THE “BEETHOVEN FOLKSONG PROJECT” IN THE RECEPTION OF

BEETHOVEN AND HIS MUSIC

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Beethoven’s folksong arrangements and variations have been coldly received in recent scholarship. Their melodic and harmonic simplicity, fusion of highbrow and lowbrow styles, seemingly diminished emphasis on originality, and the assorted nationalities of the tunes have caused them to be viewed as musical rubble within the heritage of Western art music. The canonic composer’s relationship with the Scottish amateur folksong collector and publisher George Thomson, as well as with his audience, amateur music lovers, has been largely downplayed in the reception of Beethoven.

I define Beethoven’s engagement with folksongs and their audience as the “Beethoven Folksong Project,” evaluating it in the history of Beethoven reception as well as within the cultural and ideological contexts of the British Isles and German-speaking lands at the turn of the nineteenth century. I broaden the image of Beethoven during his lifetime by demonstrating that he served as an ideal not only for highly educated listeners and performers but also for amateur music lovers in search of cultivation through music. I explore the repertory under consideration in relation to the idea of Bildung (“formation” or “education” of the self or of selves as a nation) that pervaded contemporary culture, manifesting itself in music as the tradition of Bildungsmusik (“music for self-improvement”). Drawing on both contemporary reviews and recent studies, I show that the music’s demanding yet comprehensible nature involved a wide range of elements from folk, popular, and chamber music to Hausmusik (“house music”), Unterhaltungsmusik (“music for entertainment”), Alpenmusik (“music of the Alps”), and even Gassenhauer (“street music”). Within the tradition of Bildungsmusik, adaptation of folksongs for domestic music-
making, recomposition of pre-existing materials, collaboration between professionals and
amateurs, and incorporation of musics familiar to and popular with contemporaries served as
significant means for the composer to communicate with a middle-class audience. The hybrid
and flexible nature of the folksong settings was not an awkward mix of various kinds of “trivial”
music but rather a reflection of political, cultural, and social phenomena in Europe at the turn of
the nineteenth century.
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INTRODUCTION

The Image of Beethoven as Hero

“Beethoven is no longer among us.” Two days after Beethoven’s funeral, Johann Friedrich Rochlitz (1769-1842), editor of the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung from 1798 to 1818, spoke of his feelings about the loss of Beethoven, a man who had achieved great eminence in contemporary music but had recently deceased “with quiet resignation.”¹ Publicly acknowledging the death, Rochlitz envisioned the composer’s second life in music, which most of the audience of the time could have otherwise neither known nor anticipated. He told the world that Beethoven, whose works possessed “the greatest, richest, and most unusual qualities” of modern instrumental music, would live for many years to come and, despite his physical absence, would remain in many hearts and minds.² Works that were the “most bold, powerful, and energetic” but were “not yet revered, enjoyed, and loved” in his oeuvre would need to await the development of greater understanding, whereas works hitherto “understood and enjoyed” for the most part would continue to be received cordially, as his fame increased in the future.³ Rochlitz was well aware of contemporary skepticism regarding many of the composer’s works, but his enthusiastic praise for the later Beethoven continued throughout the obituary and culminated in the final statement:


²Ibid.

³Ibid.
We will all feel his truly irreparable loss, but what he has created will remain ours; it will continue to exert influence, directly or indirectly, for an unlimited time. And he will gloriously be remembered in every history of music, even in the latest and most general one, by having provided the essential content for its present period, and by having made it himself, this period and its history, his own personal domain.4

Whether Rochlitz’s wishes have come true or not, surprisingly, we often find ourselves practicing “Beethoven” in the same way that the contemporary writer projected almost two centuries ago. Our political, social, and cultural needs differ from those of Rochlitz, a man who lived during a period of unprecedented change in Western society. Our intellectual activities have engaged more systematically developed ideas than those on which he grounded his belief. Nevertheless, the ideas represented in Rochlitz’s eulogy pervade current writings on Beethoven, exalting him still to superhuman status. Whether it arose from the value-system of the composer’s lifetime or from the accretions of later generations’ beliefs, whether it is truth or myth, such a glorious image serves as the common denominator for the reception of him as a whole.5 Even with the different connotations the heroic image may bear, it is one of the most enduring themes in the study of Beethoven and his music. For most writers and readers, he remains a hero, for he has made a mark “in every history of music,” towers over all others at present, and appears to continue to appeal to us as such “for an unlimited time.”

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4Rochlitz, “Necrologue” in The Critical Reception of Beethoven’s Compositions by His German Contemporaries, vol. 1, 100. The italics are my emphasis.

The prevailing image of Beethoven as hero could be a construction of reception history, and at the same time it would be an outcome of the value-system in which the composer lived and for which he produced music. Therefore, in this dissertation, I investigate the meaning and value of “hero” during the composer’s lifetime. By assuming that Beethoven served as an ideal for not only intellectual listeners and performers but also amateur music lovers who sought cultivation through music, I attempt to extend the boundaries of our understanding of Beethoven as hero. With special reference to his folksong settings, I demonstrate that he contributed to the modernization of the middle-class audience’s taste and skills and the construction of its distinctive music culture, especially in relation to national consciousness. I touch upon the reception of the repertory, which seems to have had a meaningful place during the composer’s lifetime but received little recognition in later history. After re-presenting the repertory’s meaning and value within the music culture of the bourgeoisie, I also consider my findings within current systems of value as well as in histories of Western music.

Constructing the Heroic Image of Beethoven within the Goethezeit (“age of Goethe”)⁶

Even today, the history of Western classical music is largely a list of famous names. It is true that the list has grown longer. A century ago, almost the only generally recognized influences on the young Beethoven were Haydn and Mozart. Nowadays they have been joined by C. P. E. Bach, J. C. Bach, Baillot, Betron, Catel, Cherubini, Clementi, Dussek, Förster, Gluck, Gossec, Grétry, Kreutzer, Méhul, Viotti, and not doubt many others who have

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⁶The term Goethezeit (“the Age of Goethe”) has been used largely for convenience in Beethoven scholarship to refer to the historical period or the cultural and ideological contexts of the composer’s lifetime during the Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic eras. According to Nicholas Boyle, however, “‘the Age of Goethe’ is simply the series of literary and intellectual temptations which, as it happens, Goethe resisted. That series may have its own logic, but it is not that logic which entitles it to bear the name of Goethe. Goethe’s association with it was fortuitous – the stroke of undeserved good fortune that genius is – and Goethe’s interest in it was to a large extent polemical.” See Nicholas Boyle, Goethe: The Poet and the Age, vol. 1, The Poetry of Desire (1749-1790) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 7.
eluded me. This is an improvement, but still a list of names. The *great anonymous* either receive no mention at all, or merely a passing comment.\(^7\)

Recent writers about Beethoven continue to agree upon his greatness. Most of them, without hesitation, tend to regard him as a monumental figure in the history of modern instrumental music, believing that his music embodies an ultimate aesthetic ideal. In parallel with the adulation of Beethoven, ideas and beliefs triggered by the so-called “deconstructive” mode of scholarship of late have begun to affect their perspectives. Corresponding methodological and analytical practices, especially ingrained in theories of interpretation, have largely helped provide a new direction for writers. Neither disputing the lofty position of Beethoven in reception history nor accepting it with blind faith, such authors as Scott Burnham, Barry Cooper, Tia DeNora, K. M. Knittel, Lewis Lockwood, Mary Sue Morrow, Ruth Solie, and Michael Steinberg have steered themselves towards a more nuanced view of Beethoven and his music. “Beethoven” now stands for plural meanings in music history, closely aligned with the broader approach of recent scholarship.

Current variations on “Beethoven” have also resulted in modifications in the long-established association between Beethoven and such “famous names” as Haydn and Mozart. The common assessment that Beethoven completed the triumvirate of Classical instrumental music and thus remained the touchstone for later music has been re-presented and challenged in diverse ways; as Peter Van der Merwe argues, for example, Beethoven would have been one of many educated listeners of his lifetime, not merely to the Viennese masters but also to “many others.” He could have intended to extend the possibilities granted by rules and principles established by

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his predecessors and their works, while striving to meet the expectations of the multitude by producing works more useful and pleasing, as most of his contemporaries would also have done.

These assumptions lead me to draw various circles of composers and audiences around “Beethoven.” Especially by including “simple” listeners/players whose enthusiasm for music left a positive mark on Beethoven’s works and yet whose contribution has always remained the “great anonymous” in music history, I provide a new viewpoint for the image of Beethoven as hero and attempt to fulfill “the urge to get behind and beyond the myth”8 that prevails in recent scholarship. I recast him in various environments: political, social, cultural, and intellectual as well as musical. Inspired by the growing awareness of culture and ideology as historical, I aspire to substantiate the view of Beethoven as “a product of cultural and ideological forces.”9 I approach him as a man who lived during an extraordinary period of European history, and regard him not as a subject but as an object of human values of the time.

My particular attention is on Beethoven’s “small” works, which include marches, dances, and songs, for they are genres in which the composer seems to have actively communicated with his milieu, and through which he as a working composer seems to have been able to sense directly changes that occurred in his lifetime. I focus on exploring meanings of Beethoven’s folksong settings within the cultural and ideological contexts of the British Isles and German-speaking lands around the turn of the nineteenth century.10 Using not only the speculation of


9See Ibid., 288-9. Burnham identifies one of the recent modes of Beethoven reception as such.

10The British Isles,” in this study, denotes a roughly defined region that consists of a group of islands off the northwest coast of Europe, ranging from Great Britain (England, Scotland, and Wales) and the whole of Ireland to many other smaller islands. In a strict sense articulated by Nicholas Temperley in “Xenophilia in British Music History,” in Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies, vol. 1, ed. Bennett Zon (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1999), 1n, the word “English” refers to England alone, “British” includes Scotland and Wales, but not Ireland, and the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century was of Great Britain and Ireland. Nevertheless, I conceive the definition of “British” and “the British Isles” in a broader sense, including “English,” “Scottish,” “Welsh,” and “Irish” altogether,
latter-day sources but also reviews and articles from contemporary periodicals, I delve into the significance of early nineteenth-century folksong settings, a repertory that forms a substantial part of Beethoven’s output but has never received proper attention from scholars.

Considering the works’ engagement with numerous figures in music and literature as well as with a publisher who represented the taste of amateur music lovers, I perceive the folksong settings as collaborative works. Their characteristics, such as melodic and harmonic simplicity, fusion of highbrow and lowbrow styles, seemingly diminished emphasis on originality, and the assorted nationalities of the tunes, are to be taken into account within the tradition of early nineteenth-century folksong proper as well as within the convention of bourgeois music culture.

Potential Significance of This Study for Beethoven Scholarship

Recent theory in music criticism has been heavily indebted to literary critical theory that stresses “the work of the reader.” In other words, meaning and value are regarded as the outcomes of a hermeneutic process that occurs within a specific cultural and political context; the reader thrusts his or her way into the potential meaning and value made possible by the text itself as well as by the interpretive practices through which the reader works.11 In music criticism, likewise, it is the listener who produces meaning and value by forging relationships between objects that constitute a historical context. His or her reading of meaning and value remains valid, in that it occurs through the music as well as through the interpretive and analytical tools suitable for the listener and for many others.

reflecting the publisher George Thomson’s regard for them as of similar cultural boundaries rather than of different political beliefs, expressed throughout his correspondence to Beethoven.

In this dissertation, I view myself as a listener to Beethoven’s folksong arrangements and variations. I expect my listening to find meaning and value shared by the audience of the past as well as by those who hear the works anew, especially through a proper understanding of the past. Noticing that traditional methodologies and analytical instruments have not engaged seriously in helping appreciate such small-scale repertories as folksong settings and their unpretentious musical qualities, I choose to utilize recently developed interpretive means as analytical tools. I believe that the reception of the works offers potentially crucial insights into Beethoven’s life and music as a whole and into the repertory of folksong settings, whose simple sound and eclectic characteristics might otherwise cause them to fall into one kind of trivial music.\(^\text{12}\)

My examination of the contemporary reception of the folksong settings seems suited to play a role in demythologizing and demystifying Beethoven and to help in constructing our image of him as cultural hero. The folksong settings do not correspond so effectively to the imperatives of “Beethoven” and his so-called “heroic” style, which engage equally musical, institutional, and cultural values within the context of Bildung (“formation” or “education” of the self or of selves as a nation).\(^\text{13}\) Nor do they incorporate “heroic” narratives which have been linked with a sequence of musical events in some of his large-scale works.\(^\text{14}\) Moreover, the folksong settings’ salient stylistic characteristics and the fact that their intended audience comprised mainly women completely oppose the perceived premise of Bildung – male-


\(^{13}\)Burnham, for example, casts the *Eroica* Symphony within the trajectory of Beethoven’s heroic style and explores it in its association with musical, institutional, and cultural values of the composer’s lifetime. See Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

\(^{14}\)Burnham identifies two symphonies, two piano sonatas, several overtures, and a piano concerto from Beethoven’s middle period as the heroic works. He also includes such earlier or later works as the *Pathétique* Sonata, Op. 13, the late sonatas Opp. 106 and 111, and the Ninth Symphony, due to their association with the heroic style. See Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, xiii and 1n.
dominated hero and heroic style and their relation to German national identity. Here my intention in including contemporary amateur music lovers, especially young British ladies, is to challenge neither the composer’s bold image nor the prominence of him and his music in histories of Western music. My goal is rather to confront better issues regarding the canon, such as originality, professionalism, and masculinity, so that more objects in history formerly eclipsed from general views of nineteenth-century music history by the shadow of “Beethoven” can emerge as subject matter of importance. Not merely composers but also performers and listeners can have “voice” in historiography. Discovering new meanings in “Beethoven,” we no longer view him from what we know about him, but rather from what we hear in his music. We make our own judgments, exerting influence on the construction of “Beethoven” and, in appreciating the past, produce him anew for the needs of our age.

Chapter Descriptions

The first chapter explores the presence of Beethoven’s folksong settings in current scholarship. Since establishing the extent of the works and their sources has mattered to most writers, the first part of this chapter examines the state of the repertory and its appearance in source studies as well as in biographical studies. The second part of this chapter then provides a brief summary of the current reception of Beethoven’s folksong settings, in North American scholarship and in German scholarship, respectively. Although the extent to which writers have explored the subject matter may seem limited due to prevailing tradition in Beethoven scholarship, the conventional perspective on the composer and his folksong settings deserves attention.
The second chapter identifies Beethoven’s engagement with the repertory of folksong settings within the contemporary context, the so-called *Goethezeit*. Beginning with a detailed discussion of cultural and historical particularities of the age, the first part of this chapter deals with the conceptual framework of early nineteenth-century Europeans who lived in both a nation and a broader culture in transition. Changing attitudes toward “nation,” as indicated by many intellectuals’ ideas and beliefs, led to a redefinition of national identity, especially in the British Isles and German-speaking lands. Relatively similar political and cultural fates of the two formed a kinship between the peoples. With regard to the particular spirit of the time, I probe contemporary thoughts on nation and nationhood expressed through the emphasis on the nature of language as well as the prevailing notion of literacy. I view Beethoven as contributing to the cultural movement. Thus, I attempt to provide a point of entry for the reassessment of his folksong settings.

The second part of this chapter includes contemporary reviews of the folksong settings. I analyze the documents in detail in order to elucidate the perspective of the Scottish amateur folksong collector and publisher George Thomson (1757-1851) as well as the audience, amateur music lovers, for whom Beethoven wrote a series of folksong arrangements and variations for more than a decade. Attributing the low estimation of the repertory in part to a general disdain for amateurism in music and the subsequent reception of Thomson and his audience, I attempt to demonstrate their presence as the core of the development of national music at the beginning of the nineteenth century. I defend Thomson’s addition of modern text and harmony to the body of folksong as a means to improve the audience’s taste in both literature and music. And I view Beethoven’s engagement with folksongs and their consumers as the “Beethoven Folksong Project”: a project in which the audience’s enthusiasm for folksong was a manifestation of
political, cultural, and social phenomena, and Beethoven’s writing of folk or folk-like music was one individual’s response to the cultural and historical milieu of the Goethezeit.

To illuminate the bourgeois idea of self-cultivation and the likely positive reactions to the folksong settings at the turn of the nineteenth century, the third chapter considers the repertory within the tradition of Bildungsmusik (“music for self-improvement”).\textsuperscript{15} The notion of literacy in music, as in literature, led amateurs to view singing and playing an instrument as an essential part of their rising music culture and to demand pieces that could help improve their taste and skills. The music’s demanding yet comprehensible nature involved a wide range of elements from folk, popular, and chamber music, to Hausmusik (“house music”), Unterhaltungsmusik (“music for entertainment”), Alpenmusik (“music of the Alps”), and even Gassenhauer (“street music”). Within the Bildungsmusik tradition, adaptation of folksongs for domestic music-making, recomposition of pre-existing materials, collaboration between professionals and amateurs, and incorporation of musics familiar to and popular with contemporaries served as significant means for composers to communicate with a middle-class audience.

Drawing upon the concept of Bildungsmusik, the fourth chapter discusses the relevant characteristics in Beethoven’s folksong settings – especially from Opp. 105, 107, and 108. To articulate the bourgeois ambition to emulate professionals and their achievement in modern music, I provide musical examples that combine folksongs with not only the cultivated sound of

\textsuperscript{15}Burnham has already explored some of Beethoven’s works, especially the so-called heroic, in their relation to the cult of Bildungsroman. See Burnham, “Cultural Values: Beethoven, the Goethezeit, and the Heroic Concept of Self,” in Beethoven Hero, 112-42. Also, some of Beethoven’s early piano sonatas were understood as a type of Bildungsmusik by Martin Geck in his Beethoven, trans. Anthea Bell and intro. Peter Sheppard Skaerved (London: Haus Publishing, 2003), 20-1. In Geck’s accounts, Bildungsmusik is music meant “to be a part of social discourse on a high level.” It is “demanding and complex, but at the same time it was intended to be generally comprehensible,” suitable for remarkably sophisticated European cultural life around 1800. Geck’s recognition of Bildungsmusik in Beethoven’s lifetime, related to the early nineteenth-century literary genre Bildungsroman, to some extent helps in understanding the meaning of the Beethoven Folksong Project in histories of Western music. Nevertheless, Geck tends to use the term in its relation to an individual’s cultivation of the self in music rather than as a means of forming selves to create a German nation, which is the core of my viewpoint.
Viennese Classical music but also the associated styles – *galant*, singing, brilliant, pastoral, sentimental, fantasia, and the like. Perceiving these elements as aspects of *Bildung*, I aim to prove that the hybrid and flexible nature of Beethoven’s folksong settings was not an awkward mix of seemingly opposite sounds and styles but rather a reflection of contemporary political, cultural, and social demands. *Bildungsmusik* was distinguished from other musics because of its close association with nationalist as well as literary movements of the time.

The last chapter evaluates the validity of the Beethoven Folksong Project within the discipline of musicology; as E. D. Hirsch writes, “The value of interpretation lies in its application.”¹⁶ This chapter calls attention to unyielding attitudes toward music, the “surreptitious biases” noted by Janet M. Levy¹⁷ that restrict inquiry in music history and historiography and that might doom my point of view to oblivion. Ironically, such useful ideas and approaches as interpretation of song after Schubert, Bartók’s conception of folk music, and Hegelian dialectics in constructing the meaning of the Ninth have served to limit interest in Beethoven’s folksong settings. The underlying ideologies have largely preempted the concept of simplicity, a foundation of the Beethoven Folksong Project, and have emptied “folk-like” simplicity of meaning for Beethoven’s time. By exploring these ideas and ideologies, I suggest that sophisticated methodology should be brought to bear on these settings.

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CHAPTER 1

BEETHOVEN’S FOLKSONG ARRANGEMENTS AND VARIATIONS IN CURRENT SCHOLARSHIP

Beethoven’s Relationship with Thomson and His Collections of National Airs

Folksong settings form a substantial part of Beethoven’s output. He devoted much of his creative career to writing folksong arrangements and variations and during his lifetime released most of them for amateur music lovers both in the British Isles and on the Continent.

Beethoven’s contact with Thomson around 1803, among many other incidents in his life, initiated him into the repertory of folksong settings.18 Their relationship, which began to develop three years later and lasted until sometime in the summer of 1820, resulted in a number of folksong arrangements and variations by Beethoven.19

For more than fifteen years, Beethoven wrote “symphonies and accompaniments”20 for folksongs, either provided by Thomson or collected by Beethoven himself, and rendered some of them as sets of theme and variations for instruments alone. According to the agreement between

18James Cuthbert Hadden, the first biographer of Thomson, remarks that Thomson contacted Beethoven as early as 5 July 1803, “suggesting the composition of some sonatas based upon Scottish airs, of the same kind as those already supplied to him by Pleyel and Kozeluch.” See James Cuthbert Hadden, George Thomson: The Friend of Burns (London: John C. Nimmo, 1898), 311. In the meantime, Beethoven’s first letter to Thomson from 5 October 1803 (British Library, Add. MS. 35263, 189-90) evidences that Thomson sent a letter to Beethoven on 20 July 1803, which is now lost, to ask him to write six sonatas incorporating Scottish songs. See Emily Anderson, ed. and trans., The Letters of Beethoven, vol. 1, no. 83 (London: Mcmillan and Company, 1961; hereafter Anderson). In Theodore Albrecht’s accounts, however, this group of six sonatas was never composed. See Theodore Albrecht, ed. and trans., Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence, vol. 1, no. 73 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996; hereafter Albrecht), 123n2.

19Although Beethoven continued to send materials requested in Thomson’s letter from 23 November 1819, Albrecht no. 265, he seems to have never written a letter again to Thomson after 25 May 1819, Anderson no. 945. The end of the surviving correspondence between Beethoven and Thomson is marked by Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 14 June 1820, Albrecht no. 269.

20According to Thomson’s and his contemporaries’ terminology, the “symphonies” refer to instrumental
the publisher and the composer,\(^2\) a few of the folksong arrangements and variations, after their appearance in the British Isles, were also published on the Continent. The Continental editions, unlike the British editions, appeared with opus numbers. Among these, twenty-five Scottish folksong arrangements issued by Thomson in 1818 were purchased by Schlesinger in Berlin in 1822; with minor changes that included a different order of the songs; they appeared as Op. 108 (see Table 1).\(^2\) Of the folksong variations, six sets of theme and variations previously published by Thomson were released as Op. 105 in Vienna in 1819 (see Table 2a). In the following year, ten more sets of theme and variations, including those never issued by the Scottish publisher, appeared as Op. 107, in Bonn and Cologne, simultaneously (see Table 2b).

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\(^2\)Thomson agreed that after the appearance of his edition of Beethoven’s folksong settings in the British Isles, the right of publication on the Continent was reserved to Beethoven. The document of the agreement has not survived; however, the general terms are stated in Thomson’s letters to Beethoven, for example, from 25 September 1809 (Albrecht no. 145), 23 April 1814 (Albrecht no. 183), and 28 December 1818 (Albrecht no. 253). Besides, Beethoven’s letters to Thomson from 23 November 1809 (Anderson no. 229) and 20 July 1811 (Anderson no. 319), to Simrock from 14 March 1820 (Anderson no. 1012), and to Schlesinger from 25 March 1820 (Anderson no. 1015) and 30 April 1820 (Anderson no. 1021) indicate that Beethoven was conscious of his agreement with Thomson on the right of publication.

\(^2\)In Schlesinger’s edition (1822), the twenty-five songs are numbered in Beethoven’s preferred order, beginning with no. 9 (\textit{Behold, my love}) and consisting of nos. 9-16, 1-8, and 17-25. It is different from the order of the songs in Thomson’s edition (1818), which is interspersed with five settings by Haydn. Recently, the order of the twenty-five songs in Schlesinger’s edition has been adopted in the Deutsche Grammophon Complete Beethoven Edition. See Barry Cooper, “Booklet” to \textit{Volume 17: Folksong Arrangements}, in \textit{Deutsche Grammophon Complete Beethoven Edition}, ed. Richard Evidon (Hamburg: Deutsche Grammophon GmbH, 1997), 30.
Table 1. Contents of Schlesinger’s Edition of *Schottische Lieder*, Op. 108\textsuperscript{23}

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<th>Schlesinger’s Order</th>
<th>Beethoven’s Preferred Order</th>
<th>Incipit of Text</th>
<th>Number of Voice(s)</th>
<th>Lyricist</th>
<th>Date of Composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 1</td>
<td>No. 9</td>
<td>Music, Love, and Wine</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>William Smyth</td>
<td>Feb. 1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 2</td>
<td>No. 10</td>
<td>Sunset</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Sir Walter Scott</td>
<td>Feb. 1818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 3</td>
<td>No. 11</td>
<td>Oh, sweet were the hours</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>William Smyth</td>
<td>Feb. 1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 4</td>
<td>No. 12</td>
<td>The Maid of Isla</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Sir Walter Scott</td>
<td>Feb. 1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 5</td>
<td>No. 13</td>
<td>The sweetest lad was Jamie</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>William Smyth</td>
<td>May 1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 6</td>
<td>No. 14</td>
<td>Dim, dim is my eye</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>William Brown</td>
<td>1814-May 1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 7</td>
<td>No. 15</td>
<td>Bonnie Laddie, Highland Laddie</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>James Hogg</td>
<td>1814-May 1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 8</td>
<td>No. 16</td>
<td>The lovely lass of Inverness</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Robert Burns</td>
<td>1816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 9</td>
<td>No. 1</td>
<td>Behold, my love, how green the groves</td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>Robert Burns</td>
<td>Feb. 1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 10</td>
<td>No. 2</td>
<td>Sympathy</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>William Smyth</td>
<td>May 1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 11</td>
<td>No. 3</td>
<td>Oh! thou art the lad of my heart, Willy</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>William Smyth</td>
<td>Oct. 1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 12</td>
<td>No. 4</td>
<td>Oh! had my fate been join’d with thine</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Lord George Byron</td>
<td>1816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 13</td>
<td>No. 5</td>
<td>Come fill, fill, my good fellow</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>William Smyth</td>
<td>Feb. 1817</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{23}The contents of this table are based on the information from Cooper’s studies on Beethoven’s folksong settings. See Barry Cooper, *Beethoven's Folksong Settings: Chronology, Sources, Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); and idem., “Booklet” to *Volume 17: Folksong Arrangements*, in *Deutsche Grammophon Complete Beethoven Edition*. © Barry Cooper 1994, used by permission.
Table 1. Contents of Schlesinger’s Edition of *Schottische Lieder*, Op. 108 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Vocal</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>O, how can I be blithe and glad</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Robert Burns</td>
<td>1816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>O cruel was my father</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Alexander Ballantyne</td>
<td>1816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Could this ill world have been contriv’d</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>James Hogg</td>
<td>1816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>O Mary, at thy window be</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Robert Burns</td>
<td>Feb. 1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Enchantress, farewell</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Sir Walter Scott</td>
<td>Feb. 1818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>O swiftly glides the bonny boat, with chorus</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Joanna Baillie</td>
<td>May 1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Faithfu’ Johnie</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Anne Grant</td>
<td>1809-July 1810 (1st version, Hess 203); Feb. 1813 (2nd version)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Jeannie’s Distress</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>William Smyth</td>
<td>Feb. 1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>The Highland Watch</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>James Hogg</td>
<td>1816-1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>The Shepherd’s Song</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Joanna Baillie</td>
<td>Feb. 1818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Again my lyre, yet once again</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>William Smyth</td>
<td>1814-May 1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Sally in our Alley</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Henry Carey</td>
<td>1816-1817</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2a. Contents of *Six National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin*, Op. 105\textsuperscript{24}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artaria</th>
<th>Thomson</th>
<th>Autograph</th>
<th>Melody</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Op. 105 No. 1</td>
<td>Theme III</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Welsh folksong; WoO 155/3: “The Cottage Maid” (“I envy not the splendour fine”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 105 No. 2</td>
<td>Theme V</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Welsh folksong: “Of Noble Race was Shinkin,” at times attributed to Purcell; Beethoven’s arrangement for Thomson is not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 105 No. 3</td>
<td>Theme I</td>
<td>“A Schüsserl und a Reinderl” by Johann Baptist Henneberg (?)</td>
<td>Substitute composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 105 No. 4</td>
<td>Theme II</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Irish folksong; WoO 153/6: “Sad and Luckless was the Season”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 105 No. 5</td>
<td>Theme VI</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Irish folksong; WoO 154/6: “Put Round the Bright Wine”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 105 No. 6</td>
<td>Theme IV</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Irish folksong; WoO 152/12: “English Bulls” (“Oh have you not heard, Pat”)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2b. Contents of *Ten National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin*, Op. 107

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simrock</th>
<th>Thomson</th>
<th>Autograph</th>
<th>Melody</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Op. 107 No. 1</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Tyrolean folksong; WoO 158/1/5: “Teppichkrämerlied” (“I bin a Tyroler Bue”) by Friedrich Satzenhofen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 107 No. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Ukraine folksong (“Air de la Petite Russie”)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{24}The Contents of these tables are based on the information from Armin Raab’s critical edition of Beethoven’s Folksong Variations, Opps. 105 and 107. See Armin Raab, ed., “Vorwort,” in Ludwig van Beethoven: Variationen über Volkslieder Opus 105 und 107 für Klavier und Flöte (Violine) ad lib (Köln: G. Henle Verlag, 2001). © 2001 by G. Henle Verlag, Munich, used by permission.
Table 2b. Contents of *Ten National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin*, Op. 107 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>Folk Song</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Op. 107 No. 4</td>
<td>Theme; Variation III, IV</td>
<td>Irish folksong; WoO 154/4: “The Pulse of an Irishman Ever Beats Quicker”</td>
<td>Thomson requested a substitute for the minore variation and another new variation on 8 Jan. 1819</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 107 No. 5</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Tyrolean folksong; WoO 158/1/6: “A Madel, ja a Madel” by Friedrich Satzenhofen</td>
<td>Rejected by Thomson on 5 Apr. 1819</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 107 No. 6</td>
<td>Theme VIII</td>
<td>Complete</td>
<td>Welsh folksong; WoO 155/11: “Merch Megan” (“In the white cot where Peggy dwells”)</td>
<td>Substitute composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 107 No. 7</td>
<td>Theme VII</td>
<td>Complete</td>
<td>Russian (Cossack/Ukrainian) folksong; WoO 158/1/16: “Air cosaque” (“Schöne Minka, ich muß scheiden”)</td>
<td>Substitute composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 107 No. 8</td>
<td>Theme; Variation III, IV</td>
<td>Scottish folksong; Op. 108 No. 17: “Oh Mary, at the Window Be”</td>
<td>Initially rejected by Thomson on 28 Dec. 1818; later he asked for two substitute variations on 23 Nov. 1819</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 107 No. 9</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Scottish folksong; Op. 108 No. 11: “Oh! Thou Art the Lad of My Heart”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other than these works – Opp. 105, 107, and 108 – the majority of Beethoven’s folksong arrangements were published only in Thomson’s collections during the composer’s lifetime. They remained in groups – Scottish, Welsh, and Irish – each of which formed a primarily separate collection and was issued more than once, usually with some changes. Thomson’s aesthetic stance toward the modern collection of national airs, which concerned the improvement of both artistic content and visual beauty, led to frequent alteration of the folksong arrangements. Of Thomson’s collections, in particular, the collection of Scottish folksong arrangements was published various times in both folio and octavo volumes. Some of these later volumes contained exactly the same content as the earlier ones, but at times with new musical arrangements or lyrics, at times new title pages and prefatory materials or different kinds of paper, at times with different pagination, at times with newly engraved musical plates or adjustments to plates, and nearly always with new letterpress.25

Thomson’s aesthetic goals and editorial principles, as well as the characteristics of his collections, have led some writers to certain conclusions. In reference to contemporary folksong collections as a whole, on the one hand, they argue that Thomson’s folksong project owed much to the convention of folksong collection and publication at the turn of the nineteenth century, representing a particular concept of folksong. In the course of modernization of folk and folksong, Thomson’s collections served as a useful reference work for amateur music lovers who sought to improve their taste and skills. Notwithstanding these latent meanings and inquiries, on the other hand, current studies have centered primarily on establishing the repertory and its sources. Since Thomson identified each of the songs merely by its text incipit, even though he

altered them and issued some of them more than once, tracking down a precise number of works has been a major concern in Beethoven scholarship. Establishing a proper numbering system, especially for the vocal arrangements, has been one of the most challenging tasks for many writers.

Beethoven’s Folksong Arrangements in Source Studies

Scholars began to regroup and reorganize some of Beethoven’s folksong arrangements as early as the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, most of Beethoven’s folksong arrangements had to remain in manuscript until the end of the century, which witnessed the first complete edition of Beethoven’s works, containing 132 folksong arrangements in seven groups, including original and factitious ones.26 In the 1950s, the condition of the sources became better established. George Kinsky and Hans Halm, and Willy Hess devised WoO and Hess numbers, respectively, and catalogued works that had hitherto remained without any systematic identification in Beethoven’s oeuvre, including the majority of folksong arrangements.27 Kinsky and Halm numbered the 132 folksong arrangements in the Beethoven Gesamtausgabe as Op. 108 (25 settings) and WoO 152-7 (107 settings). They also listed 36 settings classed in three groups, including WoO 158/1, 2, and 3, making a total of 168 settings. In the meantime, Hess listed a total of 58 settings that had not been published in the Gesamtausgabe (Hess 133-4 and 152-207) by intermingling independent settings with no WoO number (Hess 133-4, 168, 192, 194-8, 203,

26 Ludwig van Beethovens Werke: Vollständige kritisch durchgezogene überall berechtigte Ausgabe (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, i-xxiv 1862-65; xxv [suppl.] 1888), xxiv. For a brief explanation of the groupings of the 132 settings, see “Table 1.1,” in Cooper’s Beethoven’s Folksong Settings: Chronology, Sources, Style, 8.

and 206), settings listed under the three groups of WoO 158 by Kinsky (Hess 152-67, 169-77, and 179-89), and variant or abandoned versions of the whole or part of settings already listed (Hess 178, 190-1, 193, 199-202, 204-5, and 207). In so doing, he raised the number to 190, 132 plus 58, even though his supplemental edition included only 55 out of 58 in the end, reducing the total to 187.

While Kinsky, Halm, and Hess restored the folksong settings primarily within Beethoven scholarship, Cecil Hopkinson and C. B. Oldman called attention to Thomson’s collections of national airs as a whole, with special reference to the contributions of Haydn and Beethoven. Examining Thomson’s descriptive titles for various issues of volumes and groups, through which he introduced new arrangements and their revised versions, Hopkinson and Oldman presented the “Tabulated List of the Different Editions” of the collections. They identified each composer’s folksong arrangements with great care and found many of Beethoven’s folksong arrangements to exist in more than one version. Although they did not employ any systematic means in their cataloging process, their studies eventually launched scholars into further research on “the most intricate bibliographical enigma” and remained authoritative, especially with respect to the classification of songs in the octavo volumes of Thomson’s collections.

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29Also published in Hess’s *Supplemente*, xiv but having no Opus, WoO, or Hess number are as follows: SBG 38 (Authentic version of WoO 155/7; the version published by Thomson and in the Gesamtausgabe omits nine bars and, more curiously, adds one) and SBG 52 (rough draft of WoO 158/1/19). See Cooper, *Beethoven’s Folksong Settings*, 229; and Green, ed., *The New Hess Catalogue of Beethoven’s Works*, 244.


31This quote comes from Hopkinson’s description of Thomson’s volumes. In a letter of 20 October 1964 to the American collector Walter Harding, now found in the Thomson volumes of the Harding Collection at Bodleian Library in Oxford, Hopkins wrote: “Now this Thomson enquiry of yours raises the most complicated problems for it is about the most intricate bibliographical enigma that I have ever encountered.” See McCue, “‘The Most Intricate
Following in the footsteps of Hopkinson and Oldman, Alan Tyson investigated a great number of English editions of Beethoven’s works; although his study provided little new information about the folksong settings, it helped stimulate the interest of both bibliographers and biographers in the repertory. The lack of a numbering system and the repertory’s particularities in terms of composition and editing, as well as inconsistencies found in many levels of the publisher’s compilation process, remained ongoing issues and problems. As a widening range of potential sources, from printed materials to autographs, sketches, and copyists’ copies, extended the scope of research, the number of Beethoven’s folksong settings has grown.

Recently, Kirsteen Carrick McCue has rejuvenated research dormant for almost a half century since the Hopkinson and Oldman studies. Exploring Thomson and his folksong collections within their cultural context of Scotland, rather than from the perspective of composers who participated in this project, she not only helped restore the folksong settings in terms of sources but also expanded the scope of research on the repertory. Her study, primarily concerned with critical reception of Thomson’s collections, sparked a positive view of him as a folksong collector, editor, and publisher whose work served technical and aesthetic expectations.

Bibliographical Enigma,”” 3n.


33 For the varied numbers of Beethoven folksong settings, see Cooper, Beethoven’s Folksong Settings, 5.


for the repertory during his lifetime. In so doing, McCue attempted to illuminate both Thomson’s particular aesthetics on folksong and Beethoven’s response to it. According to McCue, Thomson often asked Beethoven to alter many of the folksong settings and to supply substitutes for works that Thomson considered unsuitable for the taste of audiences in the British Isles. Beethoven communicated with Thomson and many times conformed to his requests.

Showing high regard for Thomson as a folksong collector and publisher, McCue carefully examined his publishing procedure. As his contemporaries constantly renewed their collections, Thomson released various issues of volumes, especially of Scottish songs. For a new issue of an extant volume of Scottish songs, Thomson changed various elements, as mentioned earlier, from musical and literary contents to mechanical matters. Whenever he released a new volume of Scottish songs, in particular, he tried to renovate previously published volumes of Scottish songs: in McCue’s terms, these are “matching volumes” that at times contained new materials and at times merely replenished stocks.36 As for Thomson’s editorial procedure, McCue argued that it stemmed from the particular practice of the British folksong industry and suggested that an adequate understanding of his editorial practice as well as that of his contemporaries should precede investigation of bibliographical issues in his collections.

In cataloging the collections, McCue thus counted every single volume of Thomson’s collections as a separate issue, regardless of the degree to which Thomson differentiated one from the other. McCue listed the volumes by means of her own numbering system, the contents of which in effect corresponded to those of the “Tabulated List of the Different Editions” in the Hopkinson and Oldman studies (see Table 3). According to McCue’s analysis of the bibliography, Thomson first compiled four sets of Scottish songs, one of which was issued twice. Then he

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36 For details, see McCue, “George Thomson (1757-1851),” vol. 2, 270-1.
included them in folio volumes that followed, releasing in total six volumes of Scottish songs, three volumes of Welsh songs, and two volumes of Irish songs. The Welsh and Irish volumes were issued only once; thus, it was relatively easier for McCue to catalogue their contents than those of the Scottish volumes. Providing a table of contents for the Scottish volumes was a demanding task because of the preliminary four sets, which became with some changes the first two volumes (SIa and SIIa), and because of the various issues of the same six volumes, as previously mentioned.

As for Thomson’s octavo volumes, which could have been produced mainly for popular appeal and cheapness, McCue confirmed that he published six volumes of Scottish songs in that format. Volumes I-V, modeled on the first five folio volumes, appeared first in 1822-23. Volume VI was added in 1825, when the first five volumes were reissued and, albeit with no change in content, given different titles from those of their first issues.\(^{37}\) The publication history of the six octavo volumes of Scottish songs seemed less complex than that of the six folio volumes, as it was already demonstrated in the Hopkinson and Oldman studies. Still, subsequent issues of the six octavo volumes caused their publication history to be problematic, in need of further research.

\(^{37}\)Ibid., 280-3.
Table 3. Thomson’s Sets and Folio Volumes of British Airs\textsuperscript{38}

Sets of Scottish Airs\textsuperscript{39}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1\textsuperscript{st} Set</th>
<th>2\textsuperscript{nd} Set</th>
<th>3\textsuperscript{rd} Set</th>
<th>4\textsuperscript{th} Set</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} Issue</td>
<td>A – 1793</td>
<td>B – 1798</td>
<td>C – 1799</td>
<td>D – 1799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} Issue</td>
<td>Aa – 1794</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Volumes of Scottish Airs (S)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Volume I</th>
<th>Volume II</th>
<th>Volume III</th>
<th>Volume IV</th>
<th>Volume V</th>
<th>Volume VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} Issue</td>
<td>Sla – 1801</td>
<td>SIIa – 1801</td>
<td>SIIia – 1802</td>
<td>SIVa – 1805</td>
<td>SVa – 1818</td>
<td>SVIa – 1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} Issue</td>
<td>SIIb – 1803</td>
<td>SIIib – 1803</td>
<td>SIIib – 1803</td>
<td>SIVb – 1808</td>
<td>SVb – 1826</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} Issue</td>
<td>Slc – 1809</td>
<td>SIIc – 1810</td>
<td>SIIic – 1810</td>
<td>SIVc – 1812</td>
<td>SVc – 1831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4\textsuperscript{th} Issue</td>
<td>SId – 1814</td>
<td>SIIId – 1815</td>
<td>SIIId – 1817</td>
<td>SIVd – 1815</td>
<td>SVd – 1838</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5\textsuperscript{th} Issue</td>
<td>SIIe – 1817</td>
<td>SIIe – 1822</td>
<td>SIIIe – 1826</td>
<td>SIVe – 1826</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6\textsuperscript{th} Issue</td>
<td>SIIIf – 1826</td>
<td>SIIIf – 1826</td>
<td>SIIIIf – 1831</td>
<td>SIVf – 1831</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7\textsuperscript{th} Issue</td>
<td>SIIg – 1831</td>
<td>SIIg – 1831</td>
<td>SIIIIf – 1838</td>
<td>SIVg – 1838</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8\textsuperscript{th} Issue</td>
<td>SIIh – 1838</td>
<td>SIIh – 1838</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Volumes of Welsh Airs (W)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Volume I</th>
<th>Volume II</th>
<th>Volume III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} Issue</td>
<td>WI – 1809</td>
<td>WII – 1811</td>
<td>WIII – 1817</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Volumes of Irish Airs (Ir)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Volume I</th>
<th>Volume II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} Issue</td>
<td>IrI – 1814</td>
<td>IrII – 1816</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{38}The contents of this table, along with the numbering system, are based on the information from “Appendix I: Tabulated List of Thomson’s Scottish, Welsh, and Irish Volumes,” in McCue’s “George Thomson (1757-1851),” vol. 2, 269-314.

\textsuperscript{39}These four sets, with some changes, became the first two volumes of Scottish songs in 1801 (Sla and SIIa).
Although McCue did not direct her study at providing an exact number of Beethoven’s folksong arrangements, her work has spurred later Beethoven scholars on to greater results. Most recently, Barry Cooper has surveyed all extant sources and source studies on Thomson’s collections,\(^{40}\) ranging from his correspondence with Beethoven to modern catalogues developed by Kinsky/Halm, Hess, McCue, and Petra Weber-Bockholdt.\(^{41}\) Discerning incongruities between these source studies, Cooper reexamined the compositional history of all the folksong arrangements, correlating the information from the manuscripts with that of the correspondence between Beethoven and Thomson. The latter, in particular, served as an important source for determining the number of folksong arrangements and variations that Beethoven would have written, in that both the composer and the publisher saved the correspondence fairly well as a record of their contract. Beethoven used it as a proof of payment from the bank to which Thomson sent money; Thomson preserved it to trace the number of works he commissioned and received from Beethoven.

Cooper’s painstaking investigation finally led him to conclude that apart from the versions with only minor variants, Beethoven wrote precisely 179 folksong arrangements, ranging from the earliest in 1809 through the latest in 1820 (see Table 4).\(^{1}\) Cooper’s regrouping of the works by year of composition resulted in a new classification. As Table 4 shows, Roman numerals designate eighteen groups, together with Arabic numbers that indicate individual songs within the eighteen groups. The groups are listed in chronological order, and within each group the songs are listed in their original numerical order, which in most cases probably also represents their order of composition. Despite the seeming complexity of this

\(^{40}\) Cooper, *Beethoven’s Folksong Settings*.

grouping/numbering system, the contents of the eighteen groups correspond well to the songs hitherto catalogued by means of WoO, Hess, or Opus number and identified by Hopkinson/Oldman and McCue (see Table 5). Cooper’s studies have played a decisive role in reaching agreement on the number of folksong settings, shedding more light on the repertory, not only as a historical and analytical object but also as a noteworthy topic in reception studies.
Table 4. Chronological List of the 179 Folksong Arrangements in Composition Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Number</th>
<th>Year(s) of Composition</th>
<th>Number of Songs</th>
<th>WoO, Hess, or Opus Numbers of Corresponding Songs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1809-10</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>155/11, 4, 7; Hess 206; 155/2, 14, 23, 17, 13, 5, 8, 12, 10, 24, 26, 22, 18, 19, 3, 21, 16, 9, 1; 158/3/6; 155/6; 153/10; 152/17, 5, 14, 16, 9, 18; 153/1; 152/6, 3, 12; Hess 196; 152/4, 2; 153/4, 3, 14; Hess 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Hess 197; 152/7, 23; 153/2; 158/2/7; 152/20, 8, 1; Hess 194; 152/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>1811-12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>152/24, 11, 13, 25, 10, 21, 22; Hess 198; 152/19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>1812-13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>155/20; Hess 192; 153/12; 108/20; 153/15, 5; 154/2, 7, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>1812-13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>154/6; 153/20, 16, 8, 9; 158/2/1; 154/12, 11, 10, 1, 3, 4, 8, 5; 153/7, 18, 17; 158/2/2; 153/11; Hess 195; 155/15; 153/19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>1814-15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>157/11, 6, 8, 2; 158/2/5; 153/6; 158/2/6; 155/25; 156/6; 108/24, 6, 7, 5, 10, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>153/13; 157/7; 108/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>108/15, 16, 12, 8, 14; 158/1/16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>158/1/13, 14, 15, 4, 19, 20, 21; 157/12; 158/1/11, 12, 2, 3, 18, 23, 5, 6, 9, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>1816-17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>158/3/1; 156/5; 108/25; 158/3/2; Hess 168; 157/1; 108/22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>1816-17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>158/1/17, 7, 22, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>108/4, 3, 17; 158/2/3; 108/13, 1; 158/2/4; 108/21, 9; 157/10, 4; 158/1/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>108/23, 2, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>156/9, 2, 8, 11, 12, 4; 158/3/5; 156/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>157/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>156/3, 10, 1; 157/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>157/9; 158/3/3; 158/3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hess 133, 134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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42 The contents of this table are based on Appendix 1 in Cooper’s *Beethoven Folksong Settings*, 211-20. © Barry Cooper 1994, used by permission.
Table 5. Beethoven’s 179 Folksong Arrangements

a) Beethoven’s Folksong Arrangements Published by Thomson (A Total of 126)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short Title of Thomson’s Volume</th>
<th>Number of Songs (WoO, Hess, or Opus No.)</th>
<th>McCue’s Numbering System of Thomson’s Volumes &amp; Numbers</th>
<th>Cooper’s Labeling of Thomson’s Volumes &amp; Numbers</th>
<th>Cooper’s Composition Groups (Group/No.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Folio Volume: Irish Airs, II (1816)</td>
<td>30 (WoO 153/5-20; 154/1, 3-6, 8-12; 157/2, 6, 8, 11)</td>
<td>IrI, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 45, 48, 50, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 40, 60, 47, 46, 43, 51, 49, 32, 56, 53, 38, 52, 35, 44</td>
<td>1816/31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 45, 48, 50, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 40, 60, 47, 46, 43, 51, 49, 32, 56, 53, 38, 52, 35, 44</td>
<td>IV/6, VI/6, V/15, V/4, V/5, I/26, V/19, IV/3, VII/1, I/42, IV/5, V/3, V/17, V/16, V/22, V/2, V/1, V/11, V/12, V/14, V/1, V/13, IV/9, V/9, V/8, V/7, VI/4, VI/2, VI/3, VI/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folio Volume: Scottish Airs, V (1818)</td>
<td>25 (Op. 108)</td>
<td>SVa, 201-217, 219, 221-223, 226, 228-230</td>
<td>1818/201-217, 219, 221-223, 226, 228-230</td>
<td>XII/9, VI/14, VII/3, VIII/2, X/7, VI/13, VI/12, XII/6, XII/1, VIII/4, VI/15, VIII/5, XII/5, VIII/3, XIII/2, VI/11, XIII/3, XII/3, XII/8, IV/4, XIII/1, VIII/1, VI/10, XII/2, X/3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43The contents of this table combine the information from Thomson’s descriptions/titles for his volumes, which are also found in the “Tabulated List of the Different Editions” by Hopkinson and Oldman, with that from modern numbering systems for Beethoven’s folksong arrangements, devised by Kinsky/Halm, Hess, McCue, and Cooper, respectively. © Barry Cooper 1994, used by permission.
a) Beethoven’s Folksong Arrangements Published by Thomson (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Octavo Volume:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Select Melodies of Scotland, II (1822) | 2 (WoO 156/1; 157/3) | [Slg, 32; Slf, 49]
| | 1822/1; 1822/1 | XVI/3; XV/1 |
| Octavo Volume: Select Melodies of Scotland, VI (1825) | 8 (WoO 156/2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 12; 157/5; 158/3/4) | [Sl, 48, SV, 237, SII, 86 and SV, 238, SVI, 294-5, SVI, 296, SV, 239; ???; SV 236] |
| | 1825/16, 18, 1, 9, 4, 20; 1825/12; 1825/22 | XIV/2; XVI/1; XIV/6; XIV/3; XIV/1; XIV/5; XVI/4; XVII/3 |
| Octavo Volume: 20 Scottish Melodies (1839) | 3 (WoO 156/5, 6; 157/1) | [SVI, 264, SVI, 271; SVI 301-6 (???)] |
| | 1839/258, 200; 1839/260 | X/2, VI/9; X/6 |
| Octavo Volume: Melodies of Scotland, VI (1842) | 3 (WoO 156/7, 10, 11) | [SVI, 278, SVI, 298, SII, 68 and SVI, 300] |
| | 1842/278, 298, 300 | XIV/8, XVI/2, XIV/4 |
| Total 126 | | | |

44McCue’s numbering system primarily concerns arrangements in Thomson’s folio volumes; the designations and numbers of the third column of this table are McCue’s indications of the corresponding songs in the folio volumes. Songs marked with question marks, which seem to have been published only in the octavo volumes, are not found in McCue’s list of songs. Although almost all folksong arrangements that appeared in the folio volumes are found again in the octavo volumes, there were few exceptions. For the details, see Hopkinson and Oldman, “Thomson’s Collections of National Song, with Special Reference to the Contributions of Haydn and Beethoven”: 1-64; and idem., “Addenda and Corrigenda”: 121-4.
b) Beethoven’s Folksong Arrangements not Published by Thomson (A Total of 53)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group of Songs</th>
<th>Number of Songs (WoO or Hess)</th>
<th>Cooper’s Composition Groups (Group/No.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Songs</td>
<td>24 (WoO 154/2, 7; 157/7, 9-10; 158/2/1-7; 158/3/1, 3, 5-6; Hess 192, 194-8, 203, 206)</td>
<td>IV/7, 8; VII/2, XVII/1, XII/10; V/6, 18, XII/4, 7, VI/5, 7, II/5; X/1, XVII/2, XIV/7, I/24; IV/2, II/9, V/20, I/37, II/1, III/8, I/43, I/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continental Songs</td>
<td>29 (WoO 157/4, 12; 158/1/1-23; 158/3/2; Hess 133-4, 168)</td>
<td>XII/11, IX/8; XII/12, IX/11, 12, 4, 15, 16, XI/2, 4, IX/17-18, 9-10, 1-3, VIII/6, XI/1, IX/13, 5-7, XI/3, IX/14; X/4; XVIII/1-2, X/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Beethoven’s Folksong Variations in Biographical Studies

Unlike the majority of Beethoven’s folksong arrangements, extant folksong variations by him have been identified with opus numbers, their sources catalogued more accurately. Writers have recently agreed that Beethoven composed a total of twelve sets of theme and variations for Thomson, including revisions or alternatives, but published only nine of them (see Table 6), while providing Continental publishers with sixteen sets that formed Opp. 105 and 107 (see Table 2a and b). As Table 6 shows, the twelve sets of theme and variations included four melodies taken from the Scottish volumes of Thomson’s collections, one from the Welsh, and four from the Irish, as well as one Welsh and two Tyrolean melodies, which were never published previously by Thomson in any form.

The Welsh melody “Of Noble Race was Shinkin,” which was at times attributed to Purcell and which Beethoven had never set as a vocal arrangement, appeared as a variation theme. The Tyrolean melodies “I bin a Tyroler bua” and “A Madel, ja a Madel” – formerly arranged for voices and piano, violin, and violoncello by Beethoven for Thomson – were used again as Continental themes for instrumental variations. Nonetheless, these three sets of theme and variations were never released by Thomson but rather by publishers from German-speaking lands. The Welsh melody was published by Artaria in Vienna as Op. 105, No. 2; the Tyrolean melodies by Simrock in Bonn as Op. 107, No. 1 and No. 5, respectively. The Simrock edition introduced as new compositions not merely these two but also at least five more sets of theme and variations that Thomson had rejected as too difficult and unsuitable for his audience in the British Isles.46


46It was a technical breach of Beethoven’s transaction with Thomson. See C. B. Oldman, “Beethoven’s
Table 6. Twelve Sets of Variations, 1818

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Song</th>
<th>Opus/No.</th>
<th>No. in Thomson’s Collections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O thou art the Lad</td>
<td>107/9</td>
<td>Scottish, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Highland Watch</td>
<td>107/10</td>
<td>Scottish, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonny Laddie</td>
<td>107/2</td>
<td>Scottish, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Mary at thy Window be</td>
<td>107/8</td>
<td>Scottish, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cottage Maid</td>
<td>105/1</td>
<td>Welsh, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of Noble Race</td>
<td>105/2</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sad and Luckless</td>
<td>105/4</td>
<td>Irish, ii, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Put Round the Bright Wine</td>
<td>105/5</td>
<td>Irish, ii, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pulse of an Irishman</td>
<td>107/4</td>
<td>Irish, ii, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Bulls</td>
<td>105/6</td>
<td>Irish, i, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I bin a Tyroler bua</td>
<td>107/1</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Madel, ja a Madel</td>
<td>107/5</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the recent agreement among scholars, the number of folksong variations Beethoven actually wrote for Thomson and their early history are still in question. Thomson’s statements regarding the number of variations he had in his possession are difficult to reconcile, and his procedure of conception, commission, and compilation of the folksong variations went through many twists and turns before their first publication. Subsequently, some writers have directed their research primarily toward retrieving the compositional history of the folksong variations rather than determining the number of variations. Many of them referenced the information from the correspondence between Beethoven and Thomson to piece together the composer’s biographical events with regard to the concerned repertory, at times making further connections between the folksong variations and other works by Beethoven.

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47 The contents of this table are based on the information from Cooper’s studies on Beethoven’s folksong settings. See, Cooper, *Beethoven*, 266. © Barry Cooper 2000, used by permission.

48 Ibid., 12n.
Theodore Albrecht’s edition of contemporaries’ letters to Beethoven, which has translated a large portion of Thomson’s words in prose of exceptional lucidity and grace, has helped disentangle the complicated early history of the folksong variations and clarify the relationship between the two individuals. Many of Thomson’s statements elucidate the amateur musician’s longtime concern with the novelty of instrumental music, especially by German composers, as well as his dedication of a considerable part of the collections to accompanied folksong arrangements. Thomson’s wish to use folksong as a source of large-scale instrumental works, allied with his ambition to produce commercially viable products for domestic music-making in the British Isles, drove him to contact Beethoven and initially to ask him to write six sonatas incorporating Scottish themes. Throughout their relationship, Thomson continued to broach the possibility of Beethoven’s producing other types of works, besides folksong arrangements, based on folksong or in the style of folksong, including symphonies, concertos, overtures, sonatas, ariettas, quartets, quintets, canzonettes, cantatas, and even hymns or religious songs. Many of them in effect were finished, in progress, or at least projected, according to Albrecht’s investigation. Yet, the high price that Beethoven proposed and the still limited market for

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50 See Beethoven’s letter to Thomson from 5 October 1803, Anderson no. 83. This letter is a reply to Thomson’s letter from July 20 1803 in which Thomson proposed that Beethoven write six sonatas.

51 As for Thomson’s request for symphonies, concertos, overtures, sonatas, ariettas, and quartets, see Beethoven’s letter to Thomson from June 1804, Anderson no. 89. As for that of quintets, see Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 25 September 1809, Albrecht no. 145. As for that of canzonettes, see Beethoven’s letter to Thomson from 19 February 1813, Anderson no. 405. As for that of cantatas, see Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 2 January 1815, Albrecht no. 195, as well as Thomson’s letter to one of his lyricists William Smyth from 3 January 1815 (British Library, Add. MS 35267, 135). As for that of hymns or religious songs, see Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 15 October 1814, Albrecht no. 190. Thomson’s use of generic terms throughout the correspondence suggests that the taste of the British audience for which Thomson stood caused conventional genres to be modified and loosely defined.

52 See Albrecht no. 73, 2n.
instrumental music in the British Isles eventually caused Thomson to purchase from Beethoven nothing but the folksong variations.\(^{53}\)

Although much of Thomson’s ambition to produce instrumental music incorporating folksongs was eventually in vain, his persistent request and cleverly altered plan resulted in folksong variations in Beethoven’s ouevre. While working on vocal arrangements, and before coming up with the plan for the variations, Thomson began to expand the scope of his project to include not only British but also Continental folksongs. As early as 12 December 1815, according to McCue, Thomson wrote the lyricist William Smyth that he planned to produce, with Continental songs, an appendix to his most recent volume of Scottish folksong arrangements – then supposedly the fifth volume of the collection.\(^{54}\) For this project, Thomson asked Beethoven to gather airs from German-speaking lands, Poland, Russia, the Tyrol, Venice, and Spain, to produce ritornellos and accompaniments for them, and then to look for more – including Swedish, Danish, Sicilian, and Calabrian songs – for the same cause.\(^{55}\) Almost six months later, Beethoven sent the songs of various nations to Thomson, guiding him to take the words not in verse but in prose; however, Thomson’s inability to find English lyrics for them deterred him from publication.\(^{56}\) He had to propose that Beethoven revise nineteen Continental folksongs in the form of “potpourri overtures (overtures mêlés)” for piano and then arrange them into six

\(^{53}\)See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 21 December 1812, Albrecht no. 167.

\(^{54}\)According to McCue, Thomson mentioned this idea first in his letter to the lyricist Smyth from 12 December 1815, GB-Lbl (London, British Library) Add. MS 35267/165. Nevertheless, there is no extant reply from Smyth, nor any letters from him, between 1815 and 1819. See McCue, “George Thomson (1757-1851),” vol. 1, 243 and vol. 2, 358. Cooper also acknowledges, “The initiative came entirely from Thomson who even dictated to a large extent which nationalities were to be used.” See Cooper, Beethoven’s Folksong Settings, 25.

\(^{55}\)See Thomson’s letters to Beethoven from 1 January 1816, Albrecht no. 215, and from 8 July 1816, Albrecht no. 226.

\(^{56}\)See Beethoven’s letter to Thomson from 18 January 1817, Anderson no. 736: “Quant à chansons de divers Nations, vous n’avez que prendre des paroles en prose, mais non pas en vers, enfin si vous prendrez des paroles en Prose vous y réussirez parfaitement –.”
overtures, introducing the airs into each overture in the manner that seemed best to Beethoven. Some of these overtures eventually turned into sets of theme and variations.57

While negotiating with Thomson about the composition of the six overtures, in Oldman’s account, Beethoven had received a somewhat similar offer from Robert Birchall in London, who had already published Beethoven’s Battle Symphony and was about to release his Violin Sonata in G major, Op. 96 and Piano Trio in B-flat major, Op. 97. Birchall, in his letter from 13 May 1816, asked Beethoven to consider writing variations on favorite English, Scottish, and Irish airs for either violin or cello.58 On 1 October 1816, Beethoven replied that he would accept the offer, proposing 30 pounds per piece.59 Birchall disagreed with the fee on 8 November, and Beethoven reduced it by a third, suggesting 20 pounds.60 Birchall probably thought that it was still too expensive to pursue the plan. There is no evidence that their negotiation went further.

Beethoven’s contact with Birchall delayed Thomson’s plan for the production of the six overtures for more than six months.61 While awaiting Beethoven’s reply, Thomson changed his plan again and asked Beethoven to choose twelve of the airs of various nations, ones that appeared to be best adapted to be varied, writing variations, no more than eight, on each of the selected airs.62 Taking into account Thomson’s observation that there were many flautists in

57See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 20 October 1816, Albrecht no. 233.

58Oldman, “Beethoven’s Variations on National Themes: Their Composition and First Publication,” 45-6.

59See Beethoven’s letter to Birchall from 1 October 1816, Anderson no. 662.

60See letters from Birchall on 8 November and from Beethoven 14 December 1816, Anderson no. 680.

61For Thomson’s complaints for his waiting for Beethoven’s reply to the proposal, see Thomson’s letters to Beethoven from 20 December 1816, Albrecht no. 236 and from 24 January 1817, Albrecht no. 238.

62See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 25 June 1817, Albrecht no. 240.
Edinburgh, Beethoven composed, or recomposed, for him the twelve sets of theme and variations, for piano and optional flute, although only nine of them were published by him.\(^\text{63}\)

Current Reception of Beethoven’s Folksong Settings in North American Scholarship

The perplexing state of the sources for the repertory and the peculiar procedure used in its first publication have habitually been taken at face value; there has been almost no critical reception of Beethoven’s folksong settings in North American scholarship. As early as 1927, “the centenary of the composer’s death and symbolic death of the figure of the Romantic artist,”\(^\text{64}\) Richard Aldrich commented that the composer seemed to have had a strong interest in the repertory, if everything that he said in his letters to Thomson was to be believed; yet, Aldrich tended to assume that the composer’s concern for the repertory was an insignificant episode in his compositional life because it brought him nothing but money.\(^\text{65}\) Aldrich noticed particular feelings for folksong materials evident throughout Beethoven’s correspondence to Thomson but drew more attention to the frequent argument between the two, especially concerning fees.

By charging Beethoven with commercial pursuits, probably one of the most serious allegations in Western music historiography, Aldrich instigated many more negative opinions on the composer’s collaboration with Thomson and his amateur audience. Aldrich’s positivistic yet skeptical viewpoint was favored by both North American and German writers during the early twentieth century, prescribing a mode for later criticism of the folksong settings, especially

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\(^{63}\)See also 31-2 in this dissertation.


among the former. North American critics have rarely hesitated to state that the composer did not make much “artistic” success out of the “artless” material.

Since then, the focus of criticism has gradually moved towards Thomson and his collections of national airs. Because he and his audience were mostly amateur folksong enthusiasts and domestic music makers from the British Isles, a region historically given little respect due to the lack of native musicians, Beethoven biographers tended to either dismiss or, at best, make passing comments on the folksong settings. Maynard Solomon, for instance, despite his focus on biography, downplayed the composer’s engagement with the repertory of folksong settings, presumably because its value as a work of art appeared questionable. Solomon harshly criticized Thomson for his separation of music and text in commissioning the folksong arrangements, not noticing the conventional practice of folk or folk-like songs during Beethoven’s time.\textsuperscript{66} Writing from the perspective of early twentieth-century ethnomusicologists, he accused the publisher of adulterating traditional music. Moreover, he ignored amateurs and the significance of their music culture, which paralleled the emerging concepts of serious art music and canon.

The uneven relationship between the professional composer and the amateur audience has continued in later reception of Beethoven. Both writers and readers seem to have become so used to the low estimation of the folksong settings as to have been unaware of their absence in recent reception studies. Almost all repertories that concerned Beethoven during his lifetime have been studied and regarded either as direct indicators of Beethoven’s greatness or at least as meaningful gestures to serve a coherent whole, notwithstanding their somewhat idiosyncratic elements. The majority of his symphonies, concertos, piano sonatas, and string quartets have

\textsuperscript{66}As for the conventional practice of folk or folk-like songs during Beethoven’s time, see also 145-6 in this dissertation.
been evaluated with respect to not only their qualities as music but also the significance in music culture. Various groups of listeners and players have been given serious consideration as their roles have been enlarged in Beethoven reception. Such symbiotic relationships between the composer and the repertory of folksong settings have hardly been explored. Rather, the works have been pushed into the margin of music history, as has their audience.

As Cooper notes in his monograph on Beethoven’s folksong settings, the repertory itself is now in need of historical, analytical, and reception studies, as well as source studies. A large number of early nineteenth-century folksongs and folksong settings, including not only canonic composers’ works but also collections, such as Allan Ramsay’s *Tea-Table Miscellany*, Thomas Percy’s *Reliques*, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* by Clemens Brentano and Bettina von Arnim, and the writings of “Ossian,” still await serious scholarly attention. Their musical, cultural, and institutional values, as well as their bibliographical significance, surely merit our reconsideration.

Current Reception of Beethoven’s Folksong Settings in German Scholarship

German writers appear in general to have cultivated a relatively favorable attitude towards Beethoven’s folksong settings. Probably because of either their time-honored regard for folk and folksong, especially within the trajectory of German nationalism, or their seemingly invincible high estimation for Beethoven as a German, or both, a greater number of analytical and critical studies on the works have appeared in German. Subsequently, more assumptions have been made regarding the composer’s intention for them.

Earlier studies in German were primarily biographical. Although some of them included negative or no comments on the works, as did many of the North American writings of the time,

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the majority of German biographies acknowledged the repertory’s significance in Beethoven’s compositional life and became aware earlier of problems in its reception. Already in 1934, for example, Felix Lederer probed early biographers’ opinions on the repertory. He noticed that there had been varied evaluations of Beethoven’s folksong settings because of the lack of information about the composer’s intention and the development of the repertory in music history, as well as because of the conventional reckless consideration of the subject matter.68

According to Lederer’s investigation of extant biographical studies of Beethoven, the reactions to the repertory were divided into extremes of positive and negative. For example, W. J. von Wasielewski, in his 1888 biography, indicated that Beethoven’s arrangements were different in value.69 A. B. Marx, as documented in the fifth edition of his biography (1901), observed that the repertory was “already in itself a work of art.”70 A. W. Thayer/Hermann Deiters/Hugo Riemann (1908) praised it as “genuine Beethovenian form,”71 especially for the composer’s way of “shaping the melody and the complete spirit of character in accordance with inner true

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light.” Furthermore, Hans Boettcher (1928) remarked, “The arrangements … could rise to the title of full value and even equal authority with other creative genres.”

In contrast, J. Chantavoine (1907) condemned “the Scottish songs as second-rate works rarely made with affection.” Paul Bekker (1911) offered the criticism that “Beethoven’s way of arranging removed from the lied its national character and led to an un-organic connection between folk music and international art music.” Along similar lines, Gustav Ernest (1922) stated, “Beethoven did not achieve anything special, anything that others had not accomplished as well.”

Witnessing that the issue was neither simple nor unequivocal, Lederer attempted to reinvestigate the works’ presence in the composer’s creative career. He approached them from the surroundings in which they were conceived, published, and disseminated. Contemporary folksong collections and their characteristics were discussed in relation to Thomson’s work; the fusion of folk music with art music, monophonic melody with Viennese harmony, and traditional tune with modern text were articulated as common phenomena in the folksong industry of that period.


Lederer then narrowed the subject matter down to Beethoven and his folksong settings alone, dealing with both textual and, briefly, contextual concerns. The works’ governing characteristics, stylistic simplicity and technical easiness, were taken into consideration in relation to their contemporary amateur audiences, while “Beethovenian” features were found in them, regardless of their overall plain sound. Lederer made assumptions also about the composer’s favorable attitude towards the British Isles and their traditional music, especially in connection with his probable knowledge of contemporary literature. Such names as pseudo-Ossian, Herder, and Goethe were mentioned, with an indication of the need for further research on them.

Lederer’s emphasis gradually moved towards restoration of the works’ reception. Although his interest in it seemed peripheral, he sought to offer a new image of Beethoven as arranger (Bearbeiter), paralleling that of Thomson as instigator (Anreger) and publisher (Herausgeber) of the entire project. Through a relatively balanced reception of the two, Lederer seemed intent on justifying the composer’s engagement with the “small” repertory and providing a more complete picture of him and his music.

“Beethoven’s folksong settings are not subsidiary works at all. Rather, included among them is a number of lieder, left forgotten because they concern ‘arrangements’ in which complete fusion of folk melody and artistic accompaniment succeeds most of the time. In most of the lieder, it is a question of appropriate but in no way outstanding arrangements. It is not in general a matter of either praising or rejecting the lieder, but rather that only a discriminating approach will do justice to these works.”

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78 Ibid., 9 and 13.
79 Ibid., 57: “...es sich bei den schottischen Liedern Beethovens durchaus um kein Nebenwerk handelt. Vielmehr befindet sich unter ihnen eine Anzahl von Liedern, die vergessen lassen, daß es sich
Lederer’s comments not only alarmed writers whose aesthetic judgments on the folksong arrangements and variations were firmly grounded in the tradition of Western art music, but also illuminated the practice of arrangement and its place in Beethoven’s compositional career.

Since the appearance of Lederer’s dissertation, German writers have more frequently touched upon issues of concern and begun to evaluate the composer’s attitude toward the repertory and its international and intercultural features as part of the tradition of Viennese Classical music. According to this perspective, Beethoven’s work with folksong materials was not incidental but rather an inevitable outcome of the spirit of the time.

Writings by Günther Massenkeil (1970), Frida Knight (1978), Martin Poser (1978), Marianne Bröcker (1982), and Elisabeth Eleonore Bauer (1992), respectively, have explored a contemporary portrait of Beethoven through the “folk” repertory, creating a new scholarly tradition. Massenkeil perceived Beethoven as an international composer, based not only on his relationship with aristocrats and noble men around the city of Vienna but also on his preoccupation with folksongs. With regard to the latter, Massenkeil pointed out Beethoven’s variations on such British themes as *God Save the King* and *Rule Britannia*, in addition to his folksong settings commissioned by Thomson. Diverse national connections, including German, British, Italian, and French, and others, were found in the composer’s life and music; however,

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um „Bearbeitungen“ handelt, in ihnen ist die völlige Verschmelzung von Volksmelodie und künstlerischer Begleitung geglückt. Bei den meisten Liedern allerdings handelt es sich um zweckentsprechende, aber keineswegs überragende Bearbeitungen. Es geht also nicht an, die Lieder generaliter zu preisen oder abzulehnen, sondern nur differenzierende Betrachtungsweise wird diesen Werken gerecht.”

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such words as nation and nationality during the early nineteenth century had different meanings from those today.\(^{81}\) In Massenkeil’s accounts, there was in reality no distinct national music for Beethoven and his contemporaries,\(^ {82}\) but rather the blend of contemporary styles embedded in Viennese Classical style represented their perception of nation and national style.

Beethoven’s close association with British folksongs also drew attention from Knight. From a subjective and idealistic viewpoint, she portrayed the composer as someone who had a great affection for the British Isles, stemming especially from his admiration for Shakespeare and his idealization of the open-minded music culture in London.\(^ {83}\) According to Knight’s theory, peoples in Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century aspired to settle their individual and collective identities. Most of them built up an ideal image of their country based on their image of the British Isles, a region that attained earlier a unified political community. Like many of his contemporaries, Beethoven longed for the secure identity that British people seemed to have and chose to collaborate with Thomson and his audience to envision the political and cultural demands of his lifetime in music.

Toward the end of the 1970s, German scholarship began to project a more objective and broader perspective on the subject matter. Writers sought to reveal the “truth” of Beethoven in his engagement with folksong settings, just as they pursued it with other parts of his repertory. Beethoven continued to be viewed as a canonic composer who never failed to express himself


\(^{82}\)Ibid., 22.

even in the repertory of folksong settings. At the same time, writers pointed out Beethoven’s foreignness as a German to the culture of the British Isles and yet interpreted it as a factor that motivated his communication with Thomson, whose opinions on the repertory eventually connected the canonic composer to the taste of the amateur audience.

Many of the writers found it necessary to reevaluate Thomson as an amateur but competent musician to explain the presence of amateur taste and its role in Beethoven’s compositional life. Poser, for example, viewed Thomson as “a central figure in the understanding of British folksong materials among German-speaking composers,”84 while praising Beethoven for his receptiveness not merely to Thomson’s opinions but also to the spirit of the time. Poser in a Romantic sense translated the composer’s preoccupation with British national airs and his willingness to collaborate with the amateur folksong collector into a corollary of his long-term regard for the parliamentary system and Shakespeare. Yet, he assumed that “the composer’s relationship with folksong materials was more deeply rooted in the Vienna circles in which he lived, representing a reservoir of diverse folksong traditions of southern Austrian regions.”85 Defending Beethoven’s undertaking of the folksong project as by no means an incidental event in his life and music, Poser proposed a broader contextualization of the subject matter and speculation on its meanings.

Such constructive thought on Thomson also appeared in Bröcker’s writing. She provided relatively detailed explanations of Thomson’s folksong project and attempted to clarify his intention to renew folksong, especially through the hand of Beethoven. She remarked, “some of

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84Poser, “Beethoven und das Volksliedgut der Britischen Inseln,” 405: “Thomson, der eine Zentralperson für die Apperzeption von Volksliedgut der Britischen Inseln für deutschsprachige Komponisten darstellte …”

85Ibid.: “… war Beethoven weitestgehen in seinen Beziehungen zum Volksliedgut in seinem Wiener Lebenskreis verwurzelt, der ein Sammelbecken verschiedener Volkstraditionen des süd- und südosteuropäischen Raumes darstellte…”
Beethoven’s arrangements differ from those of other composers, but simultaneously also in many cases from the melodies as they are still performed today. It is therefore interesting to compare how the composer altered and elaborated the pre-existing materials, that is, how he showed the special qualities of many melodies of Ireland and Scotland, though his commissioner’s possible corrections should not be overlooked. Bröcker attributes the distinct characteristics of the folksong settings to Beethoven’s originality, especially in comparison with other composers’ works on the same melodies, while acknowledging Thomson’s involvement in Beethoven’s compositional procedure and its outcomes.

Bröcker’s equal attention to Beethoven and Thomson provided reasonable explanations for many other issues relating to Thomson’s folksong collections. As for his extensive collaboration with Continental composers in modernizing British folksongs, Bröcker observed, on the one hand, “he wished to make the melodies through correspondingly good arrangements available to a broader public outside the British Isles.”

On the other hand, the extensive scope of the project was a reason for his financial failure, along with technical difficulties of the songs and their demanding number of musicians for domestic performance. Although she acknowledged the poor sale of the collections, still Bröcker sought to account for Thomson’s

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87Ibid., 64: “Sein Wunsch war, die Melodien durch entsprechend gute Bearbeitungen einem breiteren Publikum außerhalb dieser Gebiete zugänglich zu machen, d. h. in England ...”

88Ibid.: “Das lag vermutlich an der zu anspruchsvollen, von Thomson aber ausdrücklich geforderten Besetzung der Bearbeitungen mit ein bis drei Sängern und manchmal sogar einem Chor sowie Violine, Violoncello und Klavier. Vielleicht war für diesen Mißerfolg auch entscheidend, daß Thomson bei der Auswahl der Komponisten, die für ihn arbeiten sollten, übersehen hatte, daß sich darunter zunächst kein einziger Engländer befand.”
seemingly unusual way of collecting, commissioning, editing, and publishing folksongs.\textsuperscript{89} Thomson’s alteration of folk melodies in the course of collecting was a common practice of the time. He occasionally added and deleted notes, while jotting down the melodies. He separated music from text for commission not only because no texts existed for many melodies, which were probably instrumental, but also because melodies sung in Galician always had to be translated. Above all, he adapted British folksongs to Viennese harmony, though it seems strange today, to widen the audience for the folksong repertory by using the conventions of the contemporary folksong industry.

While Bröcker’s interest centered on constructing reception for Beethoven’s folksong settings, Bauer’s discussion of Op. 108 began to push the subject matter further. Separating her point of view from the traditional nationalistic sentiments of many Germans for Beethoven, Bauer questioned ideas and beliefs that had hitherto had a great impact on developing the composer’s monumental status. Through her broad understanding of later history and historiography, she discreetly distinguished the historical objects from extant dogmatic values of the time and attempted to demonstrate that in reception studies, the issue was not to seek to find positive reactions to the repertory but to contemplate their virtues and shortcomings.

In examining contemporary reception, Bauer aimed to speculate on writers’ opinions and their aesthetic background rather than taking them at face value. With respect to Carl Loewe’s praise for Beethoven’s folksong settings, for example, she did not readily put faith in his seeming acknowledgement of the works’ significance but rather pointed out that the writer’s aesthetic judgment, largely consumed by the emerging cult of originality and musical genius, “was

\textsuperscript{89}Ibid., 64-5.
fundamentally mistaken.”90 She also argued that his evaluation, “deeply ingrained in the aesthetics cultivated by the Second Berlin School of lieder,”91 could not properly touch upon the genesis of Beethoven’s folksong settings. Bauer explored ideologies implied in other contemporary reviews on lieder and songs. Although her arguments were limited to German critics and their theories, her skepticism concerning the validity of contemporary comments startled writers who had given almost unconditional credit to Beethoven’s circle. Her articulation of a deconstructive mode of current musicology pushes German scholarship one step forward and provides a useful guide for critical studies of Beethoven’s folksong settings.

Toward Constructing Critical Reception of Beethoven’s Folksong Settings

As examined above, North American musicologists have written less on Beethoven’s folksong settings and their characteristics; however, their efforts to reshape scholarship in general offer valuable insight for constructing critical reception of Beethoven’s folksong settings. For instance, Kofi Agawu points out that Beethoven’s posthumous reception has been largely based on the works of his middle period – especially the Third and Fifth Symphonies, the Fourth Piano Concerto, the opera Fidelio, and the “Rasumovsky” Quartets. Despite the significance of these works in Beethoven’s compositional career as well as music history in general, characterizing Beethoven merely as “public,” “serious,” “grand,” “loud,” and “extroverted” would be “ultimately misleading” and “oversimplifying” because a handful of frequently performed compositions cannot represent one composer’s works as a whole and their complex relationships

90See Bauer, Wie Beethoven auf den Sockel kam: Die Entstehung eines musikalischen Mythos, 106: “Loewe irrte sich gründlich, wenn er sie Originalkompositionen nannte und behauptete.”

91See Ibid.: “Folgerichtig stützte Loewe seine Beurteilung auf die Liedästhetik der Zweiten Berliner Liederschule …”
with contemporary music culture. By questioning the conventional view of Beethoven, Agawu encourages us to pay more attention to works that stand on the seemingly opposite end. He suggests that the image of Beethoven also be explored in relation to such qualities as “private,” “comic or lighthearted,” “intimate,” “soft,” and “introverted.”

Along similar lines, Cooper asserts that gigantism and miniaturism coexisted throughout Beethoven’s compositional career. While working on large-scale compositions, including the “Hammerklavier” Sonata, the Ninth Symphony, the “Diabelli” Variations, and the Missa 

solemnis, for example, Beethoven continuously composed such small works as folksong arrangements and variations. Although these realms seem separate from each other, many of Beethoven’s works involve characteristics of the two, requiring equal consideration to expand the boundaries of our understanding of Beethoven and his world.

Regarding Beethoven’s disposition toward simplicity and accessibility, Michael Steinberg argues that a kind of “artlessness” prevails not only in the repertory of folksong settings but also in his late chamber works, for instance, in the final Allegro of Op. 130 and in Op. 135. Steinberg regards simplicity not as prematurity, a feature found in an early stage of any composer’s career, but rather as an aesthetic quality that preoccupied the composer throughout his compositional life. Steinberg’s argument challenges the common perception of simplicity as a marginal issue in the composer’s artistry and in so doing urges further pursuit of the topic.


93 See the chapter “Gigantism (1818-90)” in Cooper’s Beethoven, 260-78.

94 Ibid., 261 and 265.

Kristina Muxfeldt extends the scope of research, discussing the perceived simplicity of Beethoven’s songs through the fundamental connection between art songs and folk songs.6 According to Muxfeldt, Beethoven’s awareness of the simplicity of folksongs served as a restraint and at the same time as inspiration for him; together they formed “the character” as well as the outer limits of his art songs. With regard to An die ferne Geliebte, Op. 98, for example, she comments that many scholars have encountered difficulties in locating the work within the composer’s compositional career because they have customarily placed Beethoven’s immediate roots in the tradition of the north-German lied rather than that of British folksong. Muxfeldt’s accounts of his art songs and their aesthetic affinities with British folksongs shed light on his nontheatrical vocal music. By positioning him as a song writer within the native Viennese cultural domain, to a large extent she frees us from the one-sided image of Beethoven as a composer of absolute music.

Lewis Lockwood attempts to view Beethoven both as a serious music composer and as a popular composer.7 From a synchronic perspective, he evenly divides his discussion of Beethoven’s works into two groups: “greater” and “lesser.” The former, as Lockwood notes in his preface, directly reflects “the deepest aesthetic, philosophical, and at times political currents of his age, transcending all outer causes.” On the other hand, “the latter was clearly written to make money, to capitalize on current taste in the musical marketplace, or in some cases to respond directly to political events.”8 Lockwood’s choice of the two terms suggests that his perspective is still rooted in the conventional hierarchy that places serious art music over other

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8See “Preface” to Lockwood’s Beethoven: The Music and The Life.
types. His comments on each group of works, however, demonstrate that he is largely concerned with the context in which the composer lived and worked and for which he produced particular types of music. His emphasis on “current taste” in the realm of “lesser works” provides an important clue for the further investigation of Beethoven’s folksong settings, which are in many cases “of real musical interest.” Lockwood’s remarks on the virtue of the folksong settings, though very brief, suggest that authorities stand ready for a new chapter in Beethoven scholarship and, at the same time, help develop new ground for study of Beethoven’s folksong settings.

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99Ibid., 205.
CHAPTER 2

BEETHOVEN’S FOLKSONG SETTINGS AND THE GOETHEZEIT

“No other period of musical history is so completely dominated by one composer; in popular thought, the years 1790 to 1830 are the Age of Beethoven.” At the introduction of the eighth volume of the New Oxford History of Music, Gerald Abraham contemplates public perception of the turn of the nineteenth century as “the Age of Beethoven.” As the designation frequently recurs in music-history surveys other than Abraham’s, it seems to satisfy many of those who are eager to represent the period in a definite form. Despite the usefulness of the term, “the Age of Beethoven” bears connotations that have a detrimental effect on our understanding of Western music history and its components. By intensifying a powerful, positive image of the composer and his music, the popular tribute could cause readers to overlook a number of factors that may seem trifling yet are surely crucial to an understanding of music history as a whole.

Writers who have been conscious of the label’s drawback attempt to come up with an objective term for the music-historiographical turn of the nineteenth century. For instance, Scott Burnham refers to the years 1790 to 1830 as the Goethezeit. He considers this term, which he borrows from recent writings about literature, to mirror the broad span of German cultural history, whose often conflicting trends and preoccupations are relevant to the values of Beethoven’s music. The concept is certainly too confined to account for everything at the time.

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102 Ibid., 112, 1n.
and its underlying impetus, just as it has seriously misleading and canonic implications about the
nature of Goethe’s engagement with contemporary culture. Because of the term’s close
association with literary and/or political contexts of the time, still, “the Age of Goethe” serves as
a useful division for music history at the turn of the nineteenth century. Assumptions on the
lifetime of the cultural icon – especially contemporaries’ aspirations and anxieties for hero – help
broaden our understanding of Beethoven and his world. The prevailing image of Beethoven as
hero becomes not a mere invention of a few historians and theorists in later periods but an
outcome of a current value-system that continues to subscribe to that in his lifetime.103

Beethoven’s heroic style stems from not a handful of his works but the distinct climate of the
Goethezeit during which heroic figures or models were in great demand, and whether they were
imitated by a whole generation or not, their influence was critical to the growth of people in the
course of European modernization.

Efforts to find a music-historiographical alternative for “the Age of Beethoven” are also
apparent in James Webster’s recent deliberation of music history around 1800.104 As for the
period, hitherto regarded as “transitional” and at the same time roughly corresponding to
Beethoven’s lifetime, Webster argues that due to its particularities, the turn of the nineteenth
century merits consideration as an individual period in music history. Especially given the
position of the city of Vienna as a center of modern Europe, the dominant movement of the
period is to be represented as “First Viennese Modernism,” a concept that Webster finds
“productive regarding the music of the later eighteenth century and that of the early nineteenth as

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103Ibid., 112.

104James Webster, “Between Enlightenment and Romanticism in Music History: ‘First Viennese
well."¹⁰⁵ Ideas that underlay the majority of the musical, as well as social, phenomena can be characterized neither as belonging to Classicism nor as Romanticism, but rather as integral to Modernism; its emphasis on such concepts as “growth,” “improvement,” “development,” and “evolution,” frequently found in contemporary writings, seems relevant to the theme of early nineteenth-century Europeans’ life. The dynamic, which brought about “the intellectual shift from Enlightenment to Romanticism” and “the change from the ancient regime to post-revolutionary, industrialized bourgeois society,”¹⁰⁶ enables the time to acquire a genuine identity. Its dualistic nature merits our acknowledgement as a distinct and equally weighty phase, which “delays” the beginning of the music-historical nineteenth century until the middle of Beethoven’s lifetime or after, in Webster’s accounts.

This chapter is in part a response to the point of view articulated by Abraham, Burnham, and Webster. In the first part of the chapter, I contextualize Beethoven’s creative career within and beyond the intellectual and cultural trends of the Goethezeit, disputing its regular connotations, such as masculine and German-dominated. To articulate Beethoven’s engagement with the wide range of folksong materials from British to Continental and his fairly long-term relationship with Thomson and his amateur audience, I take into consideration not only the political and cultural settings of the Goethezeit but also the intercultural and international ambience in Vienna. In keeping with Webster’s model of “First Viennese Modernism,” I examine the particularities of British peoples, whose desire to improve their musical taste was a crucial impetus for Beethoven’s artistic decisions in composing folksong settings. Their aspiration to achieve professionalism in music culture was in line with the search for the heroic concept of self

¹⁰⁵Ibid.: 108.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.
legitimated by contemporary German intellectuals.

The Zeitgeist during Beethoven’s Life

The development of Beethoven’s engagement with folksong repertories occurred at the turn of the nineteenth century, a period marked by a high valuation of literacy and a growing sense of nation and nationhood. Many Europeans had benefited from the invention of printing for some three hundred years. Only in the mid-eighteenth century, however, were there enough readers, writers, and books to support a sustained, secular reading community in German-speaking lands. People explored their emotional worlds in journals, diaries, and autobiographies, and by exchanging letters created written ties with others. The novel, which often took the form of a journal or correspondence, gradually emerged as the characteristic literary genre for the new culture of print, reflecting political and cultural demands of the era.

As the idea of literacy grew in German-speaking lands, contemporary intellectuals became fascinated by the nature of language. They believed that the development of cultural properties such as language distinguished them from others and at the same time could join the reality of German-speaking lands with the ideals for the still-imagined modern nation. Such cultural distinction appealed to Germans, whose elite culture had welcomed foreign music, literature, architecture, and fashions since the seventeenth century. In the absence of political unity, it was particularly crucial to achieve a vernacular literary tradition comparable to those of the French and English.

Contemporary writers attempted to create an image of a single German nation that could lead modern Europe both culturally and politically. Herder, Lessing, Klopstock, and the

Göttinger Hainbund had already started to write as Germans rather than as residents of a particular region. Hölderlin, Schiller, Novalis, Arnim, and others composed patriotic or nationalistic lyrics. Fichte, Arndt, Jahn, Riehl, Ratzel, Möser, Eichhorn, and Savingny articulated the idea of a “literary fatherland” in their writings, even though neither geographically defined national boundaries nor organized political movements were yet in place.

Among these, Herder regarded language as crucial to a group’s identity and development. With his notion of the public superseded by the idea of the Volk, “a national community through which history, culture, and individual life acquired meaning,” he put forward the Volk as the most important of the circles of collectivity – family, tribe, community, Volk, and species – from which humans receive their identity and purpose. Like Klopstock, who saw each language as “a shrine containing the Volk’s essence,” Herder elevated language as “the clearest expression of national identity.” Like Johann Georg Hamann, who viewed language as “a mirror of a nation’s history,” Herder sought to find in literature, folk tales, and linguistic development the key to the nation’s past and the promise of the nation’s future.

Goethe’s encounter with Herder and his essays enable him to put his growing artistic ambitions into a broader cultural context. He regarded poetry as a gift to the world and to nations, not as the private inheritance of a few refined, cultivated men. Goethe’s novels, including Götz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand and Die Leiden des jungen Werthers, added heroic and romantic flavors to contemporary thought on nation and nationhood. Along similar lines, many

108Ibid., 173. The term “literary fatherland” comes from Justus Möser.


110James J. Sheehan, German History 1770-1866, 166.

111Ibid.
contemporary German writers expressed feelings of reverence and nostalgia for classical civilization. For example, Schiller looked to the ancient world as a model for modern times, admiring classical culture not for style and artistic form but rather for moral tone and artistic function. Greek tragedies were written not to amuse privileged elites but to edify and inspire an entire nation. Winckelmann believed that “art should be the expression and celebration of a nation’s aspirations, the product and protector of its collective identity.”

With the establishment of a national literature in German-speaking lands, readers and writers began to share the belief that they belonged to a cultural community beyond the reaches of their states or cities. Unlike their French and English counterparts, they had no geographical centre for their efforts; nor had German literary culture a political foundation. The line between literary and political concerns was difficult to draw because both focused on questions of national identity.

Such national identity had recently been forged in the British Isles. Although the nation’s political unification had occurred almost a century before, when the Act of Union (1707) brought together Scotland with England and Wales, its identity as a culturally unified nation remained problematic. The concept of “Britishness” seems to have become politically relevant first in 1603, when King James VI of Scotland became King James I of England, the most prominent supporter of the new union. Still, a sense of British national identity remained limited because England and Scotland were politically distinct throughout the seventeenth century, as lands with separate parliaments and national characters. Recurrent warfare between Britain and France,

112Ibid., 173.


from the end of the seventeenth century through the beginning of the nineteenth century, finally inspired a longing for nationhood among Britons.\textsuperscript{115} Even though the national sentiments arose less from self-consciousness than from the political and military position of the British, the period 1707 to 1837 saw significant changes in the way in which the people perceived themselves and their nation. Especially at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 officially ended Britain’s 130-year long struggle with France, the country reached the pinnacle of nationalism, though it was couched in Britons’ own style, in the sense of idyllic love of the nation.

British attitudes towards nationality remained more moderate than those of the French and much less ostentatious than those of Germans. Unlike most of their European neighbors, including the restorationist French and the nation-building Germans, Britain remained a relatively peaceful nation without civilian casualties or large-scale domestic destruction. The British attempted to develop what was needed to create a nation-state, including a powerful central government, a centralized economy, and a relatively high literacy rate. Then they focused on broader issues both inside and outside the nation, forming a distinctive identity in their perception of nation and nationhood. Opposing themselves to French tyranny and absolutism from the eighteenth century, Britons promoted freedom as a fundamental to British national identity.\textsuperscript{116} The loosely defined role of the government allowed its “people” much individuality. Both intellectuals and common people acknowledged and revered the nation’s ethnic and cultural diversity – English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish. Moreover, Britons’ direct or indirect encounter with their colonies and their ways of life helped broaden their perspective on the world. Because

\textsuperscript{115}See Colley, \textit{Britons}, 1-9.

\textsuperscript{116}Barczewski, \textit{Myth and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Britain}, 5.
of the constraints of the multinational state, a particularly British form of nationalism had to be attained. Although Britain’s domestic disciplines and external mobilization caused problems, the vision of a United Kingdom held for the most part.\textsuperscript{117}

Britain stood apart from the rest of Europe in the development of national consciousness. This did not require such a blatant fabrication as it did in France and Germany, where historical or nationalist writing was particularly decisive in the invention of nation or post-revolutionary reinvention of the nation. The “new” nations required the restoration of ancient pedigrees to attract popular support and promote political stability, while Britain’s political institutions were already sanctioned. British historians had only to admire that longevity; they did not need to create it.\textsuperscript{118} Subsequently, Britons in general appeared to take for granted their feelings for nation. For all classes and for both sexes, patriotism was more often than not both a highly rational response and a creative one. Patriotism in the sense of identification with Britain served as “a bandwagon on which different groups and interests leaped so as to steer it in a direction that would benefit them.”\textsuperscript{119} Being a patriot was a way of claiming the right to participate in British political life, and ultimately a means of demanding much broader access to citizenship.

The foundation of Britain’s enthusiasm for nation seemed different from that of German nationalism, but the ultimate needs of the two peoples, the one cultural and the other political, formed a reciprocal relationship between them. Since each country at the time remained “an imaged political community,” in which there were culturally and ethnically diverse, problematic,

\textsuperscript{117}Ibid., 48.


\textsuperscript{119}Colley, \textit{Britons}, 5.
protean, and artificial constructs, each had to build up strong national boundaries. In German-speaking lands the self-perception of nationhood came first, followed by the establishment of acceptable borders. In the British Isles, in contrast, the borders came first, and the struggle occurred over self-perception. The former created nation through romantic dreams of the fatherland, while the latter attained it from the pragmatic goals of its legislators, who incorporated first Wales, then Scotland, and finally Ireland in a ruthless quest to attain national security. Germans, despite their relatively late presence in political history, enthusiastically expressed their nation’s identity, pride, and superiority. Britons, in contrast, appeared subdued since patriotism or “British” nationalism was so ubiquitous and consensual in the British Isles throughout the nineteenth century. There was no need for Britons to publicize their settlement of political boundaries. Rather, they provided an ideal picture of nationhood for others, especially Germans whose success in the construction of the *Kulturnation* in turn served as an inspiration for the Britons.

The *Goethezeit* and Its By-products

The notion of national identity, filtered through Romantic ideas, led to the emphasis on the role of tradition, myth, and legend in national development; the rising interest in a nation’s past brought about a general reassessment of European cultural history and its by-products. Subject matter that related to ancient culture began to be reinterpreted from a modern angle. The Middle Ages and their heroism, chivalry, and devout religious faith fascinated early Romantics, due to the perceived kindred spirit between the two eras. Contemporary writers in general repudiated the secular world and devoted themselves to idyllic places. Songs that illustrated the

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120Ibid.
manners and exploits of popular characters from the past exerted considerable influence over many Europeans, while the songs’ forms began to be altered to the demands of the mounting consciousness of nationhood and the increased literacy since the Industrial Revolution.

Especially in the ballad tradition of the British Isles, melody whose origin was deeply rooted in the tradition of the lower classes emerged in a form that pertained to contemporary audiences. Typically, its lyric was newly written in reminiscence of a “rurally” obvious scene. A composer and a writer both frequently contributed to the contemporary folksong. In this climate, for example, James Macpherson’s forged translations (1760-65) of the poetry of Ossian, a semi-mythical third-century Gaelic warrior bard, could appeal to the international public. They were proven a hoax in 1805 by the standard of a later time; still, they remained popular and influential throughout the early nineteenth century, as translations appeared in not only French, Italian, and German but also Spanish, Danish, Dutch, Czech, Russian, Hungarian, and even Greek.\textsuperscript{121} Herder praised the Ossianic poetry for its expression of “Nature” uncorrupted by artifice, and its echoes were heard in the works of Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott, Goethe, Schiller, Pushkin, Lermontov, and Lamartine. Beethoven himself included Ossian in the list of his favorite poets along with Goethe, Schiller, and Homer.\textsuperscript{122} Portrayals of nature from the poetry inspired a number of nineteenth-century composers to produce dramatic, choral, and instrumental works on the subject as well as to use them as song texts.\textsuperscript{123}

While folklore and its artistic imitations attracted widespread support, the oral tradition

\textsuperscript{121}For a comprehensive account of the dissemination of the Ossianic poetry through translations, see Howard Gaskill, \textit{The Reception of Ossian in Europe} (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004).


was rapidly assuming a written form, with numerous folktales and folksongs rushed into publication to bring about national consciousness. Authors including Scott, William Motherwell, and Robert Jamieson began to depart from the tradition of the ballad and to leave a more significant mark on contemporary literature. Among many others, Scott’s historical novels engaged an implicit concern for national identity. The image of Scotland, stemming from the author’s refinement of its local color and antiquated costumes, played an important role in romanticizing Europeans’ sentiments for the foreign land, while often stimulating their own feelings of national pride. Contemporary writers and readers acclaimed his use of Scottish scenes and dialect, and his historically accurate interpretation. The novels, which were read in translation all over Europe by the 1820s, became a means of disseminating the concept of Romanticism as well as national ideology.

In German-speaking lands, Scott’s *Waverly* novels (1815-16), rapidly translated and transmitted with or without his authority, helped him enjoy a reputation hardly exceeded by that of any other foreign writer. With regard to his mastery in the presentation of historical themes, Goethe, the foremost writer in German, hailed him as a great genius without equal. Impressed by the young Scott’s sensitive reactions to the historical events of the American War and the French Revolution in the *Life of Napoleon* (1827), Goethe remarked that Scott’s greatness lay in the work’s intense nationalism and peculiarly English attitude to events that concerned Europe as a whole. In his second novel *Guy Mannering* (1815), Scott served as a standard of excellence for

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the writer and critic E. T. A. Hoffmann, who was at the time to write for the cause of the German public.\textsuperscript{127} Hoffmann had to tolerate many ignorant imitations and forgeries of Scott’s works, as did other intellectuals; however, he discerned the message of the author’s fictional national history and understood its personal significance to lie in his own complex cultural and historical parallels between German-speaking lands and the British Isles.

Scott and British authors who had worked within the ballad tradition provided Herder with the most important stimuli for his concept of folksong, resulting in an intensive preoccupation with the ballad on the Continent.\textsuperscript{128} Herder’s awareness of the emerging idea of “popular” song in the ballad tradition led him to make a clear distinction between folk-like, popular song and genuine folksong.\textsuperscript{129} The last quarter of the eighteenth century finally witnessed Herder’s early notion of \textit{Volkslied} (c. 1775) and his collection of \textit{Volkslieder} (1778-9), which included samples of songs of “primitive” races. According to Herder’s theory, it was essential to build a nation upon indigenous cultural foundations. Each nation began as an independent cultural entity that gradually evolved into a distinct national unit whose organic structure was reflected in what he called “national character.” Each nation had to establish its own language, art, literature, religion, customs, and laws – all of which he saw as expression of national character – to preserve its strength and unity.\textsuperscript{130}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{127}Ibid., 223-4.
  \item \textsuperscript{129}Herders \textit{Samtliche Werke}, ed. B. Suphan (1877-1913), vol. 5, 174; see Bröcker, “Volksmusik,” 1734.
  \item \textsuperscript{130}Wolf Koepke, “Johann Gottfried Herder’s Concept of ‘Nation,’” in \textit{Transactions of the Seventh...
German national character was to be achieved especially through folk poetry, “the archives of a nationality,” from which one could learn “the mode of thought of a nationality and its language of feeling.”\textsuperscript{131} Herder attempted to combine the ethical values of folk tradition with political values of the modern era to bridge the gap between past and present. Drawing Goethe’s attention to his interest in restoring folksong, Herder sponsored a great rebirth of German poetry inspired by nature as well as those seminal remainders of folklore that had hitherto been neglected and despised.\textsuperscript{132} Herder’s evocation of genuine folksong, furthermore, provided ground for the publication of an epoch-making folksong collection made by Arnim and Brentano, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1805-8) and that of oral and written folk collections, such as *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (1812-51), intensifying the idealized image of song in German reception.

Herder’s contribution to the development of German national identity and of such concepts as folk and folksong seemed colossal; yet, the virtual impact of his thought on the immediate generation and its folksong industry is difficult to define. Contemporary publication of folksong collections included very few “genuine” or “primitive” folksongs. Instead, various adaptations of folksongs for piano, guitar, string quartet, and even orchestra became popular. Folksong collectors and ensembles, formed in the Tyrol, Carinthia, Styria, and elsewhere, traveled and performed these “improved” traditional tunes throughout European countries. The standard images of what is Tyrolean, Carinthian, Styrian, or Viennese were created rather than


found, resulting in what is understood today as Tyrolean, Carinthian, and Viennese in the literature of folk music. Especially in the British Isles, Herder’s influence seems to have been minimal. Even though cultural conditions that precipitated Herder’s support for the link between folklore and nationalism also existed in the British Isles, the nation’s desire to modernize its musical treasures and professionalize its performers entailed adapting folksong to contemporary taste. Both folk and folk-like songs were likely perceived as stemming from the same source in the British Isles at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Romantic Nationalism in the Music Culture of the Bourgeoisie

Both intellectuals and newly emerging middle-class people welcomed ideas that supported Romantic nationalism. As the heroic concept of self was systematically developed as the core of the Zeitgeist, the idea of self-cultivation began to vigorously infiltrate contemporary culture, manifesting itself in both literature and music. The shared wish to overcome the shadow of wars and revolutions motivated reinterpretation of medieval heroes as modern political and cultural models. They survived on the one hand in the tradition of ballad and its related genres. On the other hand, the heroic stories developed further into the plot of the Bildungsroman, a type of novel in which a young man or woman’s overcoming of turbulent youth, growth, and ultimate adaptation to the demands of his/her surroundings embodied the heroic concept of self and its reconciliation with others. Themes of this kind of novel received international acclaim from contemporary writers and readers, gradually affecting the public perception of political, cultural, and social phenomena.

In music, for instance, the storyline of the hero’s journey from struggle to triumph or

\[^{133}\text{Ibid.: 120.}\]
darkness to light commonly appeared as an innovative way to understand large-scale works. In contemporary reviews of Beethoven’s symphonies, such as A. B. Marx’s interpretation of the Fifth Symphony, the structural and formal unity of the works was often described and analyzed as an evolutionary course of action.\textsuperscript{134} Especially in the criticism of the Third Symphony, writers tended to justify Beethoven’s unconventional use of structural distinction and thematic material through the work’s close association with extra-musical ideas. Transformation of the main motive over the course of the first movement, accordingly, conveys a sense of heroic struggle and final triumph. Striking key changes, dissonant passages, and other unusual features represent confrontation and opposition the hero encounters. Programmatic analysis, along with the continuing stress on sublimity as an integral part of the symphonic ideals, largely helped understand structural and emotional worlds of Beethoven’s symphonies and endorse them not only as the paradigm of serious art music but also as a substantial part of his image.\textsuperscript{135}

While contemporary intellectuals tended to manifest their national consciousness in an idealistic and theoretical realm and elevated serious art music as an essential part of their national character, amateur listeners and performers, who comprised the majority of the middle class, exploited their feelings for nation in a practical sense by actively taking part in cultivation of music with national character. Since the French and Industrial Revolutions resulted in a social and economic transformation that caused the virtual elimination of peasant class and the rise of the bourgeoisie, anxieties and aspirations to have a heroic model for everyday life were especially strong among middle-class people. In order to compensate their still low political


position, middle-class people pursued instead economic and cultural power, eventually bringing about notable economic growth and unyielding cultural identity. Under the motto of self-cultivation, amateurs in the British Isles as well as in German-speaking lands attempted to improve their taste and skills in music. Wishing to become as competent as professional musicians, they regarded singing and playing an instrument as an essential part of their rising music culture. The repertory of folksong, because of not only its accessibility and popularity but also its indebtedness to national history, served as a particular means for them to make visible what they wanted to achieve in music culture. Restoring the repertory and improving its form and content became a project of the bourgeoisie.

In German-speaking lands, most middle-class men joined choral societies and gatherings for songs. Children, especially male, were taught to sing in school. Females, primarily as mothers of their children, were encouraged to educate themselves at home. Although the notion of a single German entity and its cultivation supported advanced professional training, most females were systematically excluded from it. Their musical and social activity was limited, especially in North Germany, because the idea of self-cultivation – Bildung – remained deeply entrenched as a male domain.

In South Germany, in contrast, females from the middle class had been active participants in the music culture of such private venues as the drawing room and salon. In Vienna, most females served as keyboard players from at least the last quarter of the eighteenth century on and played an important role in fostering amateurism (Liebhaberei). Although a skeptical opinion

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was expressed that widespread amateurism and its conveniently facile music had caused the taste for and ability to appreciate more complex and unusual works to deteriorate, contemporary composers frequently worked for that audience without aesthetic reservation. For instance, Anton Eberl, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Leopold Kozeluch, and Carl Czerny wrote pieces for female keyboard players. Beethoven’s keyboard works without opus numbers were intended for young women in the course of their musical education and for use in social settings.138

In the British Isles, bourgeois music culture grew from a much less conservative ground and thus fostered a more balanced relationship between members of the society. Since the country achieved political unity at an earlier date, the rise of the bourgeoisie did not significantly challenge the nobility, which allowed it more freedom to grow into an individual social entity. Females were acknowledged as citizens who were culturally as significant as males. The young, in particular, were strongly encouraged to educate themselves in various fields. As frequently depicted in Jane Austen’s novels, young women appeared just as important in the subject matter of literature, art, and music as their male counterparts. Their taste and skills were to be improved to be compatible with those of their chosen partners. Among many others, musical ability was one of the most significant qualifications for courtship.139 Developing skills in singing and playing piano was often regarded as a way of improving a young woman’s social status.

British young ladies particularly favored vocal pieces with piano accompaniment. The majority of arrangements of folksongs and folk-like popular tunes including opera arias were directed toward them. As the wave of national feelings appeared in musical print earlier than


139For a discussion of the role of music in the bourgeois female music culture, see James Parakilas and Gretchen A. Wheelock, “1770s to 1820s: The Piano Revolution in the Age of Revolutions,” in *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano*, 77-131 (New Heaven: Yale University, 1999).
elsewhere, the repertory of folksong settings drew particular attention from British publishers. Alexander Smith’s *Musical Miscellany* (1786), Natale Corri’s *A New & Complete Collection of the Most Favorite Scots Songs, including a few English & Irish with proper Graces and Ornaments* (1788), David Sime’s *Edinburgh Musical Miscellany* (1792-93), William Anderson’s *Musical Repository* (1802), and *The British Musical Miscellany* (1805) preceded Thomson’s folksong project. Such publishers as William Whyte, William Napier, and James Oswald who released their collections in London were better known to Continental audiences than other contemporaries. Pietro Urbani’s *A Selection of Scots Songs, Harmonised and Improved, with Simple and Adapted Graces* (1792-1804) and James Johnson’s *Scots Musical Museum* (1787-1803), as well as Thomson’s collections (1793-1840), were all compiled in Scotland and ranked there as the most significant after Ramsay’s *Tea-Table Miscellany*. William Thomson’s *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725) and William Napier’s *Selection of Original Scots Songs* (in three parts, respectively, 1790, 1792, and 1795) also served as important references for the literature of Scottish songs.

The vogue of folksong settings was not confined to the British Isles but spread to the Continent. Such ingredients of the *Zeitgeist* as the *Volkslied* movement, the upsurge of patriotism, and nostalgic romanticism provided an impetus for the publication and dissemination of folksong repertories. Germans’ preoccupation with the ballad tradition and their political and cultural affinities with Britons, in particular, led to the general taste for songs that emulated the perceived simplicity of nature. As the idea of singing and playing became critical to realizing bourgeois ambition, contemporary critics articulated the essence of song even in the realm of

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141 Ibid., 556.
serious art music. A. B. Marx, for example, in his review of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, highly appreciated song as an expression of human nature and its simple folk-like quality as the antithesis of the complexity of instrumental music. Likewise, his contemporaries often sought to find their roots in the public perception of nature as of noble simplicity. Melodies by Beethoven as well as his predecessors Haydn and Mozart were, for example, praised for their folk-like and singing quality and considered part of the distinctiveness of German instrumental music.

The Beethoven Folksong Project: A Bourgeois Manifestation of Romantic Nationalism

Contemporary music critics attested the popularity of the “improved” folksongs and their political and cultural meanings. Both in the British Isles and in German-speaking lands, many literature and music reviews were devoted to new arrangements of and variations on folk and folk-like, popular tunes. Not only Scottish, Welsh, and Irish airs but also songs from various nations were introduced with the accompaniment of piano, violin, and violoncello. Tunes from operas and symphonies, especially by Mozart, as well as melodies from sacred works by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven appeared as significant sources for the repertories of arrangements and variations. Essays on singing and playing supported such repertories as folksong settings in the music culture of the age and of the bourgeoisie. British writers in general responded positively to the practice of amateur, domestic music-making. They often deplored their low level of musicality in comparison with what they had heard from works by German contemporaries; however, they believed that the growth of the middle-class audience would help change the nation’s fate in music and that the incorporation of modern elements into national airs would be a

way of attaining the goal.

In discussing Thomson’s folksong collections, which included Beethoven’s settings, British writers endeavored to look at the objects and their characteristics from an optimistic point of view. Especially with regard to replacing folksong text with modern poetry and combining modal tunes with Viennese harmony, they defended Thomson against charges of amateurism, noting that his intent was in line with improving folksong literature as well as imprinting national character on modern music. Providing a detailed explanation for the history of song writing in the British Isles, they sought to find meanings within Thomson’s folksong collections.

A writer in *The Edinburgh Review* of October 1823, probably George Hogarth, gives a lengthy review on Thomson’s 1822 octavo volume of Scottish, Irish, and Welsh folksong arrangements. By recommending it as “‘an oblivious antidote’ to weary and ruffled spirits, and minds harassed with fatigues or cares of a public or private kind,” Hogarth points out the contemporary use of collections of that kind as a source of entertainment, marked by both aesthetic merit and national character. As for the latter and its connection with folksong, he emphasizes the “poetry” by which the folksong is defined and distinguished from other songs. His comments suggest that folksong, unlike art song, allows for separating music and text, and thus for Thomson’s treatment of the two as independent entities.

The *Songs* of every nation must always be the most familiar and truly popular part of its poetry. They are uniformly the first fruits of the fancy and feeling of rude societies; and, even in the most

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144As for Thomson’s treatment of music and text, see also 144-5 in this dissertation.
civilized times, are the only poetry of the great body of the people. Their influence, therefore, upon the character of a country, has been universally felt and acknowledged. Among rude tribes, it is evident that their songs must, at first, take their tone from the prevailing character of the people. But, even among them, it is to be observed, that, though generally expressive of the fiercest passions, they yet represent them with some tincture of generosity and good feeling, and may be regarded as the first lessons and memorials of savage virtue.  

According to Hogarth, folksong is surely a property that originated from “rude societies” and their untamed qualities. As asserted by some of his contemporaries, especially Herder and his followers, the nature of folksong was deeply rooted in the rawness of its bearers. Nevertheless, in the second part of the excerpt, Hogarth remarks that folksong should include “some tincture of generosity and good feeling” to represent properly the character of nation and to be constantly remembered as the root of later generations.

The changed meaning of folksong, which engages “some tincture of generosity and good feeling,” is clarified in the following phrases:

… the very best parts of their actual character that are dwelt upon even in the barbarous songs of savages, these songs must contribute essentially to the progress of refinement, by fostering and cherishing every germ of good feeling that is successively developed during the advancement of society. When selfishness begins to give way to generosity, – when mere animal courage is in some degree ennobled by feelings of patriotic self-devotion, – and, above all, when sensual appetite begins to be purified into love, – it is then that the popular songs, by acquiring a higher character themselves, come to produce a still more powerful reaction upon the character of the people.  

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145 “The Select Melodies of Scotland, interspersed with those of Ireland and Wales, &c. By George Thomson, F. A. S. Edinburgh. 5 vols. royal 8vo. 1822,” 67. The italics are the reviewer’s emphasis, and the underlines are my emphasis.

146 Ibid., 67-8. The underlines are my emphasis.
In Hogarth’s accounts, factors that had been generally regarded as crucial to the definition of folksong were in need of modification. Its “selfishness” was to adopt a degree of “generosity,” and its “savageness” was to incorporate “good feeling” to help one’s “progress of refinement.” In other words, the nature of folksong stemmed from the cultural and ethnic authenticity of one race but needed to be receptive to events that took place outside its own boundaries, and its primitive quality to be raised by modern sensibilities.

In early nineteenth-century Europe, the idea of nation was not necessarily confined to a region founded on ethnic homogeneity, nor was it a goal of nation states to achieve such congruence. Although Herder’s concepts of *Volk* and *Volkslied* began to hold sway over German-speaking lands, contemporaries in the British Isles molded thoughts of nation and nationhood on their own political and cultural agenda. Their regard for developing cultural ground helped unfetter national song from the previous definition of it as a property that was innate and thereby intact. The importance of self-cultivation caused the crudity of folksong to be altered by good manners; the unmannerly people’s belonging was to be elevated to a treasure of nation, which owed much to the past and yet embodied the ideal of the community.

With respect to Thomson’s modification of national air, Hogarth thus remarks:

> To please a modern audience, a song must be full of meaning; and it is because the songs to which they have alluded are full of meaning, and generally of more meanings than one, that they are so popular.147

The restoration of British folksongs including ballads was in part geared toward the rekindling of

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147Ibid., 71. The italics are the reviewer’s emphasis.
ancient heroes and lovers as “objects on which every one delighted to dwell” and “models which
the braver and nobler spirits were thus incited to emulate.” Many of the original texts of the
songs were replaced with modern poems, but contemporary writers were likely to express
devotion in their modern lyrics. Such themes as “true heart,” “faithful love,” and “sympathy” lay
at the core of the contemporary sentiments for nation. As the writer notices, “still a great number
of the older songs were so debased by grossness and vulgarity, as to be quite unfit for the use of a
refined age.” Thomson’s change of text was to enhance the meaning of song. New poems were
to please his listeners and yet to help strengthen their moral principles, especially those of the
young because their hearts were regarded as most receptive and sensitive to impressions.

Along with the incorporation of modern text, the addition of modern sound could also
extend the meaning of song. The merits of Thomson’s collection were connected with harmony,
a subject that had emerged as a critical element of modern instrumental music.

Every practical musician is aware, that the connexion [sic] between
melody and harmony is of the most intimate kind, and that every
melody that is really good, however unartificial [sic] in its
structure, is perfectly susceptible of receiving additional beauty
from good harmony. The pleasure which we receive from harmony
is as natural (or as much derived from our original constitution) as
that which is produced by melody.

From the writer’s perspective, the relationship between melody and harmony was the most
natural. As claimed by such contemporary theorists as Mattheson, Daube, and Koch, the melody

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148 Ibid., 68.
149 Ibid., 72.
150 Ibid., 70-1.
151 Ibid., 74.
should rule, while the harmony should serve. Good melody by nature implicates good harmony; despite an air of sophistication that may follow, the effect of the harmony is still as natural as that of the melody itself. As the writer believes, the transcendent genius of the composers who worked with Thomson allowed them to attain naturalness. While Beethoven’s harmony, which often incorporated seventh and ninth chords as well as other chromatic chords, sounded bolder than that of other composers, it could have been considered natural, in that it came from “the wildest strains that were to be found in national music.”

“The accompaniments of a national air ought to be like the picturesque attire of a beautiful savage, which heightened and embellished the wild graces of the wearer.”

To understand and more effectively transmit the corpus of folksong, it was inevitable to include harmony, which eventually engaged “the aid of instruments and of skill in the use of them, an element that was not found in “a rude state of society.”

With regard to the convention of including modern text and accompaniment in folksong, a reviewer in The Harmonicon 6 of January 1828 also expresses an opinion similar to that of Hogarth. As both agree, a large number of ballads contained lyrics that were exhausting in length and thereby unsuitable for expressive singing. The want of suitable verses to Scottish melodies was, in this reviewer’s accounts, already perceived by Ramsay in his “Tea-Table Miscellany,” the

\[152\text{Ibid., 78.}\]
\[153\text{Ibid.}\]
\[154\text{Ibid., 75.}\]
\[155\text{A Select Collection of ORIGINAL SCOTTISH AIRS, with Introductory and Concluding Symphonies and Accompaniments for the PIANO-FORTE, VIOLIN, or FLUTE, and VIOLONCELLO, by PLEYEL, HAYDN, WEBER, HUMMEL, BEETHOVEN, &c., and Characteristic Verses adapted to the Airs, including upwards of ONE HUNDRED SONGS by BURNS. By GEORGE THOMSON, F. A. S., Edinburgh. A New Edition, in Five Vols. folio, 1826. (Preston, 71, Dean Street, Soho.),” The Harmonicon 6 (1828): 8-15.}\]
\[156\text{Ibid., 9.}\]
first extensive collection of Scottish songs. Ramsay was very liberal in altering the old songs, and many people favored his works. However, his poetry gradually declined in popularity as taste and delicacy advanced.157 Since then, the history of British lyric poetry had remained in a dark period. It was Thomson and his greatest contributor, Burns, who resumed the writing of new verses to the Scottish melodies. Writers including Scott, Smyth, Baillie, and many others followed the footsteps of Burns. Each of them worked according to his or her own artistic merits; in particular, Smyth, Professor of Cambridge, whose works were associated with the greatest number of Beethoven’s settings, was noteworthy for his remarkable sense of poetry and music.158

After his ardent response to the British writers and their achievement in Thomson’s folksong collection, the reviewer attributes the great musical qualities of the anthology to the genius of such composers as Pleyel, Kozeluch, Haydn, Beethoven, Weber, and Hummel, as well as to the insight of Thomson who commissioned them, providing models for his fellow citizens.159 According to the writer, harmony was “to add clearness to the design, heighten the grace, and even strengthen the expression of melody” as in every sort of original composition, ranging from the simplicity of the peasant’s strain to the sublimity of sacred song. By taking an example with Zerlina’s artless and simple air “Vedrai, carino” from Mozart’s Don Giovanni, the author attempted to demonstrate to what extent the beauty and expression of the simple melody can be increased by the accompaniment. He also pointed out, “The greatest simplicity of effect is often accompanied with the most consummate skill in construction, and requires the greatest dexterity in execution.”160 As the writer observes, contemporaries often confounded “simplicity

157 Ibid.
158 Ibid., 10.
159 Ibid., 11.
160 Ibid.
of construction” with “simplicity of effect” and reached a wrong assumption that “the use of learned harmony was to destroy the simplicity of national music.”161 Many of Beethoven’s and Weber’s works produced effects not only “perfectly original,” but “exquisitely simple,” so that they could be “instructive to the musician and gratify the curiosity of the connoisseur.”162 Moreover, the accompaniment of the works could involve instruments and thereby produce a friendly ambience in domestic circles in which the spirit of the bourgeoisie remained most apparent.

The accompaniments, in the present work, are so constructed as to produce a satisfactory effect on the pianoforte alone; but, when the additional parts, for the violin, flute, and violoncello, are used, the airs, thus performed in a chamber, have almost as much richness as if accompanied by a full orchestra in a theatre or concert-room; and we know of no musical work which furnishes such an inexhaustible supply of delightful materials for the most agreeable of all concerts – that which is got up in the bosom of an elegant domestic circle.163

Regarding Beethoven’s folksong settings, German critics had a slightly different perspective from that of British writers. Like the latter, the former publicly took notice of the rise of bourgeois music culture and the significance of singing and playing in the members’ refinement. Nevertheless, German writers were less likely to deal with the songs within their Scottish cultural context than within that of the composer. Putting aside a number of folksong settings published by Thomson, they drew attention primarily to ones over which Beethoven seemed to exercise a kind of direct control by assigning an opus number and for which

161Ibid.
162Ibid.
163Ibid.
Schlesinger provided German translations. Thomson’s collaboration with Beethoven and British poets’ contributions to his works never counted as a significant part of the composer’s achievement. Without reference to the conventions of British folksongs, German writers tried to locate the meaning of the works in the tradition of the German art song or lied, a genre that they found deeply ingrained in the tradition of folksong due to the seemingly shared ideal of simplicity.

A. B. Marx comments on Beethoven’s Scottish lieder, Op. 108 in the journal *Cäcilia* of 1827:

There are works toward which the public needs to grow to maturity. This has often been experienced, but probably no one has been able to maintain that a collection of songs [lieder] stands so high previous to the above named.

The majority of songs [lieder], like that of lyrical poets, is a play with the expression of emotions; one distinguishes those over which blows the breath of genuine feeling, in which at least one side rings true. A collection presents itself here which, in extent and variety of content, already surpasses most of its kind, while also taking hold of each of the alluring circumstances to be found in its range with sincerity and depth, filling them with such a noble charm of truthfulness, remaining so pure of every hidden decoration, so free of every disfiguration with empty convention, that among more recent works no richer treasure trove for study and animated enjoyment can be pointed out to disciples and friends of song and of song composition.

Let them be most urgently recommended to them for their best advantage, without any encroaching discussion.164

As acknowledged by the British writers, Marx noticed the practical value of Beethoven’s folksong settings as a reference for “disciples (Jüngern) and friends (Freunden) of song (Gesang) and song composition (Gesangkomposition).” The audience was guided in experiencing gentle and profound feelings of the songs, distinguished from the unpleasant manners of folksongs that remained in a state of savagery. According to Marx, the scope of Beethoven’s folksong settings and the variety of their content were most important, especially within the lied tradition. Whether or not Marx was conscious of the works’ indebtedness to British airs and poems, he viewed them as one kind of art song. In his appreciation of the works, he stressed their mode of presentation, even though the melodies were taken from Scottish folksongs, and the lyrics were written by British poets and translated from English. On the one hand, Marx could have overlooked the songs’ association with the body of British folksongs and their modern texts. On the other hand, he would have conceived the lied somehow differently from the way we do today. It was not a musical type defined by an aesthetic derived from a few of Schubert’s works, such as Gretchen am Spinnrade (1814) and Wanderers Nachlied (1815), but “a blanket term for a loose conglomeration of genres ranging in their settings from solo to duet and quartet to chorus, and in their forms from simple strophic repetition to through-composed cavatinas or rondos to rhapsodic ode settings,”165 as evidenced by Schubert’s entire output of lieder and a volume of Beethoven’s collected songs and lieder.

Along similar lines, a writer who signed as “Bust’d’or” reviews Beethoven’s folksong

settings within the context of lied traditions. Basing his theory on works by Schulz and especially Reichard, he suggested that the genre attain the simplicity of folksongs (Volksgesänge) by including the plainest melody, as well as true and simple declamation.\textsuperscript{166} According to the writer, Beethoven’s folksong arrangements surely served as a landmark in the development of the lied. They provided important instructions not only for “the capable friend of art” (Kunstfreunde), but also even for “the student artist” (studierenden Künstler), both of whom were in need of improvement of skills in song and song composition.

In recent times capable men have certainly worked capably toward this, and this precedent allows susceptible friends of art to foresee progress in the genre [lied], an awakening of younger artists and the expenditure of new breath. Beethoven must also be named foremost here, and the attention of artists and friends of art cannot be drawn frequently enough to his collection –

Scottish songs, with accompaniment

By Beethoven.

Schlesinger in Berlin.

A collection that is without peer in richness, depth and sincerity, variety of characters and charm, and offers the most abundant sources for the student artist, as well as for the elevated enjoyment of the capable friend of art.\textsuperscript{167}


Whether the writers received Beethoven’s folksong arrangements as lieder or “improved” folksongs, whether they approached them within the context of German-speaking lands or the British Isles, what is noticeable is that both genres and both regions, respectively, were not too foreign to each other at the turn of the nineteenth century. In the tradition of lied, the simplicity of folksong was important to the genre of the lied. According to the conventions of folksong, the genre had to show artistic merits that enhanced its utilitarian values. Given the political and cultural similarities between the two regions in which these two genres flourished, Beethoven’s engagement with folksongs and their audience would have had even more and greater meanings. It might even have been perceived as a special project by the heroic composer.
CHAPTER 3

BEETHOVEN’S FOLKSONG SETTINGS AND THE BILDUNGS/MUSIK TRADITION

Contemporary writers’ positive reactions to Beethoven’s folksong settings and Thomson’s collections suggest the works’ place at the turn of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, Beethoven’s folksong settings have failed to fit the paradigm of Western art music; the relationship between reception and commercial success, a criterion occasionally applied to measuring the significance of Beethoven’s folksong settings as popular music, is not clear, either, because most of the works were not always published and disseminated through technologically based means during the composer’s lifetime, and illegal copies that would have been circulated with the original editions make it impossible to determine the popularity of the works. Above all, the publisher’s ambivalent statements concerning the viability of the composer’s “original” yet “difficult” settings obscure the degree to which audiences actually accepted and used the works.

To establish “a legitimate hermeneutic circle at work between the two categories of significance in aesthetics and unfolding meaning in reception history”\(^{168}\) in the study of Beethoven’s folksong settings requires a term that would allow a place for the repertory in histories of Western music. As in literary studies, such terminology would help provide boundaries for our understanding of early nineteenth-century folksong settings whose history has never provided a foundation for scholarship.\(^{169}\) By developing the idea of **Bildung** (“formation”

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\(^{169}\)For a detailed discussion of critical terms and their functions in the interpretation of literature, see Thomas McLaughlin, “Introduction,” in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, eds. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas
or “education” of the self or of selves as a nation) and its relationship to the Bildungsroman (“novel of formation”) in literature, I propose Bildungsmusik (“music for self-improvement”) as a musical analogue to the literary genre. The former primarily depicts the process of a young person’s education, presenting a fictional image of it, while the latter plays an active role in the formative process.

The focus of this chapter is on aspects of Bildungsmusik that were construed as separate aesthetic entities, generic properties, or critical terms in later history. Types such as folk music, popular music, chamber music, house music (Hausmusik), entertainment music (Unterhaltungsmusik), music of the Alps (Alpenmusik), and street music (Gassenhauer) will be discussed. While exploring the aesthetic and stylistic overlap between those types and Bildungsmusik, I also distinguish between them. Simplicity is to be found equally in all the musics, whereas greater sophistication marks Bildungsmusik as different. Such distinction, though subtle, helps us imagine the interior of the culture in which I place the repertory.

The Idea of Bildung in Literature

Public awareness of Bildung was initiated by a literary revolution in the late eighteenth century, when a large amount of reading material was printed and disseminated. The rapid foundation of reading societies and the publication of journals and magazines contributed to the intellectual and cultural movement. The growing consumption of literary works led to a thorough change both in the social status of the writer and in the reading habits of the public. Such phenomena especially stirred Germans, whose literary concerns had been centered on repeated study of the Bible and a limited number of religious texts. They expended a great deal of time

and effort to keep up with new publications and to gain access to as many books as possible. As they covered a wide range of ideas and beliefs in reading, they had a new understanding of themselves and their surroundings. The shift from “intensive” reading to “extensive” vitalized subject matter deeply rooted in reality and attracted more readers to literary culture.

Readers who were particularly conscious of the notion of self-cultivation began to appear as an important audience for novels that dealt with an individual’s development and his/her affiliation with society. Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795-6), with its sequel *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* (1829), exemplified such concerns and remained as classic examples for later novels of the type, such as Charles Dickens’s *David Copperfield* (1850) and *Great Expectations* (1861) and James Joyce’s *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916). Stories about “coming of age” gained enormous popularity in Europe and later spread across North America, creating the tradition of the *Bildungsroman* and its variants, including *Entwicklungsroman* (“novel of development”), *Erziehungsroman* (“novel of upbringing”), and *Künstlerroman* (“novel of an artist”).

The idea of “development” captivated contemporary German writers whose premises centered not only on the individual’s improvement but also on the modernization of the nation into which the individual ultimately assimilated. Their growing interest in the development of the nation led them to set the *Bildungsroman* at the forefront of German nationalism during the turn

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171 Ibid., 1.

172 The term *Bildungsroman* denotes a novel of all-around self-development. The *Entwicklungsroman* usually refers to a story of general growth rather than self-culture, the *Erziehungsroman* a story that focuses on training and formal education, and the *Künstlerroman* the development of an artist. For a brief, though not satisfactory, explanation of the terminological distinctions, see “Bildungsroman,” *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2005), Encyclopedia Britannica Online <http://search.ed.com/ed/article?tocId=9079195>. 
of the nineteenth century. The term *Bildungsroman* was suggested probably first by Friedrich von Blankenburg in his 1774 “Essay on the Novel”; then, around 1820, Karl von Morgenstern in his lectures on “Essence” and “History” coined the term *Bildungsroman* in its contemporary form.\(^\text{173}\)

The philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey, in his 1870 biography of Friedrich Schleiermacher and in the 1906 supplement, finally tied this type of novel firmly to Goethe’s 1795 work. Since then, German critics have hailed Goethe as the founder of the *Bildungsroman*, both nationally and internationally. His perception of education has played a critical role in refining the concept *Bildung*, which denotes today not merely a type of education but “a process of self-formation within and through interaction within the world.”\(^\text{174}\)

Despite German intellectuals’ role in the tradition of *Bildungsroman*, some critics argue today, “it was in no sense a German invention, but rather a German reshaping of eighteenth-century ideas current in Europe. It was not a form original with Goethe in Germany, but with Goethe the idea of *Bildung* took an especially comprehensive sweep. It is therefore possible to look for the emphasis on *Bildung* in places other than German-speaking areas, at times other than the Romantic period, and in novels other than *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*.”\(^\text{175}\) According to this theory, the cultural meaning of *Bildungsroman* can extend beyond Goethe and his geographical and linguistic boundaries. German writers including Jean Paul (1763-1825), Hölderlin (1770-1843), Novalis (1772-1801), and Tieck (1773-1853) worked within the tradition of the *Bildungsroman*. Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), Dickens (1812-70), Jane Austen (1775-1817), and Charlotte Brontë (1816-55) in the British Isles, as well as Stendhal (1783-1842) and Balzac


\(^{175}\) The quote comes from Susanne Howe’s arguments; see Ellis, *Appearing to Diminish*, 22.
(1799-1850) in France participated in the literary trend.

Among these, the British writers appear to have been particularly successful in developing their own versions of Bildungsroman. Beginning with Carlyle’s 1824 English translation of the Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, the interest in what would have been known at the time as the novel of formative education penetrated to the heart of the new reading community, the bourgeoisie. Both male and female middle-class readers emerged as chief consumers of such stories. The narrative of a young woman’s development, as well as that of a young man, became commonplace in the literary culture of the British Isles. The relatively liberal outlook of the society made it possible to popularize a story about female development. Such works as Austen’s Sense and Sensibility (1811), Pride and Prejudice (1813), and Emma (1816), and Brontë’s Jane Eyre (1847) demonstrate the early nineteenth-century British fascination with a young woman’s private and public growth. The conflict between personal integrity and the desire to fulfill the wishes of others was a shared concern of male and female readers. The protagonist’s demands and desires within the world corresponded to those of contemporary readers, for the spirit of the time led them to pursue political and cultural ideals and professionalism, closely tied to national sentiments that paved the way for modernization.

The Bourgeois Appropriation of Bildung in Music

The idea of Bildung manifested itself in music, as in literature. Members of the bourgeoisie began to regard building a distinct music culture as a way of compensating through culture for their low social standing and lack of a political voice. Their rational and economic values supported the idea of working, training, or learning, while their notion of free time as a source of strengthening physical and spiritual powers for work gave rise to the perception of
entertainment (*Unterhaltung*), pastime (*Kurzweil*), or amusement (*Zeitvertrieb*) as a significant part of self-education.\(^{176}\) Music, as well as other pleasant activities that could have been grouped together under the word “entertainment,” came into existence as “harmless entertainments (*unschädliche Unterhaltungen*)”\(^{177}\) Much of the bourgeoisie seems to have taken seriously the role of music in education, edification, and entertainment.

Extra-musical ideas, whether religious, nationalist, or literary, served as part of the substance of genres including opera and oratorio, and their aesthetic and moral bearing, particularly on the oratorio, allowed the repertory an undisputed aesthetic position throughout the nineteenth century, despite its diminishing role in the system of genres.\(^{178}\) Meanwhile, the growth of secular music culture enhanced the role of music as entertainment. Opera, a genre that had shared many features with the oratorio, became more lighthearted by including, for example, marches in military scenes, hymns and chants for church scenes, and minuets and gavottes for old-world ballroom scenes. These entertaining elements were typical in Italian opera at the time. By absorbing idioms for the “common” people, Italian opera remained popular. It survived independent of the general tradition of opera and played an increasing role in public entertainment.\(^{179}\)

The most notable realization of *Bildung* took place in the realm of “chamber” music. As the bourgeoisie began to see “family” and its music making at home as a token of the


\(^{179}\) For a brief discussion of Italian opera as a popular art, see Peter Van der Merwe, *Roots of Classical: The
community’s strength in an improved world, musical composition for domestic use enjoyed its heyday. The specific socio-cultural atmosphere of this bourgeois music amplified not only the meaning of such phrases as “domestic music,” “private music,” and “music of friends” in English, “musique domestique” in French, and “musica domestica” in Italian, but also that of the German word “Hausmusik.” With its roots in Protestant German ideas of family and its close, intimate privacy in chamber or garden, house music became a practice of a culturally awakening class in German-speaking lands. Friendly social gatherings and their music making fostered the conviviality on which house music was based.

The emphasis on family and its privacy supported conservative tastes in music that favored pieces for chamber and their inherent affects. Compositions for domestic use nonetheless began to partake of both private and public manners, as well as lowbrow and highbrow styles, to meet the wish for breadth. Musical aesthetics at the time tended to diverge towards seemingly opposite ends. With the ascendancy of instrumental music as a language that transcended that of words, the abstract nature of music became a central topic among contemporary intellectuals. Critics often tackled the irrepressible habit of associating images with instrumental music or engrossing oneself in one’s own inner feelings instead of in the aesthetic object. Their observations led to a new manner of listening that required the audience to retrace in silence the

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181 Ibid., 228.

act of composition. Some of the audiences were in effect inclined to listen to lieder and oratorios “instrumentally,” consciously or subconsciously ignoring the texts and following instead expectations regarding thematic material, motivic elaboration, and formal articulation.\textsuperscript{183}

The upper class’s fascination with the cultivation of “grand design,” whose aesthetic primarily had to do with the genre of the symphony,\textsuperscript{184} inspired the middle class to imitate such sophisticated form and refined sound in its private music making. Song and its simplicity continued to be favored both in composition and in performance, while sophisticated techniques, such as various combinations of voices, modern harmonization, and instrumental accompaniment, began to appear. As in Beethoven’s folksong settings, songs for domestic use frequently adapted materials from other types of composition as part of their own repertory – for example, the galant, singing, brilliant, pastoral, storm and stress, sentimental, fantasia, learned, and Siciliano styles. The charms of the galant and singing styles especially captured the young British audience that the elegant and tuneful symphonies and concertos of J. C. Bach had already captivated.\textsuperscript{185} The mixture of cultivated sound and popular, folk material was common in bourgeois music making. The opposition between private and public and its offspring, concepts of “low” and “high” styles, carried little weight until around the middle of the century. The blurred boundaries in music were “an indication of the bourgeoisie’s ascension to a semi-autocratic cultural elite.”\textsuperscript{186}

\textsuperscript{183}Dahlhaus, \textit{Nineteenth-Century Music}, 50.

\textsuperscript{184}Ibid., 89.


The Concept of *Hausmusik* within the Trajectory of Musical *Bildung*

The “singing bourgeoisie” became a phenomenon that held sway over much of Europe. The idea that music was meant to be “enjoyed” and “understood” eventually prevailed in both highbrow and middlebrow cultures during the nineteenth century. As singing had an increasing place in middle-class culture, a large number of “new” compositions appeared in contemporary vocal literature. With the exception of songs in theatrical genres, which also captivated bourgeois audiences, most songs for domestic music making were intended to be simple to understand and amusing to play. Not only solo songs that survive today within the idealized construct of Schubertian lieder but also vocal duets, trios, and quartets – which have largely disappeared from the current musical scene and historical memory – constituted the tradition of the lied at the time. Also included are arrangements of popular tunes ranging from opera arias, to national airs, to street songs, set in various types and numbers of voices, often with the accompaniment of instrument(s) available at home – keyboard, later on mostly piano, as well as violin, flute, guitar, and violoncello.

The practice of arrangement, despite its unsure position in our current system of genres, suited the domestic pursuit of *Bildung*. The capacity of the arrangement to introduce repertories of the theatre, church, and aristocratic salon into lowbrow venues, on the one hand, fulfilled the needs of those who wished to be well versed in diverse types of melodies and their styles. Despite their increasing interest in theatrical genres, on the other hand, most middle-class audiences had reservations about theatre still oriented towards the aristocracy and, more basically,

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188Ibid., 97.
could not afford the high price of admission. Thus, melodies that became popular in operas, especially by Rossini and his successors, were often rescored for performance in the bourgeois home. Simple arrangements of opera arias, mostly with piano and other domestic instruments, made their appearance through the channel of musical magazines and journals.

In addition to the opera arias, national airs and street songs – dance-based songs, child rhymes, joking and mocking songs, market songs, and merchant calls – turned into a source for house music by means of arrangement. There had been no clear distinction between national airs and street songs, but the domestic use of songs from the street had been largely discouraged for a while because of the traditional association between house music and domestic devotion. Moreover, “street song” had already begun to be perceived as a value-laden term at the end of the eighteenth century, in opposition to “folksong,” evoked by Herder as noble and important.

Nevertheless, numerous street songs found their way into homes, having their direct precursors or parallels in repertories of folksongs largely reproduced in a popular and commercialized context. As Goethe showed impressively in Leonardo’s diary in the Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre, “man can sing at the weaving stool, but not at the weaving machine.” The need for entertainment as compensation for a long working day and oppressive living conditions frequently caused middle-class people to alleviate their hardship at work with songs at

189 Composers’ efforts to produce music compositionally not complicated but appropriate to the construction of domestic devotion had appeared since the sixteenth century. For example, G. Forster in his Frische teutsche Liedlei (Nbg. 1539) stated that the domestic singing and playing should stand against infamous songs on the street. Along similar lines, Heinrich Schütz directed his Psalmen Davis (1619) for the house of the educated or the residence of Latin students and chapel singers. For a brief discussion of the sacred image of domestic music making, see Busch-Salmen, “Hausmusik,” 229.


191 Ibid.: “Daß man am Webstuhl, nicht aber an der Webmaschine singen kann, hat Goethe eindrucksvoll im Tagebuch des Leonardo in Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre (1821, erw. 1829) gezeigt.”
home. This phenomenon pleased clever publishers. They made light goods that were profitable: farce-couplets, chansons for amusement places, and hit tunes from operettas and revues.\textsuperscript{192} Even contemporary folksong collectors and publishers, in their compilation of songs, followed the procedure by which most street songs were and are still produced.\textsuperscript{193} New texts were set to what were viewed at the time as folksongs, with the addition of instrumental accompaniment that fundamentally altered the monophony of folksong. According to the convention at the turn of the nineteenth century, it was possible to replace the original text of a pre-existing tune, whether of popular, folk, or street origin, with a newly composed text by a contemporary writer.\textsuperscript{194} The bourgeois use of songs for house music made it difficult to draw a clear line between folk and street songs. Such blurring of boundaries characterized the restoration of national music at the turn of the nineteenth century.

\textbf{“Subcultures” for \textit{Bildungsmusik}}

The spirit of the bourgeoisie, which set education and conviviality as top priorities in music culture, gave rise to all possible transformations from folk music (\textit{Volksmusik}) to entertainment music (\textit{Unterhaltungsmusik}).\textsuperscript{195} The ideal of domestic music making, which traditionally opposed the regulated aesthetics of concert music, offered folksong writers or arrangers a variety of styles and forms. The early nineteenth-century concept of folk music

\\textsuperscript{192}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{193}For a brief definition of “street music,” see Ibid., 1030.

\textsuperscript{194}See Carew, “The Consumption of Music,” 244; and Barry Cooper, \textit{Beethoven} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 221.

subsequently overlapped with other concepts, which in turn served as substructures in the revival of folksong and in the *Bildungsmusik* tradition.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, folksong research and study had reached a stage of simply collecting and preserving relatively old, well-liked tunes and texts. Without scientific and technological aids, fixing folksong on paper inevitably altered the allegedly “primitive” object. Harmonization and arrangement further changed the monophonic tune. According to the sensibilities of the educated class, these changes did not sully the nature of folksong but rather helped improve the national music. Admixtures of alien styles and forms became the norm for folksong in the early nineteenth century. The bourgeois respect for cultivation and practicality continued to indulge in generic transformations of folksong; popularly conceived tunes and arranged music took the place of the “genuine thing.”

Growing regard for folksong arrangements led to an expansion of the repertory of folksongs as well as to a broad definition of folksong that included “songs received by the folk and suitable for its feelings.” In opposition to the conception of folksong found in Herder – the so-called “production theory (Produktionstheorie)” – many folksong collectors and publishers consistently tailored their products to its supposedly “authentic” form. Re-presenting the folksong as a song potentially “popular” with the “folk,” they preferred to produce the folksong arrangement rather than publish the folksong proper.

Heinrich Eduard Josef von Lannoy (1787-1853), a composer and a leading figure of the Viennese musical scene, harshly criticized this trend, an indication of the widening gulf between

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196Ibid.: 124.


198According to the “production theory,” “the folksong should be the product of the folk”; see Ibid.
theory and practice concerning the folksong repertory. In his entry “National Music” in the *Aesthetisches Lexicon* (1835-37), he wrote: “the real character of this type of folk melody was, as a rule, watered down by those who collected it, because they felt they had to *improve* or *ennable* it … they falsified them … there are fewer and fewer genuine folksongs or folk dances.”

Lannoy’s comments on the one hand suggest how badly those collectors and publishers may have misrepresented and trivialized folk melodies. On the other hand, despite the awareness of “genuine” folksongs among the intelligentsia, many collections contained “popularized” folksongs to serve the purpose of “improvement.” These were overwhelmingly popular with the general audience.

The ambivalent position of folk music at the turn of the century exemplified the spirit of the time. The overlap between the “folk” and the “popular” was common to contemporary thinking. The “popular” represented the counterpart to the “artistic” and “artificial” of courtly practice and at the same time was marked as one of the central initiating elements for the cultivated aspect of music among the bourgeoisie. Within the context of “popular” music, “the bourgeoisie began to secure the concept of “folk” as a central ideological legitimizing authority; popular songs thus formed the germ of a popularization strategy formulated in the spirit of the Enlightenment and its ethical, moralistic, and artistic demands.”

The shifting alliance between “popular” and “folk” gave rise to the popular song

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199 This quote comes from Heinrich Eduard Josef von Lannoy (1787-1853). Leben und Werke (Graz, 1960), 75f.; see Suppan, “Research on Folk Music in Austria since 1800”: 120. The italics are my emphasis.


201 As for the question of the interchange between folk and popular on their alliance, Van der Merwe argues,
written in a folk manner or style (*Lied im Volkston*). The revitalization of folksong inspired the fashion of “folk-likeness” (*Volkstümlichkeit*), that is, “the orientation towards the interest of and the comprehensibility to the folk.”202 The vague distinction between songs of folk origin and songs in the spirit of folksong inspired a passion for emulating the nature of folksong in professional music making. Composers’ use of folk-like melody and sound was often regarded as a token of the communal power of music. As evidenced in many symphonies and string quartets by Haydn and Beethoven, as well as in comic operas by Mozart, folk-like simplicity served as a significant means to mold a work of art in relation to its audience’s tastes. The folk-like song caused discomfort in theory within the realm of serious art music as well as of Herderian folk music but in practice enjoyed wide dissemination.

Positioned between the two substrata of Viennese Classical music and folk music as a collective product, the taste for folk-likeness corresponded to the popularity of music that echoed a simple manner of singing, music making, and dancing from the region of Alps – *Alpenmusik*.203 A product of the mentality of the Enlightenment as manifested in the ideas of J. J. Rousseau and Herder, as well as of the national movements of the nineteenth century, “Alps music” did not denote music indigenous to a part of mid Europe at any time. Rather it was a concept open to other realms of music that was by no means limited to one style. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was perceived as part of folk-like music, contributing to the idealized

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image of folksong.

All these factors seem to have enthralled contemporary folksong collectors and publishers who sought to find theoretical and aesthetic justification for the repertory of folksong settings. As in Beethoven’s folksong variations, popular, folk-like songs from Viennese comedies were often presented as folksongs. Johann Baptist Henneberg probably wrote the theme of Op. 105, No. 3, “A Schüsserl und a Reinderl.” Friedrich Satzenhofen composed the theme of Op. 107, No. 1, “I bin a Tyroler Bue,” and of Op. 107, No. 5, “A Madel, ja a Madel.” At the same time, there was an opposite transformation from folk to popular, folk-like, or entertainment song. For example, the theme of Op. 107, No. 7, unanimously called “Russian” in the original English and German prints although it probably came from the Ukraine, was published in W. G. Becker’s 1809 *Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnügen* (“Pocketbook for Social Entertainment”) with words supplied by Christoph August Tiedge, *Schöne Minka, ich muss scheiden* (“Lovely Minka, I must depart”). The tune soon became popular: Whistling and Hoffmeister’s catalogue of printed sheet music, published in 1817, listed composers who had already written sets of variations on it. The same would apply to the theme of Op. 107, No. 3, a folksong from Ukraine equally known as a popular song entitled “Pachaluie Sudarina.”

Along with the contemporary enthusiasm for “folk” or “popular” song, the notion of music as entertainment or entertainment with music also provided in part aesthetic and moral ground for the folksong arrangement. References to entertainment had begun to appear in the titles and descriptions of music publications during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. There were, for instance, “Entertainments with Clavichord in German Songs by a Young

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Dilettante from Swabia” (1778), “Entertainments for Keyboard in German Songs” (1782), “Little Musical Entertainments for Keyboard or Pianoforte, together with Several Songs” (1788), “loving, joking, and comic lieder and romances for the noble and sweet entertainment of both sexes at the clavichord” (1789), “Entertainment for Amateurs of Music, especially of Keyboard and Harp” (1790-1), “For the Advancement of Solitary and Social Entertainments at the Keyboard for the Versed and Unversed, Arranged from Various Compositions” (1791), “Musical Entertainments for Friends of Clavichord and Song” (ca. 1795), and “Entertainments at the Clavichord for the Unskilled and Amateur of Song” (1797).205

The constant appearance of the word “entertainment” indicates that contemporary amateurs and dilettantes understood music as a sphere in which singing and playing instruments played a crucial part. Simultaneously, it suggests that their activities, tied to the idea of cultivation, centered on both entertaining and educative music making. The term “entertainment,” due to the influence of the French “entretenir” since the eighteenth century, was rather flexibly used, embracing entirely different activities including social speech, lecture, the attendance of theatre, and music and play of all kinds.206 The private venue in which entertainment music was performed and the friendly atmosphere that it furthered could have allowed a degree of casualness in its content and form, but the type was not meant to be merely

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for pastime or amusement. “Such concepts as pleasure, practicality, and instruction are usually linked with it, through which entertainment is differentiated from mere pastime and mere amusement,” in J. H. Campe’s accounts from the Woerterbuch der Deutschen Sprache of 1811.²⁰⁷

Regarding compositional aspects, as Ballstaedt observes of early nineteenth-century entertainment music,²⁰⁸ the melody was to be simple, obvious, laid out periodically, and thereby predictable, as well as tuneful and suitable for singing along. Rhythm was supposedly unequivocal and clearly stressed stereotypically, mostly producing a decisive effect on human body, albeit with no direct dance functions. Harmony was based on combinations of major triads colored by minor chords and, finally, form was concise, distinct, and simple. These features appear not to stem from any rules; yet, they manifested concerns evident in the realm of serious art music that coexisted with entertainment music during the nineteenth century. The difference between the two had to do with the degree of technical difficulty, textural complexity, originality, and density of structural units.

The Bildungsmusik Tradition

Bildungsmusik mirrors the unique cultural and ideological context of the early nineteenth century. Chamber music, house music, folk music, popular music, Alps music, entertainment music, and even street music have meaning within this tradition. The educative and entertaining


²⁰⁸Ibid., 1191.
elements of *Bildungsmusik*, which derived from its broad relationship with other musics, allowed the repertory to do more than just serve as amusement for amateur music lovers. Despite the low degree of difficulty and complexity in the music and its connection with the musically less educated, the emphasis on simplicity and clarity resonates throughout much of histories of Western music.\(^{209}\)

The *Bildungsmusik* tradition seems to reach beyond modern dichotomies. Repeated attempts to simplify musical reality into two fundamental poles in histories of Western music, such as H. Besseler’s distinction between “social” and “objective” music (1978), H. H. Eggebrecht’s autonomous and functional music (1973), Dahlhaus’s opposing of Beethoven and Rossini, or symphony and opera,\(^{210}\) distort the tradition of *Bildungsmusik*. One should remain skeptical, since these dichotomies may eventually prove to be wrong-headed, or there may be more “in-between steps, mixed forms, and crossover phenomena than ‘entertainment music’ or ‘art music’ in a ‘pure form.’”\(^{211}\) Early nineteenth-century folksong collections are not authentic data culled and separated from second-hand data, nor are they based on folksong research and study that engage proper sifting and scientific cataloguing according to twentieth-century standards. The folksong culture of the *Goethezeit* derived less from awareness of ethnic or regional origins for the musical conception of “Britishness,” “Scottishness,” “Welshness,” “Irishness,” and “Germanness” than from a comprehensive repertory of songs accepted by a broad audience at a critical moment of European history. Therefore, it would be impossible to

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\(^{209}\)Ibid.  


\(^{211}\)Ibid., 1193: “Auch wenn es im Gefolge der dichotomischen Denkform immer wieder Versuche gab, die musikalische Realität auf zwei grundlegende Pole zu vereinfachen (etwa bei H. Besseler 1978 in umgangsmäßige und gegenständliche Musik, oder bei H. H. Eggebrecht 1973 in funktionale und autonome Musik), so bleibt doch die Skepsis, daß die gedachte Zweiteilung musikalischer Kultur letztlich unwirklich ist, es mehr Zwischenstufen, Mischformen, Übergangsphänomene gibt, als die >Unterhaltungsmusik< oder die >Kunstmusik< in >Reinform<.”

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undertake careful analysis of the historical strata with the aim of properly classifying the regional styles and musical traditions of “authentic” folk melodies from a current ethnomusicological perspective. It is more realistic to consider these musics as subcultures in the tradition of *Bildungsmusik.*
CHAPTER 4

THE BEETHOVEN FOLKSONG PROJECT IN HISTORIES OF WESTERN MUSIC

Beethoven’s folksong arrangements and variations seem to have been well received by his contemporaries. Amateurs’ appraisal of music as an educative and entertaining means helped forge a valid relationship between reception and aesthetics with respect to folksong settings. In determining the meaning and value of the works in histories of Western music, nevertheless, the fact that arrangements have no historical authenticity as a genre has caused many writers and readers to be at a loss. According to common perception, intent to popularize an otherwise difficult or unfamiliar composition has motivated most arrangements or transcriptions. In adapting a work of art for a different performance venue and/or medium from that of the original, an arranger undertakes a degree of recomposition regarding melody, rhythm, harmony, and other elements of music. As for “the purely practical arrangement, in which there is little or almost no artistic involvement on the arranger’s part,”212 not much aesthetic discussion is to be expected; whereas, as for “the more creative arrangement, in which the original composition is filtered through the musical imagination of the arranger,”213 such concerns as beauty and expression merit consideration. At issue is still the repertory’s lack of legitimacy in accounts of music history, which tend to corroborate overtly ingenious and influential works. The arrangement, due

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213 Ibid.
to its intrinsic relationship with an original version, has rarely been regarded as an independent aesthetic entity. Not many writers have given credit to such repertories.214

This chapter contests the common assumption that arrangements are “badly composed” and “trivial.”215 The “deviant” characteristics of Beethoven’s folksong settings and their aesthetic merits will be reexamined within the practice of arrangement at the turn of the nineteenth century. The composer’s or, more precisely, the arranger’s adaptation of national airs for domestic music making, recomposition of pre-existing materials, collaboration with amateurs and professionals, and incorporation of musics familiar to and popular with contemporaries deserve attention as criteria for understanding the works historically. Not only harmonization and instrumentation but also the *galant*, cantabile, brilliant, pastoral, sentimental, fantasia, and march styles, basic means by which Beethoven introduced the element of *Bildung* in his folksong settings, should be reconsidered as salient stylistic characteristics of the repertory as a whole.

Adaptation of Folksongs for Domestic Music Making

The significance of singing and playing in the music culture of the bourgeoisie was a strong impetus for Thomson and Beethoven to pursue their venture. Writing for this milieu, the composer turned folksongs into a type of modern music, decorating them with harmonization, a hallmark of cultivation, in works for popular domestic instruments, including pianoforte, flute, violin, and violoncello. The genres of accompanied sonata and chamber music with piano also


often served as an aesthetic channel to incorporate folk or folk-like materials. Many British folksongs were well suited for Viennese harmony, since their melodic contours often implied a succession of triads. Folksongs of other nationalities employed by Beethoven did not sound alien from the new harmonic principles because folksong collectors and publishers of the time consulted usually pre-existing publications in which much of the repertory had already been modified to reflect contemporary taste.

Harmony brought a sense of warmth, elegance, and sophistication to the melodies, while enhancing the tenderness and profoundness of “love,” a theme that appeared with varied connotations in many of the modern texts used in Thomson’s folksong collections. Introducing harmony, moreover, involved introducing such contemporary fashions in music as the galant, cantabile, brilliant, pastoral, sentimental, fantasia, and march styles, as well as their resultant moods of lightheartedness and conviviality.216

The galant and cantabile styles pervade Beethoven’s folksong arrangements. Clarity, pleasingness, and naturalness – ideals of the Enlightenment – are attained by melodies consisting of short-breathed phrases or segments lightly accompanied by harmony and punctuated by frequent cadences. The galant aesthetic, one especially unbound by rules, is clearly distinguished from that of the strict, learned, fugal, and sacred aspects of church style. According to Koch’s description, the galant or free style is more suitable for theatre and chamber works than for church music.217 Within the secular context of the galant style, such rhetorical devices as

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217 Heinrich Christoph Koch, Musikalisches Lexikon (1802). As for a brief discussion of the galant style, see
dynamic shadings, slurred notes, and skillful ornamentation help articulate music and increase its accessibility and comprehensibility. Along similar lines, the cantabile or singing style suggests music in a lyrical vein, with a moderate tempo and a melodic line featuring relatively slow note values and a rather narrow range, appropriate for social gatherings of persons distinguished by their refined way of life.

The pleasant but expressive manners of Viennese Classical music were integrated with the ingenuous feelings of national airs through Beethoven’s individual approach. As can be seen in Example 1, Group XII/Number 6 (Op. 108, No. 1), components of the galant style such as staccato notes, light accompaniment, and homophonic texture run throughout the song. After showing a degree of sophistication through sequential patterning in the prelude, the piano accompanies the melody in a playful manner, while the violin, with the harmonic support of the violoncello, moves with freedom to give a singing quality to the melody. Group XII/Number 2 (Op. 108, No. 3), “O sweet were the hours,” contains both singing and galant styles, the one in a slow tempo and the other in faster tempo (see Example 2). In particular, the singing style in the Andante con moto e semplice section is associated with the protagonist’s longings for the sweetness of youth. The affect of the text, conveyed especially by the word “longings,” is suggested through the sustained bass on F in the piano, while “sweetness” is enhanced by the gracefulness of the melodic and rhythmic figuration as well as the ornamentation in the stringed instruments. In the Allegro section, in contrast, the galant style is used to express the

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protagonist’s efforts to bring back the cheerful feelings of the past through wine. The “naturalness” of the folk melody interacts with the secular context of the song.

Example 2. Group XII/Number 2: *Twenty-Five Scottish Songs*, Op. 108, No. 3, “O sweet were the hours,” mm. 1-31 \(^{219}\)

The \textit{galant} style, despite its roots in courtly manners,\textsuperscript{220} is also readily combined with elements of folk music. Whether to highlight the jolly mood of folksong in general or to temper feelings about the loss of youth, love, or nation, the composer added a sense of humor to the high style by incorporating unexpected accentuation and harmonization. Although it was not Beethoven but rather Thomson who married music and text at the final stage of publication, the affect of the music agrees with that of the text in many of their folksong arrangements. In Group VI/Number 12 (Op. 108, No. 7), “Bonny Laddie, Highland Laddie,” the text tells of a battle between Great Britain and France through the eyes of a Highland fellow, while the music has elements of the \textit{galant} style as well as folk elements, including the sustained bass on F enlivened by octave leaps, a series of “horn fifths” hovering over the drone-like sound, and a naïve pastoral tune suggesting with the accompaniment, rustic feelings (see Example 3a and b). Similarly, the musical setting of Group XII/Number 5 (Op. 108, No. 13), “Come fill, fill, my good fellow!” – obviously a drinking song – goes with the convivial spirit of the text, though the affect of the key, G minor, can be heard as implying the opposite feelings. The music is marked by dance-like rhythm, short-breathed melodic phrases, and strong musical and textual punctuations. When the song reaches its climax at the chorus section, the string instruments incorporate a technique frequently used by town fiddlers. By playing repeated notes in quick tempo, seeming almost to “rub” the strings, the violin and violoncello strengthen the overall impression of the song (see Example 4).

\textsuperscript{220}For details, see Daniel Heartz, \textit{Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720-1780} (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003).


Weels me on your tartan trews,
Bonny laddie, highland laddie,
Tell me, tell me a’ the news,
Bonny laddie, highland laddie!
Saw ye Bony by the way,
Bonny laddie, highland laddie?
Blucher wi’ his beard sae grey,
Bonny laddie, highland laddie?

Or, that doure and deadly Duke,
Bonny laddie, highland laddie,
Scatt’ring Frenchmen wi’ his look,
Bonny laddie, highland laddie!
Some say he the day may rue
Bonny laddie, highland laddie,
Ye can tell gin this be true,
Bonny laddie, highland laddie.

Wou’d ye tell me gin ye ken,
Bonny laddie, highland laddie,
Aught o’ Donald and his men,
Bonny laddie, highland laddie?
Tell me o’ my kilted Clan,
Bonny laddie, highland laddie,
Gin they fought, or gin they ran,
Bonny laddie, highland laddie?

Mir gefällt das Tärtankleid,
Kecke Bursche, Hochlands-Bursche!
Bringt viel Neus’ Ihr aus dem Streit?
Kecke Bursche, Hochlands-Bursche!
Habt ihr Bonny wo gesehen?
Kecke Bursche, Hochlands-Bursche!
Graubart Blücher, keck und schön?
Kecke Bursche, Hochlands-Bursche!

Ihn den Tödlichen vielleicht,
Flinke Bursche, Hochlands-Bursche!
Dessen Blick die Franzosen scheucht?
Flinke Bursche, Hochlands-Bursche!
„Manchem soll der Tag gereut!“
Sprach er, flinke Hochlands-Bursche!
Sagt, mag’s so geworden sein?
Flinke Bursche, Hochlands-Bursche!

Ihr sah’t Alles nah und klar,
Wackre Bursche, Hochlands-Bursche!
Sprecht von Donald’s kühner Schar,
Wackre Bursche, Hochlands-Bursche!
Mein gewürzter Stamm schlief tief,
Wackre Bursche, Hochlands-Bursche!
Sagt mir, ob er focht, ob lief?
Wackre Bursche, Hochlands-Bursche!

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My Heart, let me but lighten,
And Life, let me but brighten,
And Care, let me but frighten
He’ll fly us with one bottle more!
By day, tho’ he confound me,
When friends at night have found me,
There’s paradise around me
But let me have one bottle more!
Come fill, fill, my good fellow,
Fill high, high, my good fellow,
And let’s be merry and mellow,
And let us have one bottle more.

So now, here’s to the Lasses!
See – see, while the toast passes,
How it lights up our beaming glasses,
Encore – to the lasses – encore.
We’ll toast the welcome greeting
Of hearts in union beating,
And oh! for our next merry meeting,
Hurrah! then for one bottle more!
Come fill ...
Singing style can be also noted in Nos. 2, 6, 9, 15, and 19 of Op. 108. As evidenced in Example 5, Group XIII/Number 2 (Op. 108, No. 2), the song appears in a moderate tempo as a plain melody above the flowing accompaniment of the piano trio, suggesting the protagonist’s nostalgia for the wholeness of nature or the uncorrupted landscape of nation. Example 6, Group XII/Number 9 (Op. 108, No. 9), also features singing style, set for duet. Along with the harmony of the duet itself, the melodic/harmonic link between phrases helps the melody continue to sing and increases the affect of the music and text. In Example 7, Group VIII/Number 1 (Op. 108, No. 15), the cruelty of the protagonist’s father, or that of France to Great Britain in a metaphorical sense, is cast in a lyric vein. The warmth of the accompaniment seems to soothe his/her feelings. In particular, the caring sound of the interplay between the stringed instruments compensates for his/her loss of love. The reciting mode of the middle section, which reflects the voice of a commentator in the tradition of ballad, provides a lullaby and lament for the protagonist to ease his/her pain.

The tenderness of singing style culminates in Example 8, Group VI/Number 15 (Op. 108, No. 19). The melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic gestures of the accompaniment support the meaning of the text, which describes a gliding boat’s departure from and return to the shore. The image of the floating boat is conveyed by the conversational interplay of the three instruments as well as by the polyphonic texture of the four-part setting occurring in the middle of the song. Although the composer probably wrote the music with a mere description of the text, singing style and its accompanying moods result in a good example of musical pictorialism. The increased expressiveness through the engagement of singing quality dilutes thecrudeness of folksong in itself. The addition of harmony and instrumental accompaniment makes the lowbrow
music sound gentle and moderate. With a reduced degree of locality, the folksong serves as a simple means for the communication between the composer and his amateur audience.

Andante con molto espressione

Vocifer
Vokalsatz
Singstimme
Klavier

(The sun upon the Weirdw law, In Etrick's vale is sinking sweet...)

The west - land wind is hush and still, The lake lies sleeping...


\[^{225}\text{Beethoven: Schottische und walisische Lieder, ed. Petra Weber-Bockholdt. © 1999 by G. Henle Verlag, Munich, used by permission.}\]
Example 7. Group VIII/Number 1: Twenty-Five Scottish Songs, Op. 108, No. 15, “O cruel was my father,” mm. 1-29

Andante con molto espressione

Violino

Violoncello

Violino piccolo

(b) cruel was my

Klavier

Such a thing could see... And cruel is the wintry wind that chills my heart with... Such a thing could see... And cruel is the wintry wind that chills my heart with... Such a thing could see... And cruel is the wintry wind that chills my heart with...

Example 8. Group VI/Number 15: Twenty-Five Scottish Songs, Op. 108, No. 19, “O swiftly glides the bonny boat,” mm. 1-14\textsuperscript{227}

\textsuperscript{227}Beethoven: Schottische und walisische Lieder, ed. Petra Weber-Bockholdt. © 1999 by G. Henle Verlag, Munich, used by permission.
In Beethoven’s folksong variations, the brilliant and sentimental styles are more dominant than any others. Without the restraints imposed by the voice part, the instruments – piano and flute – explore more musical possibilities. Especially in his writing for the flute, Beethoven employs the brilliant style including rapid passages, upper-range notes, scales, and trills for virtuoso display or intense feeling. In the piano part, he conveys the sentimental style through abrupt changes in mood, broken figures, interrupted continuity, elaborate ornamentation, pregnant pauses, and shifting, uncertain, and often dissonant harmony. The rhetoric of the variation, in which an idea continues to be polished by repetition and ornamentation, helps amplify the effects.\textsuperscript{228} After presentation of the theme, primarily in the \textit{galant} style, variations develop the thematic materials in an extensive and expressive manner. As in the vocal arrangements, the piano part displays various figures and textures. Toward the end of each set of theme and variations, rhythmic and textural complexity, technical difficulty, and above all emotional intensity increase remarkably. The final variation serves as the culmination of the work, often with a brief return of the theme.

Beethoven’s use of the brilliant style is different from the deliberate exploitation of dazzling sound effects by later nineteenth-century pianist-composers. His engagement with the sentimental style affected the development of his piano music, resulting in a wide range of rhythmic possibilities and emotional sensitivities. Beethoven’s folksong variations, despite contemporary expectations for the repertory, frequently display complex textures and require difficult techniques. Typical of his late piano music, they reach a high level of emotional intensity. As can be seen in Var. III of Op. 105, No. 1, the brilliant style often appears as a counterpart to other styles with moderate effects. The piano sets up a gentle and bright mood in

\textsuperscript{228}For a discussion of the rhetoric of the Classical variation, see Elaine Sisman, \textit{Haydn and the Classical Variation} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
G major, Allegro. Then the brilliance contrasts with a fuga in G minor. Both piano and flute participate in the learned style, though they are mutually exclusive in terms of aesthetic, creating contrast and intensity in texture and expression (see Example 9).

The contrast between brilliance and other topics is also found in Var. III of Op. 105, No. 2 (see Example 10). The Allegretto section in C major is characterized by short-breathed recurring motives, while the Allegro section in C minor engages trills on G in the right hand of the piano to support the light and elegant moods of the left hand and at the same time to provide radiant effects for the galant style, which might otherwise sound monotonous due to its simplicity. In a similar vein, Vars. V and VI of Op. 105, No. 3 are contrast with each other in mode, texture, and expression (see Example 11). Variation V, which includes much chromaticism, alternating passages of minor and major modes in C, sounds dark and unstable. It ends in a half cadence, to create a sense of anticipation before the arrival of Variation VI and its brilliance. A series of thirty-second notes appearing in the upper range of the piano and the alternation of dynamics between p and f, as well as pizzicato in the flute, produce the bright affect. The execution of the opposing affects between Variation V and VI in the end may provide balanced feelings in the audience.
Example 9. *Six National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin*, Op. 105, No. 1, Var. III

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Example 10. Six National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin, Op. 105, No. 2, Var. III

\[\text{Late} \]

\[\text{Early} \]

\[\text{Middle} \]

\[\text{Early} \]

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Example 11. Six National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin, Op. 105, No. 3, Vars. V and VI, mm. 1-

In the folksong variations of Op. 107, Beethoven’s use of the sentimental style as well as the variation form seem more sophisticated and shows a broader range than elsewhere in this repertory. For example, Var. IV of No. 2, *Andante mosso, alla Siciliano*, combines a variety of styles and elements with national associations: not only the sentimental style (*Empfindsamer Stil*), but also a Siciliano, a Viennese waltz, and the Scottish tune on which the variation is based (see Example 12). Through the slow 6/8 meter, simple phrases with repeated dotted figures, and the culturally accepted pastoral affect associated with F major, he evokes the gentle mood of the Siciliano. At the same time, he articulates elements of the sentimental style, such as frequent pauses, which interrupt continuity but create a meditative atmosphere; elaborate ornamentation; shifting and uncertain melodic gestures; and dissonances. While the broken line of rhetoric suggests intense personal involvement, this piece occasionally also implies the optimistic feelings of the Viennese waltz and the jovial spirit of the Scottish melody, preparing for the final utterance of the *Allegro* in the tonic.

Var. V of Op. 107, No. 3 begins with a simple chord progression with dynamic contrast, followed by the *Adagio sostenuto* in triple meter. The sound of the flute in the outer voice is simple, but the inner voice of the piano becomes complex both technically and emotionally. The following section, *Tempo I*, after imitative entries, gradually involves a dense texture, smoothly leading to a brief statement of the initial theme at the end. By presenting the theme as the ending of the entire work, the composer to a degree diminishes the intensity of expression, which however serves as a means of enhancing the persuasive and pleasurable nature of the variation (see Example 13).
Example 12. Ten National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin, Op. 107, No. 2, Var. IV²³²

Example 13. *Ten National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin*, Op. 107, No. 3, Var. V\(^{233}\)

The entire set of theme and variations on a Tyrolean melody of Op. 107, No. 5 demonstrates the organic growth of folksong into a work of art through variation form (see Example 14). In the first variation, the melodic and rhythmic figures of the theme are broken by frequent rests, melodic sighs, and appoggiaturas. Without the literal presentation of the theme, the piano interplays with the flute sparsely, the mysterious and ominous sound of which associates the sentimental style with the fantasia style. The second variation features an abrupt shift between the storm and stress style and the cantabile style. The first two measures, which contain driving rhythm, chromaticism, and dissonances, are sharply contrasted with four measures that follow in soft dynamics. Then the peaceful singing is interrupted again by the stormy and impassioned declamation. The textural and emotional contrast occurs throughout the variation. The third variation engages in piano trills moving from the left hand to the right hand, above which other voices produce brilliant and beautiful harmonic clashes, though the harmonic progression of the initial theme remains basically intact. Then the Maestoso section, including a strong but partial statement of the theme, precedes the finale, Allegro, which presents a sonata-like piece based on the Tyrolean melody.

Var. IV of Op. 107, No. 10 exemplifies probably the most “Beethovenian” pianism among the folksong variations (see Example 15). Preceded by the marking Adagio espressivo, this variation reveals the profoundness of expression often found in the composer’s slow movements. Despite the simplicity of the thematic material, this variation forms a serious aesthetic entity not only through its singing qualities, stemming from lengthy and almost unending melodic phrases, but also through its solemn mood, created by the complete transformation of the spirit of the march-like theme into lyricism at the final stage.
Example 14. *Ten National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin*, Op. 107, No. 5

\[\text{Thema}\]

\[\text{Moderato}\]

\[\text{Flute (Violin)}\]

\[\text{Klavier}\]

\[\text{Var. I}\]

\[\text{Beethoven: Werk für Klavier und ein Instrument, ed. Armin Rabb. © 1993 by G. Henle Verlag, Munich, used by permission.}\]
Example 14. Ten National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin, Op. 107, No. 5 (Continued)
Example 14. Ten National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin, Op. 107, No. 5 (Continued)
Example 14. *Ten National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin*, Op. 107, No. 5 (Continued)
Example 14. *Ten National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin*, Op. 107, No. 5 (Continued)
Example 15. *Ten National Airs with Variations for Pianoforte alone or with Flute or Violin*, Op. 107, No. 10, Var. IV, mm. 1-16

\[\text{Var. IV}
\text{Adagio espressivo}\]

\[\text{Beethoven: Werk für Klavier und ein Instrument, ed. Armin Rabb. © 1993 by G. Henle Verlag, Munich, used by permission.}\]
Beethoven used cultivated styles and topics in combination with folk or popular elements in his other chamber works with piano. Especially due to the veritable flood of works in variation form at the turn of the nineteenth century, Beethoven often designed one of the movements of his works as a theme and variations, drawing on not only tunes from theatrical and dramatic works popular with contemporary audiences but also original melodies that sounded as simple as the extant folk, popular, or street songs.

Melodies that originated from Viennese comic operas and singspiels most frequently appeared as themes in Beethoven’s variations and variation movements. In 1797, for example, he wrote the Clarinet Trio in B-flat major, Op. 11, the finale of which was designed as a theme and variations on the hit tune “Pria ch’io l’impegno” from Joseph Weigl’s comic opera L’amor marinaro. The opera had been performed in almost all large theatres of Europe, and the melody had become a well-known tune to the public, which no doubt motivated Beethoven to incorporate it with the rhetoric of variation. In so doing, he popularized the trio among musical amateurs, and the trio gained the nickname “Gassenhauer” Trio.

Beethoven also took the lied “Ich bin der Schneider Kakadu” from Wenzel Müller’s singspiel Die Schwestern von Prag and used it as a theme for his trio in G major, Op. 121a, the so-called “Kakadu” Variations. On this theme, whose lightheartedness closely resembles that of Papageno’s aria “Der Vogelfänger bin ich ja” from Mozart’s singspiel Die Zauberflöte, Beethoven wrote ten variations. While elaborating the theme by means of the galant, cantabile, brilliant, sentimental, and learned styles, he displayed a wide range of instrumentation from the monologue of piano, through the dialogue between violin and piano, violoncello and piano, to the conversation among the three instruments. Towards the last variation, the vocabulary of chamber music becomes more elegant and sophisticated.
The finale of the last Violin Sonata in G major, Op. 96 (1812) exemplifies Beethoven’s skillful combination of highbrow and lowbrow styles. He conceived an original theme that sounds like a playful and tuneful folksong, which became the basis of a set of continuous variations. By omitting the leading tone of G major from the right hand of the piano part, while alternating the tonic and dominant triads in the left hand, Beethoven provides the eight-measure theme with a folk-like sound and effect. Through the repetition of the theme in the following twenty-four measures (mm. 9-32), during which the G-major tonality is elaborated by V/III – III, the simple sound of the theme becomes pleasant and graceful. The harmonic progression of the first thirty-two measures comes back over and over throughout the following variations, simultaneously engaging the galant, cantabile, fantasia, and learned styles. While exploring a refined vocabulary, Beethoven not only interwines each of the variations with its next neighbor, giving “a sense of continual metamorphosis to the proceedings,” but also unfolds tonalities, textures, tempos, and affects that have been explored in the preceding movements of the sonata. As in his other variations, toward the end of the final movement, Beethoven tempers the profound stylistic opposition between the high and the low or the serious and the comic, seeking the middle ground, the ideal of Viennese Classical music.

Recomposition of Pre-existing Materials

Adapting folksongs for domestic music making involved some recomposition. By changing the locus of music from the abstract venue of the folk to the middle-class home, Beethoven altered the nature of folksong from monophonic to polyphonic, purely vocal to

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accompanied, and oral to written. Above all, in his vocal arrangements, he included materials that were seemingly auxiliary but necessary for the transformation, such as prelude, interlude, and postlude. These instrumental sections suggest or comment on the song that they follow or precede, at times sounding like parts of individual compositions for the piano trio.

For instance, the eight-measure prelude to the folksong arrangement from Group VIII/Number 4 (Op. 108, No. 8) conveys emotional intensity beyond the sheer beauty of Beethoven’s treatment of the instrumental ensemble (see Example 16). The piano part creates a dramatic shift from arpeggios to block chords with the dynamic contrast forte to piano within D minor and then continues the uneasy feelings through a prolonged cadential 6-4 chord with pedal. Similar to the textural change in the piano, the violin and violoncello show a drastic change from tremolos to a few long notes in the opening measures. The pathetic affect created by the piano trio alludes to the subject matter of the song, death; at the same time, it causes the prelude to speak for itself as music.

Some of the preludes and postludes to the folksong arrangements of Op. 108, because they at times are relatively long, introduce a sense of large form to the audience. The postlude to the folksong arrangement from Group X/Number 7 (Op. 108, No. 22), as opposed to the prelude and accompaniment, offers a piano trio in a complete form (see Example 17). Following the song, of course, the postlude to some extent continues the melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic gestures of the prelude and accompaniment. However, during its sixteen measures, the postlude also features interaction between the three instruments. While the piano continues to articulate march-like rhythmic patterns, the stringed instruments present more fluently moving figures that enrich the texture and sound. Toward the end of the postlude, the dynamics gradually change into pp and
then ppp. The joy of victory in the song is continued and yet transformed into the feelings of love and eternity.


\textsuperscript{237}Beethoven: Schottische und walisische Lieder, ed. Petra Weber-Bockholdt. © 1999 by G. Henle Verlag, Munich, used by permission.
Example 17. Postlude to Group X/Number 7 (Op. 108, No. 22) "The Highland Watch"\textsuperscript{238}

\textsuperscript{238}Beethoven: Schottische und walisische Lieder, ed. Petra Weber-Bockholdt. © 1999 by G. Henle Verlag, Munich, used by permission.
Collaboration between Professionals and Amateurs

Thomson effected Beethoven’s engagement with a wide range of professionals and amateurs through this repertory. Thomson’s production of collections of national airs, spanning over a half century from around 1792 to 1846, involved a number of figures who had played leading roles in contemporary music and literature. To compete with rival collectors and publishers, Thomson commissioned accompaniments for folksongs mostly from composers on the Continent. His preoccupation with the novelty of instrumental music led him to contact first Pleyel, Kozeluch, Beethoven, Haydn, Weber, and Hummel and then British composers, including Henry Bishop, George Hogarth, and George Farquhar Graham for the production of his later collections. While corresponding with these composers, Thomson also contacted, directly or indirectly, more than eighty writers of the British Isles to produce new texts for his restored folksongs (see Table 7). He commissioned some of them through his personal engagement; others were accessed without commission through other printed sources.

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240 As for the details of the lyricists, see Ibid, 145-60.
Table 7. Lyricists for Thomson’s Collections of National Airs²⁴¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lyricist</th>
<th>Number of poems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austin, John (fl. 1820)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baillie, Joanna (1762-1851)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballantyne, Alexander</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbauld, Anna (1743-1824)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beattie, James (1735-1803)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bickerstaff, Isaac (1733?-1808)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Hogg, James (1770-1835)</td>
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<td>Hunter, Anne (née Home) (1742-1821)</td>
<td>6 (1 from a son of Anne Hunter)</td>
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<td>Jenyns, Soame (1704-87)</td>
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<td>Jones, Sir William (1746-94)</td>
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<td>Lansdown, Lord (1667-1735)</td>
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²⁴¹ The contents of this list are based on the information from McCue’s dissertation “George Thomson,” vol. 1, 147 and Barry Cooper’s “Booklet” to *Volume 17: Folksong Arrangements*, in *Deutsche Grammophon Complete Beethoven Edition*, ed. Richard Evidon (Hamburg: Deutsche Grammophon GmbH, 1997). On the list above, the number next to each author’s name indicates the number of poems incorporated especially with Beethoven’s musical settings. © The British Library 1993, used by permission.
Thomson’s ambition to produce collections better than those of his contemporaries culminated in his relationship with Beethoven. In effect, the composer contributed a large number of folksong settings to the collections and introduced some of them in German-speaking lands, Opp. 105, 107, and 108 (with German translation), developing an extended audience for national airs. Such writers as William Smyth (1765-1849), Robert Burns (1759-95), Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), Joanna Baillie (1762-1851), Alexander Boswell (1775-1822), Anne Grant (1755-1838), Anne Hunter (1742-1821), and David Thomson (d. 1815) made a major contribution to Beethoven’s folksong arrangements. Poems by Smyth, in particular, were most frequently associated with Beethoven’s settings.242 Despite his amateur career as a writer, Smyth was as highly regarded as Burns by Thomson.243

Thomson’s concern with writers extended to female writers as well as to writers who remain unidentified, probably due either to accidentally dropping their names in the course of transmission or to the authors’ deliberate withdrawal from the outside world, something especially common among female ballad singer-writers of humble origin. More than a dozen of Beethoven’s folksong arrangements were set to poems written by such female writers as Baillie, Grant, and Hunter. Four folksong arrangements from Group I/Numbers 34 and 36 (WoO 152, Nos. 6 and 12), Group III/Number 1 (WoO 152, No. 24), and Group X/Number 2 (WoO 156, No. 5) contained lyrics by anonymous authors.

242 Smyth was a keen amateur poet and music lover as well as Professor of history and Fellow of Peterhouse College in Cambridge. His English Lyrics, first published in 1797 and continuously received favorably in the Edinburgh Review, would have inspired Thomson before their collaboration. See McCue, “George Thomson,” vol. 1, 152-3.

243 Burns was the most important individual contributor of lyrics to Thomson’s entire collections. For a discussion of Burns’s position in British literature, see Robert Crawford, ed. Robert Burns and Cultural Authority (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997).
Thomson’s idea of including anonymous writers in the collections of national airs also concerned countless “singer-writers” of folksong who had remained in the “primitive” state. From the mid-eighteenth century, those who had practiced folksongs in the oral tradition began to encounter a crisis in identity. Their musical and social activities were about to be extinguished for the sake of the literacy endorsed by the ideas of Enlightenment. Here contemporary collections of folksongs, including those of Thomson, brought light to that repertory. Folksongs presented anew helped popularize the repertory as a viable product for middle-class consumption. The folksongs’ new presence played an important role in revitalizing that of their authors in music history.

The focus of Thomson’s concern with anonymity lay in young female listeners and players who had had no social outlet for their cultivation of music and musicianship. According to Thomson, their extant taste had to be taken into consideration by such professionals as Beethoven because these women could inculcate good taste at home and become, with their families, connoisseurs. By appreciating “truly original and beautiful” music, they could thus play a vital role in the future of the nation.244 As Thomson frequently remarked in his letters to Beethoven, he aimed their collections at both amateurs (Liebhaber) and connoisseurs (Kenner),245 implying the mobility between the two groups. Thomson believed that Beethoven’s commitment to amateurs, as well as his projected but never materialized visit to the British Isles, would be a crucial step in advancing the British music and musicianship.246 By viewing the common people as a substantial part of the “voice” of a nation, Thomson seems to have had a

244See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 8 July 1816, Albrecht no. 226.
245See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 5 August 1812, Albrecht no. 163.
246See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 23 November 1819, Albrecht no. 265.
great impact on Beethoven. In his letter to Simrock from 18 March 1820, Beethoven stated that he was inclined to think that “a hunt for folk-songs was better than a man-hunt of the heroes who were so highly extolled.”  

Thomson surely received Beethoven as a colossal figure in contemporary music culture, crediting him with creating a German national school in modern instrumental music. He referred to Beethoven as “a giant” in comparison with himself and his audience, who were “pygmies” before the canonic composer. Despite his humility as an amateur, however, Thomson refused to be called a mere “merchant of music.” He identified himself rather as “an amateur” who sold his own collections of national airs in large quantities and at cheaper prices, not caring what most “professional” publishers and retailers had done.

Judging from his correspondence, the role that Thomson played as a publisher seems to have been quite professional. In fact, he attempted to provide his composers with accurate copies of national airs. Since he was concerned with copyright law, he sent off folksongs without words and, especially in working with Beethoven, requested him to release Continental editions of folksong settings simultaneously with British ones. Thomson’s practical mind caused him to emphasize matters of notation. According to the instruction, Beethoven was to specify the range of voice for his settings, to use no abbreviated notes and figures, to have his copyist make a copy written in a well-spaced style, especially for the voice and piano, and to provide parts for

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247 See Beethoven’s letter to Nikolaus Simrock from 18 March 1820, Anderson no. 1013.
248 See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 30 October 1812, Albrecht no. 166. In his letter to Beethoven from 21 December 1812, Albrecht no. 167, similarly, Thomson describes Beethoven as his “great Apollo.”
249 See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 20 March 1815, Albrecht no. 201.
250 See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 1 January 1816, Albrecht no. 215.
violin and violoncello written separately for the engraver.²⁵¹ Probably because of Thomson’s particular enthusiasm for national airs and practical knowledge of the repertory, Beethoven expressed respect for and obedience to his opinions. Although his high regard for Thomson was at times obscured by their frequent arguments regarding fees, he worked under Thomson’s guidance and revised some of his folksong settings at the amateur’s request.

Reflecting the contemporary conception of folksong, in which text was readily revised or replaced,²⁵² Thomson put together music and text at a later stage and laid them out as separate entities in the collections: music on one page and corresponding lyrics on the opposite page.²⁵³ Beethoven thus worked on folksong settings only with Thomson’s brief descriptions of lyrics not yet finalized by the writers. At the beginning of their relationship, Beethoven vigorously demanded Thomson to send him text, a necessary element for him to give the song its true expression, according to his way of thinking.²⁵⁴ He later seemed to understand not only Thomson’s intention to protect copyright for their products but also the conventional relationship between music and text in the folksong repertory. Willing to call him an “arranger” of music as well as text, Beethoven left the task of assembling the two to Thomson.²⁵⁵ As suggested above, their collaborative works in general exemplify a fine relationship between music and text. More importantly, some of the English lyrics (Op. 108) were translated into German during the

²⁵¹See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 15 October 1814, Albrecht no. 190.

²⁵²Recent writers have agreed that the separation of music and text was a common editorial practice in the repertory of folksongs throughout the eighteenth century. Even in Beethoven’s lifetime, in effect, few folksongs appeared with fixed and immutable texts. See McCue, “George Thomson,” vol. 1, 129; and Cooper, Beethoven (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 200), 221.

²⁵³Thomson’s layout of music and text is identical to that of Pietro Urbani’s collection of Scottish songs, published in six volumes between 1792 and 1804.

²⁵⁴See Beethoven’s letter to Thomson from 23 November 1809, Anderson no. 229.

²⁵⁵See Beethoven’s letter to Thomson from 17 July 1810, Anderson no. 266.
composer’s lifetime to appeal to people in German-speaking lands. Beethoven, like his contemporaries, perceived language as an immanent aspect of folksong or folksong arrangement. At the same time, he acknowledged the conventional practice in which one kind of language could be readily replaced with many others to be understood by audiences of various nations. As Beethoven implied in his letter to Schlesinger,\textsuperscript{256} the aesthetic merits of modern English poetry should be shared by a larger audience to further its taste in literature. But German translation would have caused the folksong to sound different to those who lived in the region of the language and had a strong consciousness of nationhood.

Conception of the Folksong Setting as a Miscellany of Musics

As Thomson’s collections involved diverse contributors and their interests, Beethoven’s folksong settings included characteristics from different realms of music. Styles that are today associated with highbrow concert music often appeared with those of musics seemingly operating on the opposite end of the spectrum. The emphasis on literacy caused the “high” style to be assimilated by the “low” style. In turn, the continuing interest in music as entertainment led the upper-class audience to hold onto pleasing and plain sounds. The fascination with folk qualities led to the popularity of folk-like music, which readily crossed the boundaries between art and folk music, folk and popular music, and popular music and others. The majority of tunes selected as folksongs in Thomson’s collections were, for example, either ancient melodies that had survived orally or melodies whose folk or folk-like qualities were created by individuals. Regardless of their authenticity as folksongs, the latter received the same regard that the former did.

\textsuperscript{256}See Beethoven’s letter to Moritz Schlesinger from 25 March 1820, Anderson no. 1015.
The dualistic nature of Beethoven’s folksong settings was due not only to the fusion of “high” and “low” styles but also the mixture of national characteristics. Beethoven harmonized mostly Scottish, but also at times Welsh, Irish, and English folksongs. As Thomson extended his project beyond these cultural boundaries, Beethoven also dealt with folksongs of Continental origin: Danish, German, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Sicilian, Spanish, Swedish, Tyrolean, Ukrainian, and Venetian. Ideas and styles embedded in these species of folksongs were tempered with Viennese harmony. Such phenomena may have offended some contemporaries, especially conservatives on the British Isles, whose patriotic feelings caused them to remain blind to other nations and peoples. Yet, the international and intercultural moods surrounding the city of Vienna could also have resulted in positive reactions to Beethoven’s folksong settings. The strong demand of music for entertainment as well as education would have sanctioned the cause of musical potpourri.
CHAPTER 5

THE VALIDITY OF THE BEETHOVEN FOLKSONG PROJECT

The distinction between knowledge and value is important, therefore, to protect the integrity of inquiry in the humanities so that inquiry itself is not repudiated simply because some of its subject matters may have become trivial. The distinction is important, too, because it encourages a choice of those subject matters that are not trivial and whose potential or actual value is high.

– E. D. Hirsch*

E. D. Hirsch’s ideas have a direct bearing on this study, for within the cultural and ideological contexts of the early nineteenth century, Beethoven’s folksong arrangements and variations had clear significance. The genres to which they belonged came to be regarded as “trivial,” however. Inquiry into the settings and their “potential or actual value” has been minimal.

Both a product of the composer’s agency and a property assigned by the audience, the meaning of this music in Beethoven’s own time is traceable to aspirations, interests, and anxieties specific to the Goethezeit. Ideas of nation and nationhood, awareness of the past, and enthusiasm for cultivation geared towards the restoration of cultural treasures account for much of the value that Beethoven’s contemporaries found in his folksong settings. The distinctive taste of amateur music lovers and their likely recognition of the Beethoven Folksong Project as a useful means for revitalizing the past and fulfilling the goal of music literacy should play an important role in assessing the composer’s intentions in this repertory. In particular, the

convention of *Bildungsmusik*, whose “demanding” yet “comprehensible” nature thoroughly corresponded to the needs of the middle-class audience, suggests the value of these small-scale, easy-listening works in Beethoven’s time. Conversely, since many of his folksong settings owe their existence to music conceived as an aspect of social intercourse, they place Beethoven in broader cultural and ideological contexts.

Most readers at this point will probably agree that many early nineteenth-century folksong settings should be reconsidered within the value-system of the composer’s lifetime and are worthy of further studies, especially for scholars involved in recent attempts to reevaluate “Beethoven” as cultural hero. Musical qualities of the repertory, however, would continue to challenge scholars who consciously or subconsciously still adhere to a mythical image of Beethoven. Their valuation of Beethoven’s music, centered on such attributes as massiveness, complexity, and originality, might cause the Beethoven Folksong Project to be of no interest and no use, thus consigning the present study to oblivion. Perceiving the likely fate of the recognition of *Bildungsmusik* in present-day culture, I call attention to unyielding attitudes about music, the “surreptitious biases” that restrict inquiry in music history and historiography.

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Ideas and Ideologies in the Writing of Music History

The flux of ideas and beliefs seems to have allowed a degree of plurality in the writing and reading of music histories in recent decades; however, criticism itself has remained in a realm of evaluation more often than not governed by aesthetic criteria relevant to the musical canon. Critics in general seem to have undertaken the role of “the author of the best meaning” after finding it impossible to attain the most valid reading, one that takes into account the composer’s intention. Expert readers have willingly responded to these critics’ deliberate interpretations of the composer’s subjective stance and considered the composition in question within the historical context reconstructed by a particular critic. Most of the development in critical approaches nevertheless has concentrated on such commonly accepted values as organicism, gigantism, nationalism, serious music, and originality. Subject matter that favors simplicity, the miniature, internationalism, lighthearted music, and social intercourse has long been undervalued in general. Knowledge and value have become intermingled to the point of losing their separate identities. Their tight bonding has led to the bias that music means European art music.

In English- and German-speaking worlds, such “exasperating but indispensable” spheres in art music as folk and popular musics do not usually carry much weight outside the boundaries of ethnomusicology. The properties of Beethoven’s folksong settings, whether their values are thoroughly culturally dependent or can also be seen as more “purely” aesthetic, have subsequently remained almost untouched in analytical discussion. Historians appear to have

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overindulged in the so-called legacies of nineteenth-century thought, their interpretations surreptitiously reinforcing the accompanying ideas and approaches.

Ideologies that prevail in recent writing about music stem from particular contexts of nineteenth-century European history. Since critics have lost sight of their source, the body of ideas characteristic of a particular group in the past has become ingrained practice in modern historiography and still enjoy a kind of absolutism in current value systems. Janet Levy described the problem almost two decades ago: music analysts and critics, “lacking a viable, independent critical apparatus of their own, appropriated descriptions developed by music historians to define style change and used them as if they were critical terms and values.”

Theoretically informed musicologists would have understood musics as social constructions. In reality, there has been no musicological tradition to provide fundamental ground for inquiry into such a phenomenon as “music for self-improvement,” a topic that seems unimportant, even disgraceful in writing on “Beethoven.” Some approaches that have been recognized as valid in music analysis and criticism ironically have turned into ideologies that undermine the study of Beethoven’s folksong settings. Interpretation of song after Schubert, Bartók’s conception of folk music, and Hegelian dialectics in constructing the meaning of the Ninth, for example, have served to limit interest in Beethoven’s folksong settings. The underlying ideologies, in particular, have largely preempted the concept of simplicity, a foundation of the Beethoven Folksong Project, and have emptied “folk-like” simplicity of meaning for Beethoven’s time.

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262 Levy, “Covert and Casual Values in Recent Writings about Music”: 3.
Simplicity and “Folk-like” Simplicity

Simplicity appears as a prominent theme of the Beethoven Folksong Project. Thomson persistently asked Beethoven to write “simple,” “easy,” and “useful” folksong settings for their audience in the British Isles and frequently also to revise them for an even greater simplicity consistent with the nature of folksong proper.265 The quality of simplicity was of the utmost importance for publisher and composer alike. Since Thomson emphatically underscored the significance of simplicity in his collections of national airs, urging him to write accompaniments “more like the air” or “more resembling the air,” Beethoven seems to have struggled to provide the pre-existing tunes with “folk-like” accompaniments as naïve as folksong. There would have been no rules for such qualities in the accompaniments. Thomson’s descriptions, including “charming,” “comfortable,” and “playful,” could have served as the best guidelines for Beethoven’s composition of “folk-like,” simple music.

Within this indefinite sphere, Beethoven utilized a range of available means to enhance the quality of folk melodies. He incorporated harmonic progressions primarily within the outline of I-IV-V-I. Although he often elaborated harmony by including seventh and other chromatic chords, his accompaniment is in general subject to the naturalness of folk melodies. Regular phrases were employed, especially through two-, four-, eight-, and sixteen-measure units. And square rhythmic outlines appeared in pieces of brief scope, even though melodic and rhythmic figuration, such as arpeggio, passing and neighboring tone, suspension, anticipation, and the pedal point, frequently interrupted the pulses. Using the devices of art music, Beethoven strove to create a degree of “folk-like” simplicity in his folksong settings.

265See Thomson’s letters to Beethoven in Theodore Albrecht, ed. and trans., Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence, vols. 1-3 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996; hereafter Albrecht).
Thomson’s ideas of folksong setting did not mean turning music into a vain display of catchy phrases and gestures, nor did they result from a peculiar editorial philosophy in amateur music making; rather, they were both purposeful and conventional. In his “Dissertation concerning the National Melodies of Scotland,” he clarified this: “music is thus not merely the most innocent pleasure which a rude people can enjoy, but a powerful instrument in quickening the progress of improvement, by cherishing the best feelings of our nature.” To this instruction, which largely reflected the convention of Bildungsmusik in the early nineteenth century, Beethoven included passages and fingerings for the benefit of amateur performers.

In response to these performers’ needs, for example, the right hand of the piano part usually doubled the vocal part, especially useful for those who sang while accompanying themselves, as well as for those who amused themselves by playing only the piano part. Beethoven wrote each part of the piano trio accompaniment in a “pleasing” manner, frequently dividing gestures, intimate in tone, between the stringed instruments as if two people were conversing in a private room. Each part responded to the others, forming a texture that would make both music and musicians convivial, a conventional practice of great importance in the Beethoven Folksong Project. The ideal of simplicity, despite its uncertain identity, served as an aesthetic goal in early nineteenth-century domestic music making and as a practical means for guiding the communication between composer and audience.

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267 See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 5 August 1812, Albrecht no. 163.

268 Goethe is reported to have said that the string quartet resembled a conversation among four equally intelligent speakers. The “conversational” texture remained an ideal that prevailed in conventions of the Kammermusik (“chamber music”) and Hausmusik (“house music”) of the Goethezeit.
Beethoven and Thomson seem to have had a flexible understanding of “simplicity.” Throughout their correspondence, the term “simple style” appears along with references to “cantabile,” “easy,” and “familiar” styles. Such descriptions as “agreeable,” “pleasing,” and “marvelous” suggest positive connotations for the idea of simplicity, indicating the degree to which it mattered to Thomson and his audience, who had long been preoccupied with singing styles in Italian opera. Thomson, nevertheless, seems to have suppressed popular aspects that might be charged with triviality, banality, or kitsch. Indeed, he often equated the value of plain music with that of “divinity,” specifying the composer’s task as one of elevating the common to a higher level.269 It was Thomson’s belief that works in all the fine arts displaying the greatest beauty tended toward perfect simplicity and, consequently, both lasted and enjoyed a wide audience.270 Thomson praised Beethoven for achieving a simple and cantabile style that appealed to lovers of national music and at the same time admired him for his originality, which together created the great charm of composition observable in all the fine arts, according to Thomson’s perspective.271

Thomson’s conception of simplicity was sharply distinguished from that of originality; however, he did not disparage the former in favor of the latter. Thomson seems to have understood simplicity as a quality readily accommodated to conventional styles. Its conformist nature thus captured the taste of both British listeners and performers and the bourgeoisie on the Continent, who, emulating the aristocracy, had long searched for “noble simplicity”272 in music

269 See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 28 December 1817, Albrecht no. 243.
270 See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 22 June 1818, Albrecht no. 249.
271 See Thomson’s letter to Beethoven from 1 January 1816, Albrecht no. 215.
as a reflection of their political and economic growth. The value of nature and the natural
continued to be regarded as superior to the excesses of Baroque art, though the prevailing urban
society was far removed from the reality of rustic life.\(^{273}\)

The extent to which Beethoven and Thomson appreciated simplicity represents the spirit
of a time in transition, during which audiences were receptive to a wide range of ideas and values.
Largely indebted to the late eighteenth-century valorization of nature and the natural and to the
awakening of national consciousness in the early nineteenth century, as previously noted, the
Beethoven Folksong Project ratified a broad concept of folk music generously embracing not
merely “genuine” folksongs but also “folk-like” songs. Both types originated from the common
people; that is, they had been consumed and preserved by the \textit{Volk} for long periods.\(^{274}\) Music
such as Beethoven’s folksong settings was thus compatible with the early nineteenth-century
definition of folksong. According to Carl Dahlhaus, “composed” folksongs, because of their
wide dissemination and lengthy existence, were differentiated from “street songs” and the
ephemeral nature of that type and appeared unmistakably as folk music to the contemporary
audience.\(^{275}\) The enthusiasm for the unearthed “purely human” material enabled many folksongs
and folk-like songs to be rediscovered and restored to a “second life” in nineteenth-century
music culture, allowing this concept of folksong to remain vital to the end of the century.

As growing awareness of nation and nationhood more gloriously elevated the
bourgeoisie’s sense of itself, imitations and alteration gradually expanded repertories of
folksongs. Songs composed in the manner of folksong flourished particularly well in the early

\(^{273}\)Van der Merwe, \textit{Roots of the Classical}, 133.

\(^{274}\)The distinction between folksongs and street songs (\textit{Gassenhauer}) comes from Justus Thibaut’s ideas.

\(^{275}\)Ibid., 108-9.
nineteenth century and, despite their indebtedness to folksongs, occasionally received more respect than folksongs themselves. Contemporaries such as Anton Wilhelm Florentin von Zuccalmaglio and Ferdinand Hand in effect expressed their high valuation of the *Volk* by releasing their adaptations of folksongs, which supposedly combined the “purely human” with the “national” in an ideal sense.\(^{276}\) Their editions represented the *Zeitgeist*; thus, the authors changed their attitudes in the following decades and came to understand the folk and its music in a much narrower sense.

As for the uncertain identity of *Volk* at the turn of the nineteenth century, David Gramit argues that the term *Volk* “could refer to all the people of a nation, to the common, unspoiled people, or to the ignorant in need of the cultivation that *Volkslieder* or *Lieder im Volkston* might provide.”\(^{277}\) Contemporary writers, responding to actual song as heard through the standards of art, on the one hand described the *Volk* as a common people whose singing turned out “a crude clamor without pure intonation and unity.”\(^{278}\) The ambiguous definition of the *Volk* on the other hand often attributed universal validity to an art that concerned the folk as an imagined ideal reflected in high art.\(^{279}\) Within this particular climate, Beethoven and Thomson popularized the repertory of folksong, largely legitimizing the simplicity embodied in both the “folk” and “folk-like.”

While simplicity has always remained an aesthetic consideration, its meaning has undergone drastic change throughout histories of Western art music. Words and expressions that

\(^{276}\)Ibid., 111.


\(^{278}\)The quote comes from J. A. P. Schulz’s description; see Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 96-7.

\(^{279}\)Ibid., 66 and 97.
served an aesthetic of simplicity within the context of the Beethoven Folksong Project gradually relinquished a meaningful place in the later nineteenth century as the identity of folksong surrendered to Romantic ideologies.\textsuperscript{280} The longings for the distant past typical of the Zeitgeist caused composers of the new generation to struggle to realize the unknown past – something unattainable because of the very fact of its pastness. Songs composed in a “purely human” manner – familiar, accessible, and comprehensible – were separated from “genuine” folksongs, which by then had begun to be understood as objects unfamiliar, strange, and remote from the present.

The changing attitude towards folksong affected the leading figures Zuccalmaglio and Hand and their thoughts on folksong. In effect, these men expressed ambivalent opinions about adopted folksongs and felt compelled to hide their editorship from the public to survive in a new age that understood folksong according to a different definition. The majority of folksong imitations came to be denigrated as artistic forgeries – their simple nature further connoting debased qualities because of the growing impact and aura of serious concert music. Consequently, neither the discipline of folk music studies nor histories of Western art music have considered this type of music to be of any significance.

\textsuperscript{280}Dahlhaus, \textit{Nineteenth-Century Music}, 108.
Interpretive Hurdles in Our Understanding of Simplicity

The emergence of art song and the song interpretation since Schubert\(^{281}\) have appropriated the quality of simplicity and in so doing conditioned the study of Beethoven’s folksong settings. According to the paradigm of art song, the musical vocabulary of Beethoven’s folksong settings does not conform to standard expectations. Such features as basic progressions of harmony and strophic form and the resulting repetitive and redundant patterns obscure the value of this repertory, causing it to appear prosaic rather than poetic, close to the nature of trivial music. The procedure through which Beethoven and Thomson provided music and text for their folksong collections has made the repertory seem even less substantial. That is to say, the fact that Thomson sent only melodies to Beethoven with a request for accompaniment has caused Thomson to be viewed as a philistine who ignored procedures of song setting.

Solomon, for example, accuses Thomson of vulgar treatment of text and music as follows:

> The artistic results are of somewhat mixed value: to his chagrin, Beethoven was usually not provided with the texts (or even titles) of the songs – later on he was given titles, scant descriptions, or expressive indications – and was encouraged to keep the piano parts as *simple* as possible. Moreover, partly because he wanted to cater to *conventional* tastes, Thomson bowdlerized both the texts and tunes of the traditional folksongs.\(^{282}\)

Solomon’s critical comments on Beethoven’s folksong settings derive from a perspective largely


determined by the ideal of art song, its values concerning the relationship between text and music subsequently taken as universal. Disdainful of Thomson’s role in the project, possibly because of his amateurism in music, Solomon shows a total disregard for Thomson’s editorial procedure. Taking his instructions for the composition of folksong settings at face value, Solomon construes the words “simple” and “conventional” negatively. He seems to regard simplicity not as an aesthetic quality significant for folksong settings but rather as a factor that restricted the composer’s imagination. Thomson’s seemingly random choice and careless handling of texts for song composition, as well as Beethoven’s crossover acts of blending two very different traditions, those of folksong and Classical style, clearly frustrate Solomon. Hence he is reluctant to recognize a repertory with harmonizations that have supposedly sullied the purity of folk music.

Recently, Cooper offered a strong defense of Thomson’s philosophy of folksong setting, relating his treatment of text and music to the conventional practice of “folk-like” songs during Beethoven’s time. As noted earlier, Thomson commissioned poems separately and then combined them with the settings at a later stage. According to Cooper, while this might seem a strange procedure today, the texts of Scottish and other folksongs were often replaced or revised, which meant that few tunes had fixed and immutable texts. Cooper’s justification of the text-music relationship in this repertory should serve as a significant parameter in reconsidering many of Beethoven’s art songs written in a folk manner or style. The idea of song as a poetic-musical unit does not seem to have mattered much in this repertory in Beethoven’s time.

Still, it may be difficult to restore the conventional practice of Beethoven’s lifetime for use in current criticism. Since the division of scholarship into musicology and ethnomusicology, most authors have been accustomed to viewing those songs not within the tradition of early

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283 Barry Cooper, Beethoven (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 221.
nineteenth-century folk-like songs, but rather that of Schubertian art songs.\textsuperscript{284} From this perspective the settings represent an underdeveloped stage of art song. Many musicologists have in effect eliminated Beethoven’s songs from critical consideration. They choose to overlook the fact that Beethoven wrote songs in a style imitating the nature of folksong, moreover, because it runs counter to the image of the musical genius. The ideology of Schubertian song interpretation, along with the reception of Beethoven as canonic composer, has tended to obscure the virtues of folksong settings as well as similar vocal compositions by Beethoven.

The narrowly conceived meaning of folksong since Bartók has also undermined the status of Beethoven’s folksong settings. As scientific and positivistic movements held sway at the turn of the twentieth century, with newly formed concern for historical accuracy in the performance of older music, researchers not only endeavored to collect “genuine” folksongs but also aimed to analyze them within contemporary intellectual frameworks. Knowledge of linguistics and phonetics became necessary, alongside that of music, to perceive and record subtle variants and differences in dialects in folksong.

Drawing upon his research into Eastern European, Turkish, and Northern African native music, Bartók confined the definition of folk music to what was “authentic.” His conception of folk music and research methods became paradigmatic in the study of European folk music from the early twentieth century on, while raising questions about many of the folksong collections from the previous century. According to Bartók’s ideas about folk music, “it is not an individual art but rather a collective manifestation.”\textsuperscript{285} While the repertory of folksongs thus grows out of a


lengthy period of history, the songs themselves, in Bartók’s words, “belong to one or more homogeneous styles or, in other words, consist of a great quantity of melodies with similar character and structure.”

True folk music is “the music of the class of population the least affected by city culture,” that is, “peasant music,” the most “genuine” or “authentic” folk music. Bartók’s value judgment about folk music causes “peasant music” to be sharply distinguished from “popular art music,” the former, in his view, clearly of greater value than the latter, in that “peasant music had such great influence on the higher types of art music in several countries.”

Bartók’s emphasis on peasant music provided the term “folksong” with new connotations of the original and primitive. The ideal of primitive music (Urmusik) led to the further conception of folk music as aged, anonymous, and monophonic without any elaboration or harmonization. The “folk-like” songs that Beethoven and Thomson produced a century ago as an extension of folksong, newly dubbed as “popular art music,” were thus held in contempt because “they had been amended according to the rules of art music.” Bartók on the one hand acknowledged the early nineteenth-century interest in folksong as a precursor of modern perspectives on folk music. On the other hand, he harshly criticized the fact that most anthologies of the time had remained at an amateur level of research, the editors collecting and preserving folksongs without discretion. According to Bartók’s usage of the term “popular art music,” the adjective “popular” denotes “folk-like” song, an object without the truth of folk music, caught between the types of art music, folk music, and popular music. The perceived

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286 “What is Folk Music?” in Béla Bartók Essays, 6.
288 “What is Folk Music?” in Béla Bartók Essays, 6.
289 “Why and How Do We Collect Folk Music?” in Béla Bartók Essays, 12.
simplicity of popular art music places the entire repertory of early nineteenth-century folksong settings in danger of being dismissed as vulgar music. Bartók endorsed “peasant-like” and “primitive” songs as “authentic,” in other words, of possessing an “ideal simplicity devoid of trashiness,” while disputing the previously valued attribute of “folk-like” simplicity.290

Current interpretation of Bartók’s ideas on folk music, likewise, has taken the meaning and definition of folksong to be self-evident. A number of authors and readers in subsequent decades have continued to accept Bartók’s ideas as a norm for understanding folk music in general. Their elaboration of “the theory of folksong” remains a factor in the absence of “folk-like” songs in the history of Western culture. Charles Rosen’s aphorism on folk music sums up this attitude:

Folk music is always considered a good thing. There is a catch, however: it has to be “real” folk music, anonymous, evoking not an individual but a communal personality, expressive of the soil. The Hungarian Rhapsodies of Liszt have been all too often condemned because they use Gypsy, not peasant, tunes. True folk music is produced only by farmers and shepherds; only this can guarantee its mythical status, its down-to-earth contrast with sophisticated urban music.291

290 “What is Folk Music?” in Béla Bartók Essays, 8.
“Folk-like” Simplicity versus “Beethoven-like Sublimity”

The key to the finale is the “Joy” theme. It sounds as effortlessly natural as a folksong. But it gave Beethoven an enormous amount of trouble.

Current critics seem to have almost forgotten the presence of “folk-like” song in the history of nineteenth-century music; however, the value of “folk-like” simplicity has remained visible in accounts of music history. Writers who were conscious of the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century musical culture seem to have understood the meaning of the term “folk-like” within the context in which the “folk-like” song was initially conceived. Their high estimation of the bourgeoisie and its culture has caused them to look at public music and define “folk-like” simplicity as a style that preserves simplicity within such grand genres as opera and oratorio. The assumption that “the opera buffa served as the outset for a bourgeois genre in which the audience recognized and confirmed its own identity” has stimulated some critics to identify the value of “folk-like” simplicity as equal to the expression “like a buffo aria” or “buffa-like,” which has since then become an alternative to such critical terms as “simple” and “folk-like.”

Although the meaning of the opera buffa can be understood variously according to aesthetic and socio-psychological distinctions, the term “buffa-like” in current criticism seems to

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292 The description “Beethoven-like sublimity” originated from Charles Ives’s words, which summarized his and his contemporaries’ wish to emulate characteristics of Beethoven’s music, such as gravity, complexity, and subjectivity. For details of compositional reception of Beethoven’s music, see Margaret Notley, “‘With a Beethoven-like Sublimity’: Beethoven in the Works of Other Composers,” in The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven, ed. Glenn Stanley, 239-54 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

293 Nicholas Cook, Beethoven: Symphony No. 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 34. The italics are my emphasis.

294 Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, 45.
have been associated with the quality of the “folk-like” melody stereotypically assigned to the basso buffo. The comic character’s manner of singing, which incorporates stumbling melody, seemingly little technical difficulty, often with clumsiness resulting from his/her attempt to imitate the noble simplicity of the sentimental aria, and lightheartedness in the mode of presentation, has developed into a critical term in evaluating such a singing style and its aesthetic value, especially of instrumental music. As can be seen in Solomon’s description of the “playful,” “ambling,” and thus “folk-like” theme for the finale in Beethoven’s Violin Sonata Op. 96, the simplicity of the melody connotes the rusticity of the “buffo aria.” Solomon acknowledges the observed similarities between the “folk-like” theme and “Der Knieriem bleibet, meiner Treul!” a “buffo aria” from J. C. Standfuss’s singspiel Der lustige Schuster (1759) and establishes the term “folk-like” or “buffo-like” as “pastoral,” “unsophisticated,” and furthermore “absurd.” Within the context of “Beethoven-like sublimity,” however, Solomon elevates the theme as “Beethoven’s aestheticized version of a blustery buffo aria,” which “avoids any hint of burlesque rusticity, the swaying theme instead setting a tone of sublimated amorousness.”

Meanwhile, the term “folk-like” has been interpreted as equivalent to the word “childlike” in various contexts. From an Enlightenment perspective based on theories of Rousseau and Pestalozzi, the simple nature of the child corresponds to the innocence and spontaneity of nature and at times to the nature of “primitive,” “unaffected,” or “genuine” people according to Herder’s concept of Volk and Volkslied. Within the trajectory of German nationalism, since the nineteenth century, childlike simplicity was often associated with the

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nature of German people in opposition to that of other peoples. As in the criticism of German fairy tales, the expression “childlike” denotes not only the vulnerable voice of the protagonist but also his or her sentimentalized world. Subsequently, many nineteenth-century art songs have engaged this way of reading, especially in the songs’ relation to Biedermeier culture.\(^{297}\) In reception of Mahler’s “fairy-tale” Fourth Symphony, some writers have agreed that including the “folk-like” song Das himmlische Leben in the finale intensifies the image of “idealized childhood.” Others who discount the appearance of the simple melody in a literal form have used the word “folk-like” or “childlike” with a depreciative connotation, “triviality.”\(^{298}\)

The nineteenth century was an era not only of the bourgeoisie but also of artistic autonomy.\(^{299}\) Although the aesthetic standpoint of the latter did not gain complete ascendancy until the end of the century, it has invariably received institutional support in later accounts of music history. From this perspective, the term “folk-like” has come to have pejorative connotations, suggesting not merely small in scope but also having little value. As the reverse of the Romantic concept of “art,” on the one hand, “folk-like” implies an aesthetic judgment of unreal, fake, unnatural, inhuman, or even immoral qualities. On the other hand, “folk-like” no longer has meaning within the realm of “folk” music whose characteristics have gradually caused “folk” to become separate from “art” music. While the tension between “folk” and “folk-

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\(^{299}\) Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, 47-8.
like” material has become an ongoing theme in the reception of works that either emulate or manipulate folksong, the word “folk-like” has become completely detached from the particular context of the Beethoven Folksong Project, causing further bias against works composed in any simple style except those used as church music.

Some authors seem to have been conscious of the dilemma of describing music as “folk-like,” given their conception of the Volk in the nineteenth century; alternatively, they have employed the expression “idiom” or “idiomatic” with a degree of ambivalence in its meaning. To an extent, the authors seem to have meant “folk-like” literally as “like the genuine folk,” a characteristic mode of expression peculiar to a conventional musical language. However, their arguments suggest that the word “idiomatic” relating to the “folk-like” serves as a kind of musical quotation that hardly accommodates the whole to which it alludes, primarily as opposed to the strictly grammatical or logical use of the musical vocabulary of the genuine folk.

“Idiomatic” is a term that has implied “the reflex reverence for idiomatic writing for a particular instrument” in the realm of art music, especially instrumental music, but has often suggested in vocal music that “by virtue of naturalness, uneconomical, or unnecessary, effort is not required.” The meaning of “folk idiom” as peculiar or proper to a people or country has had particular currency in the discipline of ethnomusicology. Accounts of music history in

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301 Simplicity, accessibility, or clarity has served as a significant element in the formation of styles in church music. As early as the sixteenth century, Martin Luther proposed chorales as the core of congregational singing in the Protestant Church. The texture of the chorale in four-part harmonization has become an ideal among German composers, not only in writing sacred works but also in secular pieces intended to produce a convivial atmosphere in small gatherings, especially in male-dominant choral societies, or to provide a message for a large group of audience in such genres as the oratorio and symphony. In the Catholic Church, likewise, Palestrina’s emphasis on textual intelligibility in the writing of vocal music has affected composers of church music.

302 Levy, “Covert and Casual Values in Recent Writings about Music”: 10.
general, however, have customarily used its secondary meaning as a dialectal expression that is
irregular, ungrammatical, and illogical with respect to the standard use of musical language.

The prevailing perception of “folk-like” simplicity as “uneconomical,” “unnecessary,” or
“effortless” has frequently posed an enormous challenge in interpreting Beethoven’s music,
which often emulates elements of folk music, yet whose essence has largely been seen as resting
on the sublime. Such traits as grandeur, complexity, and ambiguity – especially pertinent to
Beethoven’s large-scale works – have come to characterize the composer and his music as a
whole. Critics, regardless of their particular positions on Beethoven, have consistently
understood his works within the realm of the sublime. While relating many features of
Beethoven’s music to the general aesthetic goal of high art, critics have assigned deeper
meanings to both the idea of sublimity and the image of Beethoven – “subjective,” “spiritual,”
and thereby “universal.”

With the support of criticism that has validated the Beethovenian ideals, composers of
later generations created a tradition for writing serious music. Wagner’s translation of
Beethoven’s late style, romanticizing its abstractness in conjunction with the composer’s
deafness, in particular, had a great impact on critics who continue to receive Beethoven from a
perspective that values an inner over an outer world and struggles to emulate “Beethoven-like
sublimity.” While the sublime remains valid in the reception of Beethoven’s music, its
seeming opposite of “folk-like” simplicity is either underrepresented or occasionally
appropriated by particular critical terms within the trajectory of the sublime.

303 See K. M. Knittel, “Imitation, Individuality, and Illness: Behind Beethoven’s ‘Three Styles,’” Beethoven
American Musicological Society 51 (1998): 49-82; and Margaret Notley, “‘With a Beethoven-like Sublimity’: Beethoven
in the Works of Other Composers,” in The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven, ed. Glenn Stanley, 239-54
“Folk-like” simplicity, while connoting “insignificant” subject matter in current criticism of the folksong repertory, serves as a significant counter-force to create the synthesis or sublation of Hegelian dialectics, a convincing approach to interpreting Beethoven’s Ninth. The paradox of the incongruous elements or moods in the symphony has provoked various reactions – many critics and composers having objected to the apparent lack of organic unity. The tune to which the composer set Schiller’s poem “Ode to Joy” – because it sounds as “effortlessly natural as a folksong” in the words of Nicholas Cook – seems inadequate to the generic language of the symphony. The ungrammaticality of the “Joy” theme corrupts all the meaningful gestures having evolved towards the final triumph and thereby obscures the meaning of the symphony. The banal tune, largely indebted to the vocabulary of folksong, becomes even more trivial when presented in Turkish style. Its naturalness appears again inappropriate to the titanic image of Beethoven with the archaism of double fugue superimposed on it.

In criticism, however, the “folk-like” simplicity juxtaposed with the “Beethoven-like sublimity” has been increasingly transmuted into a positive quality. Rosen praises Beethoven for his use of folk tune in the finale of the Ninth, considering it an attempt to create a synthesis similar to what the Viennese masters, Haydn and Mozart, achieved in their symphonies. Within the tradition of the Classical symphony, for Rosen, the nature of the “joy” theme provides an inevitable cause for the integration of elements into a whole. Here the nature of folk tune becomes a significant factor in creating a sense of unity. With regard to eighteenth-century ideas about nature, Martin Cooper associates “folk-like” simplicity further with universality, in

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Classical overtones, a quality whose meaning dwells between popular culture propagated by a multitude and a sacred context sanctioned by the Enlightenment. Cooper identifies Beethoven as “an unsophisticated man of the people who knew by instinct the stimulus to which simple listeners respond.”\(^{306}\) Taking a cosmopolitan standpoint, Cooper forces himself to subdue his feelings for Beethoven and his music in general, elevating the naturalness of folk and folk-like tune as high as the ideal of the symphony. Cooper attempts to explain the hitherto illogical relationship between banality and sublimity. Theodor Adorno and others, following the theory of Hegelian dialectics, endorsed the discontinuity of the Ninth as a critical term.\(^{307}\)

Such contradictions as “the ultraserious with the ironic or with slapstick comedy, the poetic with the prosaic, and commonplace reality with flights of imagination” have been regarded as significant forces in bringing consistency and intelligibility to the paradigm of Beethovenian sublimity.\(^{308}\) “Unity,” on the one hand, has continued to serve as a timeless and unquestioned value in the interpretation of great works by Beethoven; on the other hand, “paradox” has become a critical means for understanding the last movement of the Ninth. The “Joy” theme surely signifies the folk-like, banal, and trivial; yet, it is “inevitable” that in reconciling all contradictory elements from the preceding movements it is elevated to a higher level.

The value of “folk-like” simplicity seems to have largely been preempted by ideologies prevalent in the reception of Beethoven’s Ninth, necessitating interpretation that would associate a quality with its opposite to sustain the aura of the sublime. Nevertheless, I hope that my


understanding of “folk-like” simplicity as a foundation of the Beethoven Folksong Project could help broaden the meaning and value. Whether it may limit interest in objects in a next stage of history or not, the concept of “folk-like” simplicity could serve as a useful apparatus, in parallel with that of “Beethoven-like sublimity,” to construe music culture at the turn of the nineteenth century.
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