beethoven had not originally composed this work for monetary benefit, though he was forced by a court order to give the sonata to publisher Steiner to resolve a debt of his brother, Kaspar Karl.\(^8\)

**Literature Review**

The German-language article by Hartmut Krones provides important information regarding the history of the program and the mistress of Count Lichnowsky and their illegitimate daughter. Concerning the technical aspects of sonata form, Roger Kamien and Naphtali Wagner's article on chromaticized voice exchanges in bridge themes proves helpful for the present study for reasons that will become clear in the analytical part of this thesis.

Susan Kagan explores the issue of whether or not a mistake persists in several editions of the E minor sonata (regarding the first bass note of m. 13 in the second

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\(^6\) Krones, p. 593.  
\(^7\) Emily Anderson, *The Letters of Beethoven.* (New York: St. Martin’s Press Inc., 1961), p. 506. Letter to Archduke Rudolf, spring 1815. There are several accounts of this event and they do not concur. Some suggest that it was the autograph that the Archduke had in his possession, but to me Beethoven’s letter to the Archduke does not support this conclusion.  
movement). The opportunity to resolve this issue was possible only after the Bonn Beethoven House bought the autograph score. Unfortunately, a large ink splotch on the score makes it impossible to determine the intended pitch. An essay in *Beethoven Forum* 3 by Jürgen May provides insight into the relationship between Beethoven and his patron, Prince Karl Lichnowsky. To be sure, not all scholars agree that the E Minor Sonata is a programmatic work. For example, Donald Francis Tovey believed that Beethoven’s title for the first movement was a joke, and that the German tempo markings were an act of chauvinism on Beethoven’s part.\(^9\) However, Tovey provides no evidence or references for his conclusions. The autograph score shows how deliberate Beethoven was in adding dynamics and expressive markings when he composed the sonata for his friend Moritz. While many of these details are traditionally editorial in nature, study of the facsimile edition of the autograph score reveals Beethoven’s concern with such compositional issues.

CHAPTER 2

BEETHOVEN IN VIENNA: PATRONAGE AND PROBLEMS

―Never outwardly show people the contempt they deserve, because one cannot know when one may need them.‖¹⁰

Beethoven in Vienna

Beethoven’s second trip to Vienna came late in 1792, and the Austrian capital would become his permanent home. Soon he would take up studies with Haydn that would last for about a year. Haydn and Beethoven did not get along terribly well, and Beethoven produced little new music during this period. In 1794, after Haydn left Vienna, Beethoven began to study with Johann Georg Albrechtsberger until spring of the next year. His three lessons each week thoroughly covered counterpoint as well as fugues and canon.¹¹

Outside of his formal studies, Beethoven also needed to become known in the important social and musical circles, and he soon came into contact with local aristocrats devoted to music.¹² Some offered Beethoven their hospitality in their palaces, and perhaps the first of these was Prince Karl Lichnowsky, who also kept a string quartet on his staff. Beethoven wasted no time building his reputation as a pianist in many private performances for various members of the nobility. Among the compositions in his opus 1 were three piano trios dedicated to the Prince.¹³

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¹³ Ibid, p. 77.
Beethoven and the Lichnowsky Family

Beethoven lived with the Lichnowsky family for some time; he would have moved into the Lichnowsky residence soon after he arrived in Vienna.\(^{14}\) Several compositions are dedicated to Prince Karl and his wife, the Princess Christine. Beethoven and Karl were to remain friends until 1807. Prince Lichnowsky was known as a womanizer and a "degenerate," and he had fathered an illegitimate child in 1811. An autopsy conducted after his death in 1814, revealed that he had been sick for some years and concluded that his malady was a result of "his licentious way of life'.\(^{15}\) Today, one would assume this meant syphilis, as it was a common malady at the time.

Jürgen May quotes an account by Carl Czerny, "It was Prince Lichnowsky who brought the young Beethoven to Vienna, arranged for him to study with Haydn, Salieri, and Albrechtsberger, treated him like a friend and brother, and persuaded the entire nobility to support him.'\(^{16}\) May further explains that Waldstein and Lichnowsky were much alike and that, "in Vienna Lichnowsky took over the role of mentor that Waldstein had assumed in Bonn."\(^{17}\) It seems that Prince Karl Lichnowsky arranged Beethoven's concert tour to Prague and Berlin in 1796, and probably went along. However, Beethoven did not like to travel, and rarely left the area around Vienna. In 1800, Lichnowsky arranged an annual stipend of 600 florins for Beethoven, and had "even given him a set of valuable Italian instruments, a complete string quartet."\(^{18}\)

\(^{15}\) Ibid, p. 30.
\(^{16}\) Ibid, pp. 30-31.
\(^{18}\) Kastner, p. 9.
The Next Mozart

Karl Lichnowsky brought Beethoven to Vienna to be the next Mozart. Karl grew up very near Count Ferdinand Waldstein in Vienna, and the two probably were acquainted even before Waldstein moved to Bonn in 1788. They both attended military school in Vienna, the Royal Academy Theresianum. Together with Count Waldstein, Karl Lichnowsky wanted Beethoven to move to Vienna so that he would become the “next Mozart,” as Christian Gottlob Neefe had predicted several years before. Jürgen May explains, “It was clearly Lichnowsky who attempted to make the idea reality, a project that became the most important aspect of the composer’s relationship to the Prince.” Lichnowsky had also been a patron and friend of Mozart, and one can imagine that he would want to see Beethoven rise to the same status.

End of a Friendship

The popular story of the split between Beethoven and Prince Lichnowsky and the end of their friendship concerns an incident that occurred at the Lichnowsky family home castle in Grätz in October of 1806. This event took place during one of Beethoven’s last trips outside of Vienna. As the short version goes, Lichnowsky gave a banquet for some French officers stationed in the vicinity. Beethoven, who after dinner was supposed to improvise on the piano, felt insulted by one of the officers and refused to play. Lichnowsky insisted that he do so, an argument ensued, and Beethoven left the castle and walked to Troppau.” While this account makes a good story, Jürgen May asserts that

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19 May, pp. 29-30.
20 Ibid, p. 33.
21 Ibid, p. 35. This is reported in several sources. One account says that Beethoven’s walk was in the rain.
this explanation is too simplistic. While the incident did occur, we cannot be certain of the severity or the exact details because of the differing versions. May believes the situation between the two men to be much more intricate. True, Beethoven was intended to become the next Mozart, and while Beethoven’s genius is undeniable, in one important genre he failed to measure up to Mozart’s legacy: opera. This lacuna in Beethoven’s output would have caused a certain tension between patron and composer. May’s research also showed that the prince encountered significant financial difficulties in 1807, and concludes that the combination of circumstances ended the relationship between the men as well as the annuity from the prince to Beethoven.22 Despite several attempts, they were unable to repair their damaged relationship. Alan Tyson suggests that Beethoven even tried to get Rasumovsky to allow him to change the dedication of the Razumovsky Quartets to Karl Lichnowsky in the summer of 1807.23

Moritz and Beethoven

Logic dictates that Beethoven would have met Karl’s younger brother Moritz soon after he moved into the palace. Ten years younger than Karl, Moritz was a pianist who had studied with Mozart, and was a fine musician in his own right. Count Moritz even published a set of variations for piano in 1798 based on Paisiello’s “Nel cor piu non mi sento.”24 Being a year or two younger than Beethoven, the relationship between Moritz and Ludwig would have been fundamentally different than that between the composer and Karl. In fact, the two remained close friends for many years after the

schism between Prince Karl and Beethoven. Beethoven dedicated the *Prometheus* Variations op. 35 to him in 1803. As time went by Moritz helped Beethoven arrange several important concerts, including the premier of the Ninth Symphony. Early in 1823, Beethoven wrote a short song making fun of Count Lichnowsky, *Bester Herr Graf, Sie sind ein Schaf!* (Dear Count, you are a sheep!), WoO 183.

In August of 1814, Beethoven dedicated the E Minor Piano Sonata, opus 90, to his friend Moritz. When Beethoven wrote to Moritz a month later to tell him of the new sonata, his illegitimate child with his mistress Josefa was already three months old. The friendship between the two men lasted at least until 1824, when Beethoven wrote the following note to Moritz: ‘I despise treacheries. Do not visit me again. Concert not taking place.’ From this note alone, we cannot understand a context, but by examining the collected letters prior to this one we find the situation. Among others, Moritz was

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25 Ibid  
working towards arranging a concert in April of 1824 that was to include the debut of the Ninth Symphony and the partial premiere of the Missa Solemnis.\textsuperscript{28}

In March of that year, Beethoven wrote to the director of the Burgtheater Count Dietrichstein about the proposed presentation of a ‘grand concert.’\textsuperscript{29} In April, we see letters regarding copying, including a letter to Peter Gläser scolding him for incorrectly placing the text on the copies he is making.\textsuperscript{30} We also find a letter to Anton Schindler, complaining of frustration over the concert negotiations and copying costs:

After talks and discussions lasting for six weeks I now feel cooked, stewed and roasted. What on earth is to be the outcome of this much discussed concert, if the prices are not to be raised? What will be left over for me after such heavy expenses, seeing that the copying alone is already costing so much?\textsuperscript{31}

Clearly Beethoven was unhappy with the way events were transpiring. Count Lichnowsky, Anton Schindler, and Ignaz Schuppanzigh conspired to trick Beethoven into signing a document agreeing to certain concert details that were contrary to Beethoven’s wishes. He felt betrayed.\textsuperscript{32} His responses are short and angry. The very next letter is to Schindler, followed by the last note to Count Moritz Lichnowsky, see Appendix A.

Beethoven wrote to Schindler, ‘request you not to come again until I send you word to do so.’” Adding at the bottom of the page, ‘There will be no concert.’\textsuperscript{33} This is followed by Moritz’ letter, ‘despise what is false—Don’t visit me any more. There will be no concert.’\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{28} Emily Anderson, \textit{The Letters of Beethoven}, p.1119. This letter is included in Appendix A.
\textsuperscript{29} Anderson, p.1116. Letter to Count Dietrichstein from Beethoven, and footnotes.
\textsuperscript{31} Anderson, p. 1121. Letter to Anton Schindler.
\textsuperscript{32} Elliot Forbes, ed. \textit{Thayer’s Life of Beethoven}, p. 901.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{34} Anderson, p. 1122. Ignaz Schuppanzigh received a nearly identical letter, p. 1120.
As it turned out, the concert performances were given the next month; Emily Anderson writes, "in the end Beethoven’s two concerts were given on Friday, May 7\textsuperscript{th}, in the Kärntnertor Theatre and on Sunday, May 23\textsuperscript{rd}, in the Grosser Redountensaal." These were to be Beethoven’s last concerts.\footnote{Ibid, p. 1116.} The events surrounding the concert seem to have ended the long friendship between Beethoven and Count Lichnowsky, and fundamentally changed the relationship between Beethoven and Anton Schindler. Beethoven explained in detail in a long letter to Schindler dated May 7:

\begin{quote}
I do not accuse you of having done anything wicked in connexion [sic] with the concert. But stupidity and arbitrary behavior have ruined many an undertaking. Moreover I have on the whole a certain fear of you, a fear lest some day through your action a great misfortune may befall me. Stopped-up sluices often overflow quite suddenly; and that day at Prater I was convinced that in many ways you had hurt me very deeply—In any case I would rather try to repay frequently with small gifts the services you render me, than have you at my table. For I confess that your presence irritates me in so many ways…
\end{quote}

Beethoven then addresses Schindler’s "vulgar outlook." Later, Beethoven finishes,

\begin{quote}
As for friendship, well, in your case that is a difficult matter. In no circumstances would I care to entrust my welfare to you, because you never reflect but act quite arbitrarily. I have found you out once already in a way that was unfavourable to you; and so have other people too—I must declare that the purity of my character does not permit me to reward your kindness to me with friendship alone, although, of course I am willing to serve you in any matter connected with your welfare.\footnote{Ibid, pp. 1124-5. The italics are in Anderson’s text.}
\end{quote}

The Mystery Woman

While there is no information suggesting that Beethoven knew Moritz’s lover Josefa personally, given that he and Moritz were so close, he may indeed have known her well. Certainly he knew \textit{of} her, and he knew the story of the affair between her and

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\footnote{Ibid, p. 1116.}
\footnote{Ibid, pp. 1124-5. The italics are in Anderson’s text.}
Moritz. Born the daughter of a pig-handler and a sugar-baker and baptized in Vienna in 1790, Josefa Weixelberger became an actress and a singer. Official records show that she changed her last name to “Stummer” on 18 March 1818. When Beethoven penned the letter to Moritz to tell him about the new sonata, Josefa Maria, the illegitimate daughter of Moritz and Josefa, was already three months old. At the time, Moritz was still married to his first wife, Maria Anna, who died in May of 1817 of dropsy of the chest.  

According to Hartmut Krones, Josefa has been referred to by several names. “Johanna” has been used as well as “Jeanette,” which would certainly have been a French-inspired stage name. The New Grove calls her “Josephine.” During 1816, she had a brief career as a solo singer, but a bad performance in January of 1817 brought this to an end. Nonetheless, she must have had considerable talent to have progressed so far.  

On 25 May 1820, Josefa and Moritz were married, and when their daughter was eighteen years old, they drew up papers to have her officially declared legitimate on 17 September 1832. During this time, Josefa continued to appear on various theater guild membership lists, and she and Moritz spent the rest of their lives together. Josefa Stummer died in April 1849.  

Public Education in Austria  

During this period in history, generally only upper-class women would have been well educated. We do not know how Josefa received the instruction she would have needed to become an actress and singer. In order to read and memorize her play scripts,  

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37 Krones, p. 593.  
38 Ibid.  
40 Krones, p. 595.
she would have needed to be more than simply literate as well as having had formal musical training. One possibility is that the positions of Zuckerbäcker and Schweinhändler would have been part of a court staff, and that all the children in the court would have been educated together.

A far more likely explanation is that young Josefa Weixelberger was among the first generation of young women to successfully attend Austria's new compulsory public education system. Austria and Prussia were the first European countries to institute a compulsory public education system. Public education did not suddenly come about; rather the process was a long one. In the 16th century, there was already a desire by princes, magistrates and other nobility to make religious education mandatory for their subjects.

Late in the 17th century, the rise of Pietism in Prussia renewed interest in a public system. Pietist schools were the strongest source of support for public schooling in 18th-century Europe.41 Many of the innovations begun in Pietist schools are still present today: they were the first to require formal training for schoolmasters, they gave rise to the first normal schools, students used only approved textbooks, and elementary texts were standardized, the students raised their hands if they had questions, and rather than individual tutoring, the students were taught together in groups.42

Maria Theresa of Austria wrote the school edict of 1774 calling for compulsory elementary education of boys and girls. While this might seem to be an altruistic decision

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on her part, there were ulterior motives. In order to master social, economic, and cultural change, [the state] had to redefine the manner in which power was displayed and exercised.\textsuperscript{43} This meant that social discipline and obedience had to shift from an external force to a desire within the individual to conform to laws and social constricts. Social control was the real impetus behind the push for public schooling.

Before 1774, public schools consisted of various parish and religious schools and in no way resembled a coherent system.\textsuperscript{44} With the Reformation of Martin Luther, the push for public schools began in earnest, and Catholics responded to the proliferation of Protestant schools with the Counter Reformation. However, these religious schools rarely resulted in literacy for the common folk.\textsuperscript{44}

In response to reports of rampant heresy, and atheism by Leopold Ernst Count Firmian, Maria Theresa ordered local administrations throughout Hapsburg Austria to submit proposals for the improvement of public schooling.\textsuperscript{45} Some officials saw no need for change; nevertheless, a special commission was formed to devise a plan for reform. This commission was led by Joseph Messmer, the rector of the St. Stephan Stadtschule in Vienna.\textsuperscript{46} Messmer emphasized the need to professionalize schoolmastering.” He proposed raising their salaries, and intensive training and preparation.” To this end, he recommended that the St. Stephan Stadtschule become a normal school. School reform

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid, p. xix.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid, p. 200.
was seen as an answer to the widespread problem of innumerable beggars, and Messmer’s proposal was forwarded to Maria Theresa by the Council of State in 1770.47

Count Johann Anton Pergen submitted the most popular but radical plan in 1770. Under Pergen’s plan, the state would have control of all educational institutions from universities to primary schools. His plan called for uniformity of all schools, with standardized textbooks, curricula, and normal schools.” His plan called for three levels of schools: primary schools, vocational schools, and Gymnasien for those going on to university. Arguing that Jesuits schools were contrary to the good of the state, Pergen called for expulsion of all clergy from schools. The plan found favor only because of the strength of the anti-Jesuit sentiment in Hapsburg Austria. Pergen’s plan was not to come about for two reasons; there was no way to fund the plan (which also plagued the Prussian system), and he chose Protestants for the supreme directory of the school system.48

In spite of Pergen’s flaws, his basic ideas were to remain due to outside intervention. His proposed reforms were saved by the suppression of the Society of Jesus by Pope Clement XIV in July of 1773…More than any other single event, the dissolution of the Jesuits symbolized the end of the Counter Reformation."49 This had tremendous ramifications for Austrian school reform. Pope Clement saw Maria Theresa as a valuable ally, and ceded to Maria Theresa all Jesuit schools, colleges, and other property remaining in the monarchy.” 50 The value of the Jesuit property amounted to

approximately 13 million florins. Without this wealth, the Austrian school reforms would not have been possible. The new schools were to have standardized textbooks, curricula, and teaching methods, but rural schools were to teach only reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion, while urban schools were intended to teach future tradesmen and merchants also taught — German, orthography, applied arts and sciences, history, and geography.”

In December of 1774, the General School Ordinance was signed, and called for educating both sexes between the ages of six and twelve. Many of the old Jesuit schools were closed, others became normal schools. Sale of Jesuit schools helped fund the new schools, as did sales of textbooks, as well as a new tax on masked balls and comedies. Textbooks were not expensive, but textbook sales generated so much profit that a fourth of the books were given to the poorer students.

Success of the schools was in no way immediate, and support was far from universal, even resulting in riots in Innsbruck in 1774. Arguments over the specific religious instruction lasted years. School attendance faced obstacles as well. Children worked in the fields, and far more boys went to school than girls. The new schools also did not result in widespread literacy as demonstrated by the Austrian census of 1787. The church distrusted literacy and therefore few peasant representatives could even sign their names.

In 1772, English musicologist Charles Burney traveled through Bohemia and was quite taken by the amount of choral singing in schools, often as much as two hours a

51 Ibid, p. 211.
54 Ibid, p. 8-10.
It stands to reason that the Hapsburg tradition of choral singing would have carried over to the public schools as well, but perhaps not to the same extent. However, religion remained a part of the curriculum. Perhaps young Josefa Weixelberger’s singing abilities in primary school and church aroused the attention of persons who were able to provide her with tutoring past her primary education. In any case, she would have had to have been an outstanding student and quite remarkable a person to have achieved the professional success that she did considering her humble origins.

Beethoven was not a supporter of aristocratic society. He favored a meritocracy wherein a person’s status would be earned through their accomplishments. For this reason, he was a fan of Napoleon, at first. A brief trip through the WoO catalog shows us that Beethoven would write a song to ridicule nobility that was too cowardly or weak-minded to do the right thing. Beethoven would have approved of and been impressed by Josefa’s accomplishments. By writing the E Minor Sonata possibly inspired by Moritz and Josefa’s love story, Beethoven may have immortalized Josefa in tribute to her self-made status, and the fact that she overcame so many of the obstacles that faced common women of the period.

\[^{55}\text{Ibid, p. 8.}\]
CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS I: THE E MINOR SONATA

The Love Story: The Program

While it was not unusual for nobility to take mistresses, these affairs normally did not result in long-term relationships. For Moritz to marry Josefa would have been even more unpalatable to the nobility; she was a commoner after all. Hartmut Krones quotes Schindler’s account of the dedication of the sonata; Beethoven wanted to set Moritz’ love story to music. Thus we have a possible origin for the program. In spite of the fact that much of Schindler’s account must be taken cautiously, subsequent research has shown that Beethoven’s music from around 1800 cannot be considered solely absolute music.

According to Schindler as quoted by Krones, the first movement of the sonata was to be a “Kampf zwischen Kopf und Herz,” a conflict between the head and heart, and the second a “Conversation mit der Geliebte,” a dialogue with the beloved.\textsuperscript{56} Within these subscripts we find the duality that forms the basis for the music. Moritz finds himself in love, but not with his wife. Although he wants to have a legitimate relationship, his male relatives will not hear of it.\textsuperscript{57} This conflict between what he wants emotionally and what he knows to be right rationally sets the stage for the conflict within the music of the first movement.

In the second movement, the conflict has been for the most part resolved; instead we see an exchange between the two lovers - a conflict nonetheless, but of an entirely

\textsuperscript{56} Krones, p. 592.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid, pp. 593-4.
different nature. Indeed, Moritz chose his lover over his wife yet also resigned himself to the fact that they could not wed (while his first wife was still alive).

The Overall Formal and Structural Layout

Beethoven’s E Minor Sonata seems to have been little discussed by scholars, perhaps because it contains “only” two movements. The first movement is in sonata form and begins and ends in E minor. A three-part first theme group leads a bridge and transition to a relatively short exposition before returning to recapitulate in the tonic key. The second movement is a seven-part rondo in E major. Contrasting drastically with the first movement is a memorable songlike melody that almost seems a bit naïve for Beethoven, and surprises the ear by appearing unexpectedly in the major key.

Schenkerian analysis is a widely, though not universally accepted method of analysis that allows us to look past the surface layer of the music to discover the underlying basic construction. Detractors complain that the method ignores too much of the musical surface, and this is an understandable point of contention. Other methods deal sufficiently with the outer, surface levels of music, the foreground, but do not delve into the inner workings of compositions as they unfold over the larger scale. While I will attempt not to ignore any of the music, one must nevertheless peel away the leaves of the artichoke to expose the tender heart.”

The First Movement

The first movement of the E Minor Sonata appears to be in conventional sonata form but, upon closer inspection, it would seem that the descriptor “conventional” is too easy for Beethoven. The sonata opens with the first section of a three-part theme group,
(mm. 1-8). The opening statement presents the primary tone, or Kopfton, of this 3-line composition on the downbeat of the first measure and arpeggiates the tonic triad in the bass movements. The next eight bars (mm. 8-16) contrast with the first in texture; the sparse harmonic support nonetheless moves to the submediant, C major, as a neighbor to the dominant before ending on the B major dominant (m. 16). The third portion of the theme group (mm. 16-24) is derived from the first and contains two four-bar sections, the first ending on C major, the submediant, and the last ending on tonic and is followed by a caesura in the form of a fermata over a quarter-note rest. I will refer to these as the first theme, second theme, and the third theme. In the foreground, we see the third descent shown in the opening motive as well as across the entire theme group.

Figure 3.1 First Theme Group

The third theme appears to be derived from the first theme, and the two themes make perfect sense together without the second theme. Indeed, this is the way the sonata

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58 I realize that this may seem a bit inconclusive, but it recurs in the second movement, and becomes even more important to the structure.
ends. Writing about the sonata, author Charles Rosen called the third theme, "a postscript" to the theme."\(^{59}\) However, this theme appears early in the sketches for the composition and was one of the initial ideas for the work; in no way could this be a "postscript". In William Behrend's book we see a description of the sketchbook:

We find, immediately after the outline for the beginning of the sonata, without any intervening passage, the following bars:

![Musical notation](image)

the word "Ende" being written above them. This would seem to be a rarity in Beethoven’s numerous sketches, and shows that at the very moment when the idea took shape in his mind, those beautiful bars with their luminous soaring notes, followed immediately by sad resignation, were to be the close of the sonata.\(^{60}\)

When Beethoven used this sketched material for the beginning of the sonata, he lengthened the first portion to make our A theme and separated the two parts by inserting the B theme between them.

The passage following the theme group turns out to be an interesting transitional bridge (mm. 24-54). Beethoven ascends to the upper register and a G\(^7\) chord (mm.24-29) followed by a rapid scalar descent and a cadence on C (mm. 29-32). This is repeated again, tonicizing A minor, and again on B-flat in bar 36. B-flat becomes (equals) A-sharp.


\(^{60}\) William Behrend, p.144-5.
and transforms into an F-sharp dominant harmony from bar 40 to 44 that moves to the
minor dominant, B minor, at bar 45 that in turn moves to a C harmony and finally arrives
at a C-sharp dominant harmony at bar 50. This also concludes a long doubly-
chromaticized voice exchange from the E bass and G soprano tones from bar 1 to G-
sharp in the bass and E-sharp in the soprano in bar 50.

Figure 3.2 Transition

This unusual event is similar—but not quite identical—to the chromatic voice exchanges
described by Kamien and Wagner.\(^6\) Not until measure 55 and the presentation of the
Gesangsthema is the minor dominant actually reached as genuine key area.

With the arrival on B minor, we find the beginning of the second group.

Beethoven presents his Gesangsthema, or song theme, in measure 55 and a varied

repetition begins in bar 60 and continues to 66, ending on a dominant (of B minor) chord arpeggio. The B minor harmony is prolonged throughout the section. Beginning in measure 66, we are presented with a closing figure that consists of a dramatic cadential ⅔ to tonic movement leading to a Neapolitan sixth chord, C major, then resolving to the dominant in bar 70. This closing figure is repeated exactly, but the arpeggio is elided and the block chord that ends the figure serves double duty. The exposition ends quietly on pianissimo B minor chords in measure 70ff. that give way to a lone repeated B.

Figure 3.3 Second Group

The development begins in measure 84 on a B dominant harmony with the first melodic figure transposed up a major ninth. By measure 100, a local goal of dominant harmony on G is reached as the dominant of the submediant, C major. This G is prolonged with an extended chromatic descent in the top voice paired with a long chromatic ascent in the bass, finally converging on a single G in bar 98. The submediant as a key area is reached in bar 110 with a melodic fragment reminiscent of the second theme from bar 8. Here, the Kopfton, G must be understood although it is not explicitly present.
Beethoven then introduces an undulating arpeggio in the right hand for the remainder of the development section. Meanwhile, the harmony moves from C major to its submediant, A minor (m. 123), as the pivot chord to return to the tonic key area and its dominant, B major. We find that the goal of development has been the movement from B to its neighbor note C and back. While the harmonic relationship between tonic and the minor sixth is not particularly unusual, Beethoven has deliberately emphasized this relationship in the development section. Clearly, there is a correlation between the foreground and middleground, since the emphasis on C as a neighbor to B was first introduced in the first group of themes.

In measure 130, Beethoven presents the retransition over a dominant $\frac{4}{5}$ harmony. However, no cadence is forthcoming, as the resolution is elided in bar 132 and the music
returns directly to a prolonged tonic supporting a descending third melodic figure in the right hand (derived from the initial descending third motive of the opening of the piece). Here again, the *Urlinie* tone F-sharp has also been elided as before in the middle of the development, and the *Urlinie* descent is interrupted.

According to conventional teaching on sonata form, the development section is far too short and out of proportion with the other sections.\(^\text{62}\) Why would Beethoven have done this? Did the master err or do we find our answer later on? Why would the development move into the recapitulation with no cadence? Indeed, Beethoven used the exact same technique in the opening movement of the Fourth Symphony, op. 60 (as explained below) except this is in a minor key and in the Fourth it is in F major.

Figure 3.5 Recapitulation

![Recapitulation](image)

Presented in the same way as in the exposition, the original thematic material remains unchanged in the recapitulation. The recapitulation progresses as expected in the tonic key and arrives at the second theme, the *Gesangsthemata* over a tonic prolongation at

\(^{62}\text{E}+\text{R} = \text{D}\)
Differing from the exposition, the retransition no longer needs to modulate to the dominant key. Instead, Beethoven uses the same material altered slightly to prolong the subdominant, A minor (IV).

Figure 3.6 Retransition

We see here that Beethoven has been very clever in that the move to A minor is done not by featuring an A minor sonority literally, but rather by prolonging the dominant of A minor. Nevertheless, we find here a third descent over A minor just as we have before in the tonic A theme.

With the arrival of the second group, a prolongation of tonic is begun. Otherwise, the Gesangsthema and the closing figure featuring the Neapolitan relationship are repeated as before except for the key change. A noteworthy difference is that the previously repeated melodic neighbor-note relationship of G descending to F-sharp at the end of the closing figure is replaced by a C to B melodic neighbor descent, and is repeated several more times here. In measure 232, we find that Beethoven has indeed

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63 One cannot take for granted that Beethoven’s recapitulations will be in the tonic key.
chosen to close the sonata with the ending from the sketchbook (as seen in Behrend’s example above). Beethoven retains the shorter, original version of the first theme wherein the melodic ascent ends at C, and again we see that Beethoven features the neighboring relationship of the submediant, C, to the dominant, B, just as in the beginning of the sonata. Rather than ending with loud cadences, a virtuosic cadenza, or extravagant coda section, the sonata ends fading away in somber, quiet resignation.

Figure 3.7 Second Group and Closing

The Fourth Symphony

At first, the opening movement of Beethoven’s Fourth Symphony appears to have little in common with our sonata. The symphony is in B-flat major, the sonata E minor. The symphony involves an entire orchestra, and the sonata only a single piano. The first movement of the symphony is nearly twice as long as the first movement of the sonata, and while the symphony movement starts with a slow adagio introduction, it soon becomes a lively allegro vivace in contrast to our more modest sonata tempo. However,
the two pieces are both in Sonata form, and the way that Beethoven treats the end of the
development and beginning of the recapitulation are nearly identical.

The first movement of the symphony begins with the slow introduction section,
and then the allegro exposition proper is repeated. The development section begins the
second time through measure 185 and expands upon the various themes before the
texture thins out and moves from the minor submediant (♭VI) in bars 302 to 304 to a
cadential ‡ at measure 305. Over the next 32 measures, Beethoven presents fragments of
the initial theme from measure 39, gradually building in intensity until the proper
thematic return in measure 337. All of this transpires with no cadence. Just like in the E
minor sonata, the relatively brief development dissolves into the recapitulation and the
theme returns as fragments before returning whole. In the sonata, the cadential ‡ never
does resolve. In the symphony, the cadence does finally occur, but not until well into the
coda of the movement in measure 467.

Through this unusual technique, Beethoven builds suspense and tension when the
listener does not get what is expected. When the resolution does finally occur so very late
in the piece, the listener may not even notice that it is the conclusion of a mystery from
130 bars before. In the first movement E minor Sonata, this event never does get the
expected resolution, but it is interesting to see that Beethoven used nearly the same
harmonic device eight years earlier in the symphony. Beethoven, Ludwig van, Symphony No. 4 in B-flat major, (Bärenreiter: Kassel, 2001), pp. 1-33. More complete graphs are
included in appendix B.

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64 Beethoven, Ludwig van, Symphony No. 4 in B-flat major, (Bärenreiter: Kassel, 2001), pp. 1-33.
The Second Movement

The final movement surprises the listener with a pleasant melody in E major that begins this rondo form movement. Both the change of key and the unexpectedly happy character of the melody come as a surprise to the ear considering what had been heard just prior. Sir Donald Francis Tovey called this movement, ..., one of the most highly organized Rondos ever written, the Rondo of Op. 90.65

The first section of the movement is the refrain. Consisting of 32 measures, it is comprised of a four-measure melody, the entire theme is repeated an octave higher with a slightly different accompaniment figure to form the eight measure antecedent phrase, which I have labeled as theme A. The melody begins with an anacrusis beginning on E to F-sharp and then to G-sharp on the downbeat. When the melody is repeated an octave

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65 Tovey, p. 3.
higher, the ascent to the Kopfion is complete, having reached G-sharp in the obligatory register. The first statement of the melody ends on the initial G-sharp, the repeated melody; however, ends not by moving from F-sharp to G-sharp, but by ascending up to E via D-sharp. Thus, we see a melodic descent from the Kopfion to tonic: our 3-line.

Figure 3.9 Refrain Section A

The consequent phrase consists of a contrasting melody forming a longer eight-measure theme that is also repeated an octave higher, and again we see the accompaniment differs somewhat in the repeated section as the section nears the end. In the last three measures, the accompaniment changes from an arpeggiated style to broken, repeated chords and building tension leading to the cadence. This will be referred to as the B theme. The antecedent A phrase is then repeated exactly to combine to give us a thirty-two measure ternary refrain.
The antecedent phrase prolongs the tonic E major sonority, and the consequent prolongs the dominant B major sonority after which the tonic A theme is repeated in its entirety. The melodies in both the A and B sections are repeated and we can see the form of the underlying construction as AA:BB:AA even though I will call it A:B:A, understanding that the melodic content is repeated and the \textit{Stufe} move I V I.

Figure 3.11 Theme Structure

The first episode begins in bar 32 and the music moves from tonic to the submediant or relative minor, C-sharp minor. In measure 41, the harmony moves to the dominant and we hear the transposed A theme in the top voice, though it is altered somewhat. Initially, this appeared to be an actual move to the dominant harmony, and
that the relative minor was a passing event. After further consideration, and examination of the rest of the piece, it has become clear that the main goal is actually C-sharp minor, the submediant, and that the B in the bass here is a lower neighbor to the C-sharp, and that the F-sharp sonorities from bar 47 to 52 are within the prolongation of the B major harmony. The A theme fragment is then repeated and at measure 56, the bass moves to D-sharp, and the sonority heard is the dominant of C-sharp minor. Only then does the bass move chromatically up to the F-sharp as V of V in bar 59 resolving to B major in earnest at bar 60, where we first hear our third important melodic concept; the four measure long C theme. With the dominant arrival, we also find the Urbinie descent to F-sharp. Another feature that confirms this as a goal of the passage is that the accompaniment pattern changes here from what has been a nearly continuous sixteenth-note left hand accompaniment pattern to a new eighth-note triplet figure. Beethoven then repeats the C theme and returns to the familiar sixteenth-note rhythm.

Figure 3.12 First Episode
From bar 64 to 69, we find a prolonged B7 harmony, which returns us to tonic and the first ritornello at bar 70 in an exact repetition with the exception of the pick-up to the downbeat. At this point in the music, the Urline descent is interrupted and the primary tone is reacquired in the A theme.

The first ritornello ends in bar 101, and is followed by a brief transitional passage that serves to move the harmony from E major to E minor with the ensuing key change at bar 105 (and again at bar 109). I read this as the beginning of the second episode. The G-natural here serves as a neighbor to the Kopfton, but nevertheless is an important feature of the unusual Urline movement from the diatonic G-sharp from the A theme to the new diatonic third, G-natural. In bar 107, the E minor chord pivots as the mediant of C major and begins a tidy iii-vi-ii-V-I cadential progression in the key of C major ending in bar 114 combined with the reintroduction of the C theme in the top voice and its triplet bass figure; Beethoven has returned to the C major submediant of E minor that featured so prominently in the previous movement.

Figure 3.13 Second Episode I
Here we find the goal of the second episode, to reach back and pull the key of C major from the previous movement forward into this one.

In bar 118, the C theme is repeated, now in C minor and as before the return to sixteenth-notes in the bass. The C theme is repeated a third time in bar 122, but now in C-sharp minor and a return to the E major key signature. The fourth consecutive repetition of the C theme encompasses yet another harmony, this time C-sharp major. Beethoven has showed off his harmonic prowess and moved from tonic to the parallel minor and its submediant, then to the relative minor, and finally, after shifting that to the major mode transforms that into the secondary dominant of the supertonic scale degree. The F-sharp minor harmony begins the return to our original tonic and leads into a dominant B⁷ prolongation that begins in bar 130. The dominant prolongation restores the tonic key, signals the end of the episode and shepherds in the second ritornello at bar 140. The C-sharp repetitions of the C theme are an echo of the true goal, C major. On a background level, we see that C is a neighbor to B; just like in the first movement.

Figure 3.14 Second Episode II
We find the refrain presented entirely and in tact from 140 to 171. The third and final episode begins in measure 171, and begins exactly like the first episode, in C-sharp minor, but digresses after two measures. In bar 181, we hear the altered A theme just as in the previous episode with a prolonged dominant harmony. Again at 189 we hear the same theme repeated, and the dominant prolongation continues. The final measure is transformed into a closing figure at 192. Beethoven returns to C-sharp minor in bar 195, and again shifts modes to C-sharp major as V/ii in measure 196. This begins a cadential progression that resolves on tonic in bar 200.

Figure 3.15 Third Episode, part I

Here, we have a problem. Is this a structural return to tonic? According to the graphs by Angelika Elias and Schenker from the Oster collection it is. I believe their interpretation to be erroneous. First of all, m. 200ff. is not the beginning of the final

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66 Please see the further discussion of this event in the section covering Schenker and Elias’ graphs.
ritornello. However, although the C theme returns here over a putative tonic E major harmony, this may be considered a false tonal return. We hear the “correct” tonic sonority, but the “wrong” motivic content; unlike the first movement where the second group theme returned in tonic along with its unique triplet bass figure, this entire episode is a re-composition of the first episode, and the E major harmony and thematic content at bar 200 is an unfolding of the C-sharp minor key area in the opening bars of this episode. In measure 204, the C motive is repeated, this time the harmony is E⁷ as though it were to be V7/IV, although no IV chord is forthcoming. Rather, Beethoven moves to a fully-diminished chord on B in bar 208 and a key change to all naturals in 209. The diminished chord is prolonged and a melodic closing figure begins in bar 211 and continues for ten measures. At bar 216 Beethoven writes a B-flat major chord. In the next measure, this shifts modes to B-flat minor and is re-spelled as A-sharp minor, which I read as the upper third of the F-sharp sonority in bar 218. At this point ii is prolonged for a few bars that lead into a dominant prolongation beginning in measure 221. This observation brings us to the final ritornello beginning in bar 230.

Figure 3.16 Third Episode, part II
The goal of the third episode is to prolong C-sharp. As we have seen in the first movement, the submediant is the goal of not only this episode, but it is the goal of the entire sonata. A further reduction of the third episode shows that the dominant, B major, is used as a lower neighbor to C-sharp, and is therefore a part of the C-sharp prolongation.

Figure 3.17 Third Episode, part III

The final return is not an exact repetition as we have seen previously. There are a number of significant changes in the music, but the function and meaning remains unchanged. First, the A theme returns in the left hand in the bass register. The A theme repeat is in the right hand and obligatory register as before. Like in previous returns, the Kopfton G-sharp is reacquired here. The consequent phrase is also altered in the same way, with the B theme in the bass and the repeated theme back in the right hand as usual. Here, Beethoven digresses from what we expect. The B theme does not lead back to the antecedent phrase, but it appears that Beethoven has inserted a sort of closing section to the consequent thematic material (B theme) at this point (bar 252). This closing section
prolongs dominant, and finally returns to tonic and the restatement of the antecedent phrase in measure 276. Beethoven made one more change to the A theme. When the theme is repeated the final time, Beethoven omits the first measure or so, and replaces it with the last section of the theme. The remainder is as before and the effect is that we hear the closing of the theme three times. Thus, we have a third complete ritornello section, but with thematic reversal of hands and an internal coda to the B theme.

Figure 3.18 Third Refrain

Beethoven has taken the last measure of the B theme and repeated it several times transforming it into a closing phrase of the B theme melodic concept. Remember, the episodes did not use thematic development of the B theme, rather the A theme received a developing variation treatment and was combined with a third theme, the C theme.

Our Urlinie comes to conclusion with the restatement of the Kopfton in measure 276, scale degree two in measure 277, and the final structural tonic in measure 283, followed by a brief coda prolonging tonic. The coda seems to be quite short, but if we look back at the digression in the third refrain as a coda to the B theme, then the coda is
not truncated, merely a section has been interpolated into an earlier section where it seamlessly bridges the final iteration of the main themes.

Figure 3.19 Final Structural Cadence and Coda

We have seen how Beethoven emphasized the relative minor in each episode. He did this with structural neighbor notes and large-scale unfoldings. Beethoven used chromatic neighbors and modal shifts to prolong the relative minor, and to increase interest and tension in the music. The primary themematic material was the central melodic concept in the episodes rather than the secondary thematic material, which reappeared unchanged in various keys. I think it has been very interesting and informative to delve into this complex and charming work by Beethoven.

Traditional Issues from Literature

_What Happens in the Second Episode?_

The second episode is complicated; several issues may be further explored. Does the episode actually change keys several times? I do not believe so. Tovey calls this section, ‒.a widely modulating Development,” of the first episode.67 I find that it

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67 Tovey, p. 203.
modulates only once. After the initial few measures, the music begins a cadential progression in C major and the arrival starts with its own thematic content. Schenker and Elias read this as a tonic return, but I find it is a false return, as Beethoven is wont to do. The C-sharp repetition is an echo of C-major and not a separate event in its own right; rather, C-sharp is caught in within a passing motion from C-natural to D-sharp, the first inversion arrival on the dominant. Virtually the entire episode prolongs C major and moves to a brief Dominant prolongation just before the return to the refrain.

**Beethoven’s Digression in the Final Refrain**

What was Beethoven thinking when he went off on a tangential motivic conception in the middle of the third refrain? Is the coda genuinely reached at 230 as Tovey believes? In this instance, I have to disagree. The digression here is a development of the second theme, which has not been sufficiently addressed in the episodes. Can we consider it as an internal coda to the B theme section? I have no problem with it if we do, but to call it the coda for the entire piece is to misunderstand the refrain.

**Wherefore Art Thou Coda?**

There is some disagreement amongst scholars as to where the coda appears in the second movement. Does the coda begin at bar 230 or later? Is there a coda at all? As far as locating the onset of the coda in measure 230, I discussed that possibility in the preceding paragraph. Furthermore, the *ritornello* has not yet been completed, we should not forget about that. Indeed, Beethoven does complete the *ritornello* section, and then

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68 Tovey, p. 204.
includes a brief coda thereafter. Here Beethoven does not require a long coda to resolve
the issues of the composition. The main theme undergoes development in each episode,
and the harmonic questions concerning the submediants of both movements are finished
as well. A long florid coda would have been redundant.

\textit{A Wrong Note and the Question of Tempo}

Beethoven labeled the second movement, \textit{Nicht zu geschwind und sehr singbar vorzutragen.} Many differing opinions exist regarding the appropriate tempo for the
second movement. Beethoven’s use of German to annotate the tempo rather than Italian
seems to have caused Tovey a great deal of distress, calling it chauvinism on Beethoven’s
part. Lawrence Kramer regards the movement as slow. The 1923 Schirmer edition calls
for a quarter note at eighty-four beats per minute, and adds a footnote:

\begin{quote}
We must conclude, from the composer’s negative indication of the tempo by \textit{not too fast,} that he had in mind the rondo-players of his period, and therefore did
not apprehend that the tempo would be taken too slowly. Our modern dilettanti,
who revel in so many lamentable \textit{Romances sans paroles,} must be cautioned on
the contrary against the other no less tasteful extreme of an extravagant dragging
of the movement.\footnote{Beethoven, Ludvig van, \textit{Beethoven Sonatas for the Piano, Book II} (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc.,
1923), p. 32.}
\end{quote}

The highly revered pianist Artur Schnabel plays the second movement quickly at about
ninety-two beats per minute. Pianist John Lill proceeds at a much more reserved pace of
about sixty-four beats a minute; using an additional two and one half minutes to play the
movement. Several other recordings lie between these extremes, but still slower than the
eighty-four listed by Schirmer, seeming to average a minute or more longer than
Schnabel.
Regarding the tempo of the second movement, Charles Rosen writes:

The tempo is *Nicht zu geschwind und sehr singbar vorzutragen*. Czerny translates this as *Moderato*, but *Allegretto molto cantabile* would be more adequate. Both tempo and character are reminiscent of the finale of op. 22. (Czerny suggests 88 to the quarter; somewhere between 76 and 84 would seem to me more judicious.) The steady persistence of the Mozartean tradition in Beethoven’s thought is significant.  

Personally, while Artur Schnabel uses the piano’s dynamic range most exquisitely, I find his rendition to be too hurried and less pleasing than other somewhat slower performances.

Author Susan Kagan explored the question of whether or not a mistake existed in several editions of the E Minor Sonata regarding the first bass note of m. 13 in the second movement. The opportunity to resolve the issue was first possible only after the Bonn Beethoven House acquired and published the autograph score in facsimile (the score had been privately owned up to that point and was unavailable for scholarly study). Kagan concluded that a large ink splotch on the score makes it impossible to determine the intended pitch. The question under discussion is whether the intended pitch is A or G-sharp. When the same material is repeated an octave higher in measure 21, the written note is G-sharp. Kagan concluded that we cannot determine what the original note was because of the ink smear. Indeed, I have scores from several different publishers and both notes are shown.

However, after examining my own facsimile score, certain details have presented themselves. First, it appears that Beethoven never did quite master the medium of pen

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and ink. Ink splotches, smears, and drops are common, as are crossed-out measures and corrections. Second, Beethoven’s manuscript changes in quality, but not in style. His solid note-heads are very small indeed; little more than dots. By comparison, Beethoven’s accidental signs are enormous, his sharp signs often cover more than five staff spaces! The smudged area could have contained any one of several notes, but is centered on the low A in the bass clef. The companion measure number 21 is clean and clear containing a G-sharp on the downbeat; however, the measure is not identical. The melody is doubled an octave higher, and there are additional bass notes sounding. Beethoven intended it to be slightly different. We cannot assume that both measures were to have a G-sharp. Personally, I believe that the originally intended note is A and not G-sharp. The next appearance of measure 13 in the score, at measure 82, is not written out, and neither is the next at measure 152. The next occurrence is at bar 242, and it is significantly altered from previous appearances of the material as well as the melody and accompaniment having switched hands. Whether the originally intended note is A and not G-sharp does not significantly alter the larger structure of the sonata.
Figure 3.20 Autograph Score, page 172

Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Ludwig van Beethoven, Klaviersonate in e-Moll op. 90, Autograph, from the digital archives of the Beethoven-Haus Bonn. Image 16, first page of the second movement. Used with permission. The link is to the above pictured page, but the entire document may be seen there as well.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS II: REZEPTIONSGESCHICHTE BY SCHENKERIANS

Schenker’s Analysis

Within the papers of the Ernst Oster Collection in the New York Public Library is an unpublished collection of analyses and notes of the work done on opus 90 by Heinrich Schenker and Angelika Elias. These documents reveal much about how Schenker interpreted the sonata. The collection consists of graphs in Angelika Elias’ hand with corrections and annotations in Heinrich Schenker’s hand as well as some graphs and notes solely in Schenker’s crude script.73 Contained on microfilm, most of the graphs are on large two-page folio type manuscript paper that does not translate well to the modern size format of this document. There are graphs by Elias with Schenker’s annotations and also graphs in Schenker’s hand that appear to be his working notes. None of the graphs are in a finished, publishable state, and neither do they seem to be in any particular order or organization. Overall, the documents vary in legibility from quite clear to unintelligible and chaotic. Nevertheless, there remains a great deal of useful information.

The work done by Schenker and Elias was not dated when it was created, but ongoing research into Schenker’s legacy of documents - including his diaries - reveals the probable historical dates of the some of the work. In a diary entry marked 19 September 1927, Schenker wrote, “Abend an der Sonata op. 90, Linie” [“in the evening working on the Sonata op. 90, graph”]. No further details are given, but we see that he spent the evening looking over the sonata. The first graphs probably date from the weeks after that

73 The handwriting identification is according to the explanations given by Professor Timothy L. Jackson.
diary entry. However, not all of the work on the sonata is from the same time period; some graphs are from a later time, ca. 1929 or 1930. Perhaps Schenker returned to his study of the sonata in preparation for Hans Weisse's Berlin lectures in the fall of 1930; while I believe this is the case, it remains uncertain.\footnote{I say this, because as taught to me, certain theoretical details within the documents are anachronistic to Schenker's evolution of his theories. Most notably, the concept of interruption of the \textit{Urlinie} came well after the 1927 diary entry and his first study of the sonata.}

Another interesting diary entry comes from early the next year. The diary entry for 7 March 1928 enlightens us:

In the music collection I see a copy of Beethoven's op. 90 that not only gives me great pleasure, but also is extremely useful, so that I can make a correction on my edition based on this copy in case the original manuscript cannot be consulted.

Schenker is referring to his own edition of the Beethoven piano sonatas. I believe the copy mentioned to be the same manuscript copy that had belonged to the Archduke Rudolph, and that Beethoven had used in his proofreading of the first published edition, and the one that remains in Vienna today. Apparently, Schenker was unable to study the autograph score. Some small details from the autograph do not appear in the Schenker edition of the published collection of sonatas. One example is the phrase slur for the left hand at the end of the first movement.

Graphs of the First Movement

The first item to be discussed is the Angelika Elias graph of the first movement that Schenker annotated or corrected, these pages are marked 64/125 and 64/126 in the Oster Collection; they are in reality one document spread over two of the large folio pages. These pages present the first and second part of a complete graph of the sonata,
respectively. Unfortunately, through the process of reduction to microfilm and then printing to paper and scanning into the computer files, the image quality has suffered somewhat.

Figure 4.1 First Portion of Elias’ Graph of the First Movement\textsuperscript{75}

We see above an example of the beginning of the first movement where Schenker has written over Elias’ work. Written under the middle of the first staff, “Brechung E-H-G”, or “arpeggiation E-B-G” and this is the bass progression shown; while not explicitly indicated, I believe that this annotation is intended to call attention to the voice exchange between the outer voices from the beginning of the first theme to the beginning of the third theme: the first theme begins on a root-position tonic chord and the third theme on a first-inversion tonic chord. The graph also finds the A minor subdominant chord in bar 36 to be important, marking a Stufe change to IV that moves to VI and then to V at measure 45, and that the structural scale step 2 is reached here. This interpretation conflicts with my reading in which the dominant is not reached until much later, namely at measure 55 when a new Gesangsthema with scale step 2 is attained via a 6-5 suspension. Here, in my view, is the true arrival on the structural dominant, which coincides with the new melody (the second subject).

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the graph is the beginning of the Recapitulation. Here, Beethoven uses an unresolved ♯ chord that leads directly into the first theme by way of repeated theme fragments before the whole gesture is heard. Schenker and Elias read this as V, but continue the dominant prolongation until measure 167, i.e., to the end of the third theme. How can this be? If the Kopfton and tonic are established at measure 1, how can both of these not be reacquired at measure 144 with the return of the very same theme group? Schenker does not read the end of the development section as an elided cadence; rather he interprets the entire first theme group as a prolongation of the dominant ♯ chord at the end of the development. This means that,
for Schenker, the beginning of the development occurs not in the tonic key, but over the dominant. This interpretation presents a paradox; there is no cadence at the end of the development, yet the recapitulation clearly begins. If we look at the end of the movement, again Schenker has not acquired the Kopfton until the beginning of the third theme. Why not at measure 232, with the altered reprise of the first theme? In fact, the third theme presents itself as a more logical choice for scale step $\hat{2}$ than for $\hat{3}$. The melodic G in the third theme is weak - passing or neighboring - unsupported by the local harmony.

Another interesting graph is labeled 64/127. In the hand of Angelika Elias, this graph is probably contemporaneous with the one discussed above. Covering two pages continuously, this graph shows three levels of reduction of the entire movement. This graph differs in many details from the previous one. Here, in this analysis, the dominant is reached at measure 55 and we see the importance of C marked in the development section. In this reading, we find that scale step $\hat{3}$ is indeed shown at measure 143 and marked both as tonic and as dominant below that! Apparently, the harmonic interpretation of the reprise was an issue that had not yet been fully resolved at this point in Schenker’s evolving analysis. We can see that Schenker struggled with this conundrum, indicating the harmony both ways. He shows the arrival on tonic, but has it labeled as dominant. Apparently, Schenker was unable to resolve this paradox, and perhaps this unresolved dichotomy is why his analysis remained unpublished.\footnote{Dr. Timothy L. Jackson explains that Schenker never evolved his theory to a point that would explain such events, and that in these instances, he never published his findings.}

Another graph I wish to discuss is labeled 64/124 in the Oster Collection. This folio is not a complete graph, but presents sections of the movement only. Appearing
very chaotic at first, this document is more of a set of worksheets than a finished graph. In Schenker's hand, this graph is not contemporaneous with the first graphs. We see in the third and fourth images a folio that contains only small sections of graphs of different levels. On the top left Schenker has marked one graph 2000 with an arrow down the page to another version, also marked 2000. Just to the right of that, we see another short graph marked 200 and its reduction at the top of the next page labeled 200 as well. Then we find three graphs labeled 20. As I mentioned previously, these graphs appear to be Schenker's notes to himself as he worked through specific issues from the movement. I believe he made these notes in 1930 as a preparation for Hans Weisse's lectures in Berlin in the fall. Logically, Schenker would have reviewed his earlier work, and perhaps even reconsidered certain problems that arise in the earlier graphs, given the fact that his former student Weisse was to lecture in Berlin on various topics, including Beethoven's E minor piano sonata. Schenker insisted that Weisse present his lectures before a group of Schenker's advanced students - including Angelika Elias - in Schenker's home prior to Weisse traveling to Berlin. Schenker wanted to make certain that Weisse would be representing Schenkerian teaching in its best light. Therefore, Schenker —did his homework” to make certain that Weisse had done so as well.

One more graph from the later work is marked 64/128. This graph is very similar in format to 64/127 discussed earlier with three levels of reduction. Appearing to be equally the work of both Elias and Schenker this graph features a different reading of the first movement than the ones from the earlier body of work. Here we see that the second scale degree is originally read at measure 44 in parenthesis, but is crossed out and
resituated at measure 55. In the Recapitulation section, scale step 3 is read at measure 144 and shown supported by tonic harmony. This reading of a tonic return at the outset of the recapitulation differs from the interpretation in the previous graphs, showing how Schenker’s reading matured over time. Taken together, these graphs demonstrate considerable struggle with the reading of this movement. When the original graphs were done, the concept of interruption in the Urlinie had not yet been formulated and incorporated into Schenker’s theory. Also, the issue of the unusual end to the Development section presented a paradox between the harmonic content and the melodic events – a paradox that Schenker and Elias did not resolve until the second time they worked on the analysis.

Graphs of the Second Movement

The Oster Collection features a number of graphs of the second movement as well as the first. Again, we find a complete set of neatly done graphs by Angelika Elias. These folios are labeled 64/129 and 64/130. The first page contains the ritornello and the first episode up to measure 70, labeled A₁ and B₁ respectively. The second ritornello is not graphed again on the second page and only the last bars are shown abbreviated. The second episode is labeled by Elias as section C and continues until measure 140. Again, the reprise is omitted, and folio 64/130 picks up at bar 164, labeled B² and leading into the third episode and continuing to the end. Interestingly, these graphs do not contain the rough markings in Schenker’s hand that obscured portions of the first movement graphs and remain quite neat and clean.
Significant details of the reading should be pointed out. First of all, Schenker and Elias read the movement as a five-part rondo; the third episode, final refrain with its digression, and the short coda are considered as one section. In the first episode, Elias reads the F-sharp in the bass at measure 40 as the local goal with a \textit{Stufe} II and a parenthetical scale step 2 in the \textit{Urlinie} prolonged for several measures. My own reading indicates that the F-sharp is the root of a seventh chord moving to B in bar 41 as the harmony of the episode shifts from the submediant to the dominant. The F-sharp is within the prolongation of B major and the variation of the original theme in the dominant key that ends on a half cadence on F-sharp in bar 47. Another repetition of the thematic variation follows and finally arrives on the goal B major in bar 60 with an entirely new theme and genuine arrival on scale step 2 in the melody.
Another interesting reading occurs in the second episode at measure 114ff. This is where the C theme enters over a C major harmony. Elias’ graph does not differ greatly from my interpretation. In essence, in the bass the C-natural is the point of arrival and the C-sharp is a passing event that moves to the F-sharp and then to the dominant. Although Elias places more importance on the C-sharp event than is shown in my reading, our

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interpretations are quite similar. We see that, at the lower level of reduction, she has labeled the entire event as $\text{II}^3\text{VI}$ leading to $\text{ii}$, as I have.

Figure 4.3 In the Second Episode$^{78}$

One more aspect of the piece and the Schenker and Elias graphs that I wish to discuss is the issue of the tonic return in measure 200. Schenker and Elias both read this measure as a return to the tonic, while I have suggested that Beethoven intended a false return at this point. Their analysis is clearly shown in 64/130.$^{79}$

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$^{78}$ Ibid
$^{79}$ As explained above in Chapter 3.
Elias has this clearly marked as a return to the tonic on all levels. Additionally, she has shown B to be a member of the Urlinie. When we examine another document from the Oster Collection labeled 64/131, we see more clearly how Schenker read the passage. Like 64/127, this graph covers three levels of reduction over the two-page span of a manuscript folio. When we look at the section concerning measure 200, we find that it has been labeled as a tonic return and that the primary tone has been indicated as B. We also see that the Urlinie descends from that B to A and finally to G at measure 230, the final ritornello.

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Figure 4.5 False Return to Tonic

This represents a fundamental difference in interpretation of the movement. I read both movements as 3-lines. In this graph, Schenker has placed the tonic Stufe in parenthesis. Perhaps, he was uncertain about the reading. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, I interpret the putative tonic arrival as caught within the unfolding of C-sharp, and the repetition at 204 as \( V^7 \) of IV, or essentially meaning IV although the resolution is elided. Curiously, Schenker has it marked \( \#I^2 \).

The documents in the Oster Collection still contain a wealth of information that I have been unable to decipher. For example, the documents marked 64/132 are what I believe to be part of the later body of work done by Schenker in his second analysis of the sonata. Chaotic and disorderly, these pages contain sections of graphs and partial reductions of sections of the sonata. Some have been overwritten with slurs and are very difficult to interpret. In the future these may well be transcribed by an expert in Schenker's handwriting and work habits. Nevertheless, I believe that valuable insight has been gained and the endeavor has been entirely worthwhile.
Schenker and Angelika Elias

Widely believed simply to be Schenker’s copyist, Angelika Elias may have been a much more important contributor to the evolution of Schenker’s theory and techniques. The documents in the Ernst Oster collection dealing with Opus 90 are clearly written in two hands (Elias’s), one style neat, calm and deliberate, and the other much the opposite (Schenker’s). Was Elias merely a “copyist”, or was she a colleague who worked with Schenker to help him refine and clarify his theory?

Writing in her master’s thesis at Ohio State University in 2004, Michaela Rejack points out that Elias studied with Schenker for more than twenty-five years and was the expert Schenkerian theorist at the time of Schenker’s death in 1935. Rejack tries to show that Elias worked with Schenker as a colleague rather than merely a student or copyist, as is widely believed. While it may well be the case that Angelika Elias collaborated with Schenker to help him refine and codify his theories, there simply is not enough evidence currently available to state this unequivocally. Rejack meticulously examined Elias’ letters to Schenker, and points out that Elias worked on her own as well as together with Schenker, but we do not know to what extent. While I agree with Rejack in principle, there needs to be more research, and we may never find proof.81

Schenker and Hans Weisse

Hans Weisse studied with Heinrich Schenker for several years, he began his studies in composition in 1908 at age 16, continuing until 1915 and again when he returned from World War II in 1919 and 1920. Weisse also returned to his formal studies and earned his Ph.D. at the University of Vienna in 1919. He continued his studies with Schenker in 1922 lasting until 1924, after which time he met with Schenker only occasionally. The two men ceased to be able to agree with each other over details of Schenker's techniques beginning in 1924 and their conflict deepened over time. As early as October of 1926, Schenker complains in his diary that Weisse refuses to follow the analysis all the way to the deepest levels; to the *Ursatz*. David Carson Berry’s excellent article, “Hans Weisse and the Dawn of American Schenkerism” reports a very different timeline of twenty years of study beginning in 1911, but more recent research into Schenker's diary and letters requires the dates to be amended as well as our understanding of the relationship between the two men.

Weisse emigrated to the United States in 1931 and went on to establish the nation’s first formal courses in Schenkerian theory at the Mannes College for music in New York City. Weisse taught general music theory courses at Mannes and, while he did lecture on Schenker's theories, this was not his primary duty. While teaching at

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84 Op cit.

85 Jackson, p. 13.

86 Jackson, pp. 9-10.

Mannes, Weisse also maintained regularly scheduled graduate seminars at Columbia University beginning in 1932 that focused heavily on Schenkerian theories. Berry writes that it is these graduate lectures that "may be viewed as the official beginning of Schenkerism within the American university system."  

Recently, the documents contained in Hans Weisse’s Nachlaß were made available to Professor Timothy Jackson of the University of North Texas College of Music for his inspection. Some of Hans Weisse’s counterpoint lesson books survive in the possession of one of his daughters, Susanna Parker. The books contain Weisse’s counterpoint lessons as well as Schenker’s corrections. Among the documents were diary volumes from 1925-6 wherein Weisse addresses the contents of the sketches for Beethoven’s E minor Sonata.  

Weisse also discussed the Opus 90 in 1930 during a lecture presented in Berlin. While the text of the lecture has been lost, the lecture handout survives. Using both documents, we can gain some insight into Weisse’s reading of the sonata. From Weisse’s diary we read an entry from 1926:

29 Jänner  
Wrote to Lisa for her birthday. Via Schönbrunn. At home looked at Beethoven’s op. 90 E minor Piano Sonata and studied the two movements. The motivic synthesis of the first movement is exquisite, when one thinks about it, that the sketchbook contains the original idea of the setting of the motive:

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How from this equally-shaped motion developed as in two opposite directions, that is, besides the rhythmic differences of the two movements is by themselves
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88 Berry, p. 115.  
89 The sketches are in the Dessauer sketchbook in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, having been donated by Josef Dessauer in 1870.
admirable. But the best trump lies in the ability of the whole of Beethoven’s intent: namely he wants to begin with:

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\end{array}
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and finish with:

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\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
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\end{array}
\]

Also in the opposite order. How he makes this possible is ingenious, and that is the purpose of the setting:

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\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
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\end{array}
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And here appears the falling third motif so very expanded that the following ascending one, above in B, must be heard not as a continuance, but on the contrary as a new beginning! This way alone is the reversal of the motive made possible.—

Weisse marvels at Beethoven’s genius that allows him to achieve such sublime results from apparently simple initial concepts. Weisse does not include sharp signs for F-sharp, although in his example B there is a scribble between the Fs in the middle measure; for the purpose of this investigation we will simply have to remember that he knew it was F-sharp (I have included the scanned diary page in appendix C).

In October 1930, conductor and composer Wilhelm Furtwängler collaborated with Dr. Leo Kestenberg at the Zentral-Institut für Musikerziehung in Berlin for Hans Weisse

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90 Hans Weisse, 1926. Diary entry. We notice how his horizontal rest is of indeterminate value. Facsimile included in the appendix C. (Text transcribed by Dr. Jackson, translated by myself.)
to present a series of lectures there. The lectures presented by Weisse in Berlin were a part of an attempt to earn a professorship for him at the music school. Furtwängler and Kestenberg were both interested in Schenker’s work, and Schenker fully supported the plan for Weisse to discuss Schenkerian theory in the lectures. Timothy Jackson writes, —Schenker deemed these lectures so important that he reviewed the analyses for the first lecture with Weisse and required him to hold a practice presentation in his apartment.”

Jackson reveals further, —The trial run-through took place on December 5, 1930, before a small gathering of Schenker’s students. Here again, we see a theoretical parting of ways: Schenker is dissatisfied with the fact that, in most of the analytical examples, Weisse resists presenting an *Urlinie* in the background.”91 Indeed, when we look at Weisse’s handout from his first lecture that December, the top portion of the page contains an excerpt from the first movement of Brahms‘ *Intermezzo*, op. 118, and two analytical reductions. The lower portion of the handout contains the first twenty-four measures of the opening of the opus 90, followed by four analytical examples. I have transcribed his examples so that we may more easily discuss them; a facsimile of the document is in Appendix C.

Weisse’s Figure 1 contains a foreground reduction of the first twenty measures showing the initial descending third expanded over the theme group and the bass arpeggiation of the tonic chord moving to a bass E in a C major chord in measure 20.

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91 Jackson, 2009, p.18
Weisse’s second example is a middleground version of the theme with the *Stufe* labeled.

The third example provided by Weisse is a background graph of the same thing.
The final example is an examination of the initial thematic material that shows two major motives within the original thematic idea, shown with a bracket for the third descent and a brace for the third ascent. Covering twelve measures, the theme begins as in the sonata, descending from G to E, but instead of climbing to D before the second theme begins, it instead ascends the octave to E through D-sharp (omitting D entirely) before leaping down to F and then again the third descent from G to E, as in the third theme section. Weisse shows how the first and third themes are actually the same thing, slightly reordered.
Curiously and clearly absent from every one of Weisse’s graphs is the *Ursatz*. He neither shows the *Urlinie* movements in the melody or the *Stufe* in the bass. It is this lack of depth in the analysis to which Schenker took exception: Weisse ignored the background layer that demonstrates the fundamental manifestation of the contrapuntal working of the *Ursatz*. Another interesting point regarding the schism between Schenker and Weisse is that while their division was over details of analysis, neither considered themselves to be exclusively an analyst. Both men thought of themselves first and foremost as piano teachers. Rather, the analysis served the purpose of the performance through a more thorough understanding of the composition.92

Schenkerian Outcomes of the Programmatic Conception

The affair between Moritz Lichnowsky and Josefa Stummer was a social and family scandal at the time. Moritz would have been the object of controversy and scorn within his own family, from his wife’s family, and perhaps even from other members of aristocratic society. We could easily understand how Moritz might have felt his world was crashing down around him. Beethoven would have been aware of his friend’s dilemma. The turbulent first movement of opus 90 can be seen to represent turmoil, and the second to express the sole source of solace and comfort for Moritz; his beloved Josefa.

We can identify more than one conflict in the first movement. Moritz’ inner conflict between his official social position and his love affair generate the drastic contrast in motivic material. At an underlying level, we may hear the “battle” between

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92 Jackson, 2009, p. 2. Interview with Mr. Barry Wiener, a student of pianist Gilbert Levine, a student of Weisse.
“head and heart” manifested in the emphasis on the submediant early in the piece and the tug-of-war between the dominant and the submediant in the development section of the first movement. At the end of the development as well as the end of the movement, we find that structural cadences are elided and do not resolve from dominant to tonic: the fundamental issues remain unresolved, no peace is achieved. We shall have to wait until the second movement to find some kind of resolution.

In the second movement, unofficially a “conversation with the beloved,” we find a sweet melody in a newly bright tonic major key. Beethoven presents this 4-bar theme completely fifteen times during the sonata, and the sixteenth is altered to make it a closing. Additionally, the first theme is the one developed primarily in the episodes. Clearly, this lovely tune, uncharacteristic of Beethoven, was meant to convey a special significance. Also in the second movement, we find the return of the relative minor from the first movement in a continuation of the tug-of-war between the dominant and the relative minor. Finally, in the last episode, the relative minor of E major emerges victoriously.

**Structural and Motivic Connections Between the Movements**

The opening descending third of the first movement is answered by an ascending third in the second. The first melodic idea is a third-descent from G to E, repeated several times in a stepwise ascent to E. The first and primary melodic concept of the second movement is the ascent from E, not to G, but to G#. Subsequently the fundamental line moves from G# to Gb to F# to E. However, the primary motivic connection is the movement to the relative minor, and its neighbor-note relationship with B. In fact, in the
third episode, we see the submediant co-opt the dominant entirely. This VI to V relationship is the motivic idea central to both movements.
CHAPTER 5
NEW ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVES

The Autograph Score

For the better part of two hundred years, the original manuscript for Beethoven’s E Minor Sonata has been privately owned and unavailable for scholarly study. In 1991, the Beethoven House in Bonn was able to purchase the autograph score in a Sotheby’s auction in London.\textsuperscript{93} The Beethoven House published a large-size, high quality facsimile score in 1993 containing both movements and a thorough discussion of the physical aspects of the papers used and their watermarks. Also included is discussion of the early published editions. Absent from this edition is any exegesis of the music itself or analysis of its origin or meaning. Nevertheless, I find it very interesting to see the master’s work.\textsuperscript{94}

The first impression of the score is that it was hastily written rather than deliberately, carefully copied down. After closer scrutiny, one can see that in spite of his penmanship, Beethoven was meticulous in his dynamic markings and his tempo changes and phrasing. Sometimes, these details are filled in by the publishing editor; a practice Schenker railed against. For example, we can see that while Beethoven abbreviated the word \textit{diminuendo} in measure 13, he did not in bar 54 where he wrote it both above and below the staff and wrote \textit{ri-tar-dan-do} spaced out as if to show how it was to be done. He wrote it that way in several different places, covering as much as five measures.\textsuperscript{95}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{93} Susan Kagan, p. 128.
  \item \textsuperscript{95} Measures 233-7.
\end{itemize}
As much as the first pages of the manuscript look to be rushed, page four onward seems to be almost frantically hurried. Beethoven begins regular use of abbreviations rather than writing out the music. We often see the markings *loco* and *simil* or *siml*. While writing the recapitulation section, Beethoven copied only the melody notes of the right hand for the first two dozen measures, using *Come Sopra* marking instead. I find it both interesting and amusing that in his haste, Beethoven repeated bars 146 and 147. Perhaps this error explains some of the difficulties encountered while proofreading the score; errors plagued the early editions. Throughout the score, there are ink splotches and smears. Several places have measures crossed out; measures 210-13 have been crossed out and rewritten an octave higher. The largest written figure in the entire first movement comes at measures 237 and 238 where Beethoven wrote *a tempo* in such a way that it could never be missed.

The second movement of the score was not copied out during the same session during which the first movement ended; the handwriting is smaller and the ink is darker. Nevertheless, the master worked quickly and this caused him to make errors. Throughout the first movement, Beethoven used three staves per line of piano music with four lines per twelve stave page. The second line of the second movement begins on the third stave down and Beethoven runs out of room. After only two measures, Beethoven abandons the line and moves down a further two staves restoring his three stave four line pattern. Beethoven now regularly abbreviates *diminuendo* as *dimin.*, but we see he is no less meticulous with his dynamic markings, as in the second episode where the dynamic level
shifts abruptly once or twice per measure.\(^96\) The return of the refrain at measure 70 is not written out, merely labeled *Come Sopra* with the melody notes only and a long wavy line. Bars 77 through 84 are notated to be repeated with the octave shift. Again at measure 140 we see the same thing for the third refrain; *Come Sopra* and a wavy line, only the repeated measures are included, but left entirely blank. All of page 22 is done as one large abbreviation. From page 18 onwards, the manuscript seems to be more hastily written as in the first movement. Diverting from the norm, the last measure of page 23, measure 192, is written in the margin past the last line of the staves.

The next few pages appear to be a new work session as the handwriting again is closer together, smaller, and darker. We observe a gradual shift to faster, hurried work from here to the end. The final refrain is fully written out, unlike the previous one. By the style of the writing, this last session’s momentum took Beethoven through to the end of the composition, seeming almost frantic by the last two pages. On the final page, we see that Beethoven has returned to his multi-measure *ri-tar-dan-do* and that the final *a tempo* has returned to a much more normal size.

The Program

While the E Minor Piano Sonata may be a programmatic work, we do not find a narrative “play-by-play” rendition of the story. Nor is the piece a transmutation of the love affair of the Count Lichnowsky and the actress Josefa Stummer into music. Indeed, what the master has done for us can be explained by looking at another programmatic composition completed a few years earlier, Beethoven’s *Corolian Overture*, op. 62. It

\(^{96}\) As in mm. 33 to 40.
was long believed that the *Coriolan* was based on the play by William Shakespeare, even though it was dedicated to Beethoven’s friend and poet, Stephen von Collin, who had written his own play based on the same story.

With regard to *Coriolan*, what had been overlooked was crucial to the understanding of the programmatic expression of the music. Lawrence Kramer correctly deduced that the music was not a narrative of the story, but rather an expression of the inner emotions of the protagonist himself. While Kramer was correct in his interpretation, he had still missed the most crucial point. In von Collin’s story, the protagonist *Corolianus* is so tortured by his betrayal of his home city that he is consumed by his inner tumult and commits suicide. Shakespeare’s rendition of the same story has a triumphant ending. Careful listening will reveal to us that Beethoven could only have used Collin’s story; there can be no doubt that the ending of the overture is in no way triumphant.\(^97\)

Again we see Beethoven’s personal spin on program music with his treatment of the story of Moritz and Josefa in op. 90. Not narrative, not expression of specific events, but the turning outward of the innermost feelings; both turmoil and joy. The first movement presents Moritz’ inner conflict between his own desires to be with Josefa, the incredible family scandal of a Count wanting to marry a commoner while already married, and his own family’s reactions and resistances to the ordeal. The second movement expresses the emotional outcome of Moritz’ decision to follow his heart and forge ahead with Josefa together in their new life, a life not without some external pressures, but serene and joyful nonetheless.

Certainly, there remains considerable doubt about the programmatic nature of the E minor sonata. Taking a position that appears compatible with Tovey’s, William Behrend writes:

The sonata was now interpreted on the strength of this dedication [to Count Moritz Lichnowsky], and on the following grounds. The Count, who had been divorced from his first wife and had but lately married a young Viennese dancer, is said to have asked Beethoven what the sonata meant, and to have received the answer, given with a boisterous laugh, ‘that the first movement represented a struggle between the head and heart,’ the second a conversation with the beloved,’ this being a supposed allusion to the Count’s matrimonial affairs.  

However, Behrend equivocates:

In making this dedication Beethoven wished to honour his friend, not his art patron, but there is no reason to conclude from this that he would be so coarse and tactless as to depict the Count’s private affairs in a sonata. The sardonic laughter of the Master when he gave his supposed explanation speaks for itself. As well as his humourous [sic] interpretation of the second movement as a conversation with the beloved— even using a French word!— with the beloved.

I question whether this would actually have been the case; remember, the Count himself is supposed to have asked his long-time friend Beethoven about the meaning, and Beethoven answered him. To discount the account because of sardonic laughter” seems weak to me: sardonic and boisterous are not synonymous. We have to remember that the sonatas were not public concert pieces in Beethoven’s lifetime, and the underlying details of the dedication are not present anywhere in the published editions of the music, and so would have remained private information unrevealed to the listener. Also, these compositions were chamber music, and not widely heard. There appears to have been

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98 Behrend, p. 147.
only one instance of a sonata being included in a public concert during Beethoven’s lifetime, and it is uncertain which one exactly.
CHAPTER 6
EXPLANATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Explanation

The fact that the score is so intricately marked with tempo and dynamic markings might show that Beethoven took extra care in his work because of its programmatic conception; however, after studying the autographs of op. 101 and op. 28, this concern with detail does not appear to be exclusive to op. 90. While the E minor sonata may have slightly more markings, it does not look as though Beethoven differed from his normal pattern for this composition. Indeed, all of the autograph scores were thoroughly annotated with dynamics, tempo markings, phrasing slurs, and hairpins.

I had also thought that I would find more concrete evidence of the programmatic conception of the music. As already discussed, there several chronicles concerning the program, including the one in which Beethoven articulated it himself; interestingly, I found no reports in which Beethoven claimed the composition was not a programmatic work. Authors discounting the program appear to be expressing their opinion rather than basing this denial upon factual information. The family archives might have answered many of these questions, but sadly they are too badly damaged to be useful.100 However, we must remember that lack of evidence is proof only that evidence has not yet been found. Indeed, there may be documents or letters languishing in a dusty attics and steamer trunks somewhere that belong to descendants who no longer speak German, or cannot read the archaic handwriting style. People may be unaware that they have

100 Jürgen May, p. 29. The archives now are kept in the state archive in Opava, formerly Troppau.
information that has even a tangential relationship to Beethoven, or that it would even be of scholarly interest or value; such items may yet surface. We have seen in this research how the legacy documents of Hans Weisse were not made available to scholarly review for nearly 70 years after his death. We can only hope that more information will appear as time progresses. We also see that while the legacy documents of Schenker, his Nachlaß, have been available for years, they have not all been deciphered and new information still can be gleaned from them.

My Personal Perspective

I have argued that E minor piano sonata is a programmatic composition based on the love affair between Beethoven’s long-time close friend Count Moritz Lichnowsky and the singer-actress Josefa Stummer. While the sonata seems to have been somewhat overlooked by many scholars, it is no less finely crafted and intricately conceived and executed than the other sonatas. The composition itself reflects the conflict of the love affair in both the foreground motivic material as well as the background harmonic structural levels. We find loud abrupt chords and leaps contrasted with fine gentle melodies. At a deeper level, we hear the opposition of dominant and submediant as they compete for importance, this conflict features prominently throughout the first movement and continues into the second movement. The relationship between the tonic and the sixth scale degree is equally important in the second movement. Furthermore, the significance of C major from the first movement, is interpolated by Beethoven into the second movement with a harmonic and motivic arrival on C major where C-sharp major is expected instead. The first movement ends solemnly, almost in sad resignation. The
happiness of love remains subservient to the boundaries imposed by social duty. The second movement springs forth joyfully to feature a beautiful melody repeated many times throughout. This beatific theme may represent a reassuring dialogue with the truly beloved, and one can easily hear it as a love song. The Rondo form of the movement ensures that the listener continues to return to the surprisingly joyful opening melody’s contrast with the first movement.

It is probable that Beethoven deliberately chose the keys for this composition with the love story in mind. From Rita Steblin’s treatise on affective key characteristics, we learn that Beethoven was well aware of C.D.F. Schubart’s 1806 publication, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*. Here, Schubart explained in detail the various affects and applications of both the major and minor keys.  

We see that the characteristics of E minor are:

Naïve, womanly, innocent declaration of love, without grumbling; sighs accompanied by few tears; this key speaks of the imminent hope of resolving in the pure happiness of C major. Since by nature it has only one colour, it can be compared to a maiden, dressed in white, with a rose-red bow at her breast. From this key one steps with inexpressible charm back again to the fundamental key of C major, where the heart and ear find the most complete satisfaction.

How would this connotation not be applicable to Beethoven’s opus 90? The description of E minor could almost have been written as a review of the first movement. As for the second movement we find the nature of E major to be, “Noisy shouts of joy, laughing pleasure and not yet complete, full delight lies in E major.” For C-sharp minor, Schubart wrote, “Penitential lamentation, intimate conversation with God, the friend and help-mate

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102 Ibid, p. 119.
of life; sighs of disappointed friendship and love lie in its radius.”

Again we find that the affect of the main keys of the second movement could not have been better suited to a love story. One other key figures prominently in both movements, the dominant B major, which is the goal of so many prolongations, we find that in B, “...every emotion of the heart lies in its sphere.”

Whether we were aware of the program or not, given the affective key characteristics, the sorrowful ending of the first movement, and the utter joy of the child-like first theme of the second movement, one would hardly be unable to deny that Beethoven’s wonderful opus 90 is truly a love story.

To be sure, Beethoven’s music suffers from the legacy of Beethoven. His impact on the world of music, and that of his successors like Mahler and Brahms fundamentally changed the way that music is perceived. Beethoven’s works are no longer seen in the light in which they were originally cast. We should not rely on the oft-biased opinions of others. We must investigate and make our own informed conclusions. In the words of Hartmut Krones, the Romantic aesthetic of an ideal Absolute music has “thoughtlessly thrown overboard” the fine sense of symbolism of the early nineteenth century. He points out that Moritz would have understood the music in a way that we no longer can. Krones charges us to endeavor to recapture the older way of understanding that has been lost to us. Indeed, I believe we do ourselves a disservice to examine Beethoven’s work only in the shadow of the Beethoven mythos. As scholars, we have a responsibility to understand

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103 Ibid, p. 117.
104 Ibid
105 Hartmut Krones, p. 600.
music within its true context; that of the living Beethoven, and not in the midst of the shockwaves he left behind.
APPENDIX A

BEETHOVEN’S FINAL LETTER TO COUNT MORITZ LICHNOWSKY
Beethoven’s Final Letter to Moritz Lichnowsky

1803. Beethoven an Graf Moritz Lichnowsky

[Wien, Anfang April 1824]

Falschheiten verachte ich –
besuchen sie mich nicht mehr, keine Akademie wird seyn –

A Monsieur le Comte Maurice Lichnowsky

Quelle: Autograph, 1 Blatt, 1 beschriebene Seite; Bonn, Beethoven-Haus (NE 67).

1 Zur Datierung s. Brief 1801.

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APPENDIX B

GRAPHS OF THE FOURTH SYMPHONY
Fourth Symphony Middleground
G7  vii°7  Prolonged  F♯7  V → I

Recapitulation
Fourth Symphony Background
APPENDIX C

HANS WEISSE DOCUMENTS
Hans Weisse Diary Excerpt, Jan. 1926
Hans Weisse 1930 Berlin lecture handout
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Articles


Scores and Sound Recordings

Beethoven, Ludwig van. Klaviersonate e-Moll op. 90, Autograph. Berlin: Kulturstiftung der Länder, 1993. This is a facsimile edition of the manuscript and not a sheet music publication.


