

## *The Autograph of Beethoven's "Archduke" Trio, Op.97*

During the festivities in  
honor of the Princess of  
Baden and when your  
Imperial Highness was ham-  
pered by a sore finger I began  
to work rather hard; and one  
of the fruits of this diligence  
is a new pianoforte trio.  
—Beethoven

Seow-Chin Ong

**T**hus wrote Beethoven to his friend, benefactor, and pupil, Archduke Rudolf sometime after 12 March 1811.<sup>1</sup> Preoccupied with the Princess's visit and a sore finger, His Royal Highness was, in all likelihood, temporarily unable to have his music lessons with Beethoven. Ironically, this minor accident gave the composer time to complete the masterpiece that now immortalizes the Archduke's name more than any other composition dedicated to him.

Work on the "Archduke" Trio, the most expansive, lyrical, and deeply felt of all the composer's works in this genre, had, in fact, begun the year before. Although completed in the early months of 1811, it was not published until 1816, in two parallel editions by Steiner in Vienna and Birchall in London.<sup>2</sup> This unusually long delay has been remarked upon on several occasions, often with the assumption or implication that Beethoven never sought to sell the work prior to 1815, when he

I would like to thank Joseph Kerman, Daniel Hertz, Klára Moricz, and David Schneider for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper. The present essay revises some of the findings presented in chapter 6 of my doctoral dissertation, *Source Studies for Beethoven's Piano Trio in B $\flat$  Major, Op.97 ("Archduke")* (University of California, Berkeley, 1995).

1. Anderson, I, 316 (letter no.300). The original text of the letter appears in Brandenburg, II, 182 (letter no.489): "Während Den Festlichkeiten der Prinzessin Von Baden wegen und dem Wehen Finger von ihro Kaiserl. Hoheit fieng ich an etwas Fleißig zu arbeiten, wovon unter andern auch ein neues *Trio* die Frucht ist für's Piano." This letter is undated. Both Anderson's editorial "late March, 1811" and Brandenburg's "Wien, Ende März 1811" stem from the date of the festivities, 5–12 March 1811.

2. See my *Source Studies*, pp. 297–303; and Alan Tyson, *The Authentic English Editions of Beethoven* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 13–27.

apparently initiated events that led to publication the following year. But that was not the case, for the composer had offered it to Breitkopf and Härtel soon after it was completed in a letter of 12 April 1811.<sup>3</sup> Why that venerable Leipzig firm did not publish it then is evident from another letter written several years later, ironically at the time when both Steiner and Birchall were busy preparing to issue their first editions of the work. Writing to Härtel on 19 July 1816 in response to repeated offers to include new Beethoven compositions in the catalogue of the firm, Beethoven reminded the publisher that Härtel had refused to pay him the sum of 100 gulden for the work, even though elsewhere the composer could have obtained, as he claimed, “50 or even 60 gold ducats for that kind of composition.”<sup>4</sup> Härtel, Beethoven pointedly remarked, “cannot expect me to be a loser.”<sup>5</sup>

The unusual delay in the publication of the “Archduke” Trio accords well with the finding made by both Sieghard Brandenburg and Alan Tyson that the work’s autograph actually dates from 1814/15, a time closer to the publication of the music, and not from 1811, the year of the “Archduke” Trio’s completion.<sup>6</sup> This conclusion is now contradicted by new evidence indicating that early 1811 is, in fact, the date of the autograph. In the present essay I will introduce and discuss the new evidence, following a summary of the case for 1814/15. I will then examine two particularly extensive and interesting revisions in the autograph, one in the scherzo and one in the Andante, as evidence of the composer’s apparent dissatisfaction with the earlier versions.

## 1. The Date of the Autograph

In an article published in 1977, Brandenburg argues that the autograph of Beethoven’s last violin sonata, the Sonata in G Major, op.96, dates from the winter and spring of 1814/15, even though the music was completed in 1812.<sup>7</sup> This dating is widely accepted as correct.<sup>8</sup>

3. Brandenburg, II, 184 (letter no.492). Translated in Anderson, I, 319 (letter no.304).

4. For information on equivalencies of Viennese currency during Beethoven’s time, see Julia Moore, “Beethoven and Inflation,” *Beethoven Forum* 1 (1992), 191–223.

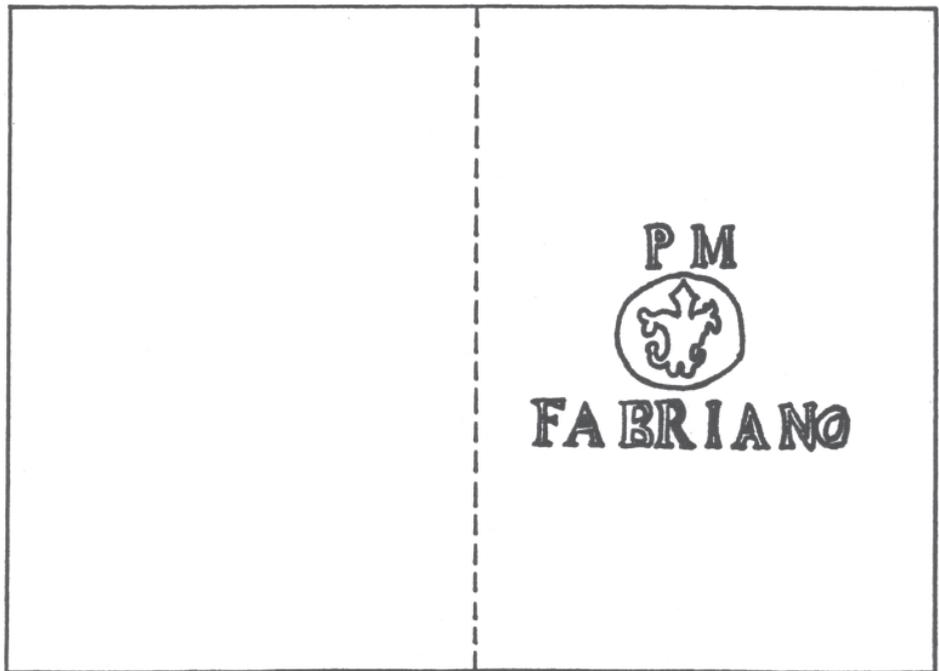
5. Anderson, II, 586–87 (letter no.642). The original text of the letter is in Brandenburg, III, 274–75 (letter no.950).

6. See Sieghard Brandenburg, “Die Quellen zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Beethovens Streichquartett Es-Dur Op.127,” BJ 10 (1983), 223–24; and JTW, p.198.

7. Sieghard Brandenburg, “Bemerkungen zu Beethovens Op.96,” BJ 9 (1977), 11–25.

8. See, for example, Richard Kramer’s review of Ludwig van Beethoven, *Sonata for Piano and Violin, G Major, Op.96: Facsimile of the Autograph Manuscript* in ML 59 (1978), 226–27.

Figure 1: Paper type 1: Violin Sonata, op.96 autograph (The Pierpont Morgan Library)  
Mold A and Mold B.



Preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, the autograph of op.96 is an unusual document.<sup>9</sup> In contrast to the sort of *Querformat* paper measuring roughly 230 mm x 320 mm that Beethoven often used, it comprises larger *Hochformat* paper measuring about 356 mm x 244 mm. Still rarer is the distinctive watermark shown in figure 1,<sup>10</sup> which identifies the paper as originating from the central Italian town of Fabriano rather than from a paper mill located within the Habsburg empire as was usually the case with Beethoven. The initials “PM” in the watermark indicate the manufacturer of the Fabriano paper was Pietro Milani (1744–1817).<sup>11</sup>

Among the thousands of folios of Beethoven’s extant manuscripts, only a scant forty-nine folios are known to be distinguished by watermarks similar to that of figure 1.<sup>12</sup> Significantly, these include the sixteen folios (whose watermark appears as figure 2) that make up the second volume of the two-volume autograph of the “Archduke.” Housed together with volume 1 in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków, volume 2 of the “Archduke” autograph contains the last two movements of the work (the first two movements are found in volume 1).<sup>13</sup> It is entirely made up of larger *Hochformat* paper (measuring about 327 mm x 225 mm), with each folio forming half of a full sheet as opposed to the typical division of a sheet of *Querformat* paper into four folios (the structure of the volume is laid out in figure 3).

On the basis of two presumptive conventions of watermark study that have been vital to the considerable progress made in the study of Beethoven manuscripts since the late 1960s—that papers with the same watermark date from the same time, and that Beethoven would normally exhaust his current supply of manuscript paper before he would buy more—Brandenburg has concluded that the “Archduke” autograph originated, like the autograph of op.96, from the winter and spring of

9. I am grateful to J. Rigbie Turner, Mary Flagler Cary Curator, at the Pierpont Morgan Library, for allowing me access to the manuscripts needed for this study.

10. The illustrations of the watermarks in all the figures were drawn freehand. No attempt has been made to ensure that they are scaled proportionately to the sizes of the papers.

11. See Brandenburg, “Bemerkungen,” p.12. Paper has been a chief product of Fabriano since medieval times.

12. Besides the autograph of op.96, manuscripts with the same paper type include the autograph of *An die Hoffnung*, op.94, in the Houghton Library, Harvard University (MS Lowell 12); the two autographs of “Die Laute Klage,” WoO 135 (GDM, A 12; and SBK, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven Grasnick 6), and a rejected score draft for the last movement of op.96 in BN (MS 60, No.1).

13. I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Krzysztof Zamorski, Director of the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, and Mrs. Agnieszka Mietelska-Ciepierska, Head of the Music Department, for making it possible for me to study the manuscript.

Figure 2: Paper type 2: volume 2 of the "Archduke" Trio autograph (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków).



Figure 3: “Archduke” Trio autograph: structure of volume 2.

Folio	Paper Type 2 Mold
1	B
2	
3	B
4	
5	B
6	
7	
8	A
9	
10	A
11	
12	
13	A
14	A
15	
16	A

1814/15.<sup>14</sup> That both op.96 and the “Archduke” were published only in 1816, several years after they were completed, in parallel first editions by Steiner and Birchall, are matching facts that seem to support Brandenburg’s single date for the autographs of the two works.

Notwithstanding these similarities, however, the date of 1814/15 does not fit comfortably with certain features of volume 1 of the “Archduke” autograph. Of the seventeen folios of this volume, all of which are in the usual *Querformat*, the first three are prominently differentiated from the rest by both their narrower widths and their single-leaf status—none of them may be linked to either a bifolio or a gathering in

Table 1: Folio measurements of volume 1 of the “Archduke” autograph (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków).

Folios	Horizontal (mm.)	Vertical (mm.)
1	312	225
2	310	225
3	316	223
4–17	327	225

14. Brandenburg, “Die Quellen.”

the autograph. This differentiation is illustrated in figure 4, which shows the structure of the volume, and Table 1, which details the dimensions of its various folios. Not surprisingly then, folios 1 and 2 have their own individual paper types, which are illustrated in figures 5 and 6 respectively. These paper types do not match figure 7, the paper type for the remaining folios of the volume that, by virtue of the letters "GT" and the manner of the script, point to Giacomo Testori's paper mill in Habzburg, South Tirol, as the place of origin.<sup>15</sup> No watermark may be found in folio 3.<sup>16</sup>

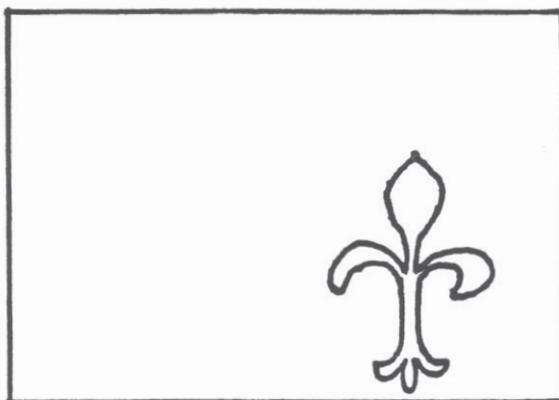
Figure 4: "Archduke" Trio autograph: structure of volume 1.

Folio	Paper Type/Quadrant
1	3/?
2	4/?
3	?/?
4	5/4b
5	5?/3b?
6	5/1b
7	5/3b
8	5?/4b?
9	5/2b
10	5/1a
11	5/3a
12	5/2a
13	5/4a
14	5/1a
15	5/4a
16	5/3a
17	5/2a

15. See Georg Eineder, *The Ancient Paper-Mills of the Former Austro-Hungarian Empire and their Watermarks*, vol.8 of *Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1960), watermarks 289 (plate 88), 464 (plate 134), 465 (plate 134), 861 (plate 241), and 1071 (plate 279).

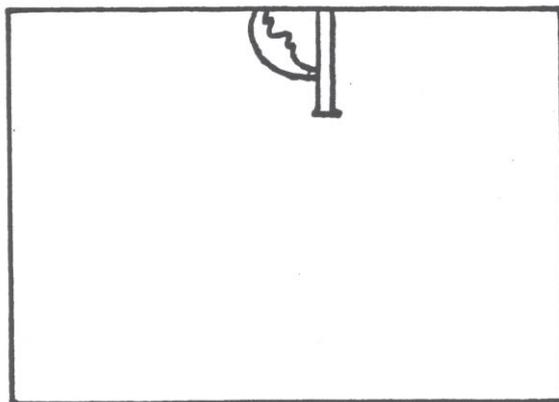
16. Folios 1, 2, and 3 are impossible to date because their component folios are missing. Nevertheless, the watermark of folio 1 (figure 5), a small fleur-de-lys situated by the horizontal folding edge of the original sheet, does appear in three "Archduke" sketch sources of 1810–11. These are two eight-page manuscripts—one in the New York Public Library, MS ZBT-25 no.2, and the other in the Beethoven-Archiv (Bonn), MS Bsk 18 (SBH 646)—and the Landsberg 11 Sketchbook (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków). See my *Source Studies*, pp.396–97, paper types 3 and 4; and JTW, p.553, paper type 27. In determining that volume 1 of the "Archduke" autograph originates from 1814/15, Brandenburg does not differentiate among the different papers of the volume, but speaks as if only one paper type were present in it: "Die beiden ersten Sätze befinden sich auf einem anderen ungewöhnlich mittelitalienischen Papier, das zweifellos derselben Zeit (1814/15) angehört." See his "Die Quellen," p.224.

Figure 5: Paper type 3 (one quadrant): “Archduke” Trio autograph, volume 1, folio 1.



In an attempt to explain the aberrant watermarks of folios 1 and 2 while maintaining his theory of a later date for the “Archduke” autograph, Alan Tyson speculates that these first two folios might have been “survivors” from an earlier and (presumably) lost original autograph that Beethoven wrote out soon after he completed the work.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, Beethoven had inscribed “Trio am 3<sup>ten</sup> März 1811” at the top of the first page and “geendigt am 26<sup>ten</sup> März 1811” at the end of the autograph, with “März” replacing a crossed-out “April” to indicate, perhaps, that the March date was entered into the manuscript at some time after the autograph was made.<sup>18</sup> But Tyson’s speculation of a great hiatus in the making of the “Archduke”

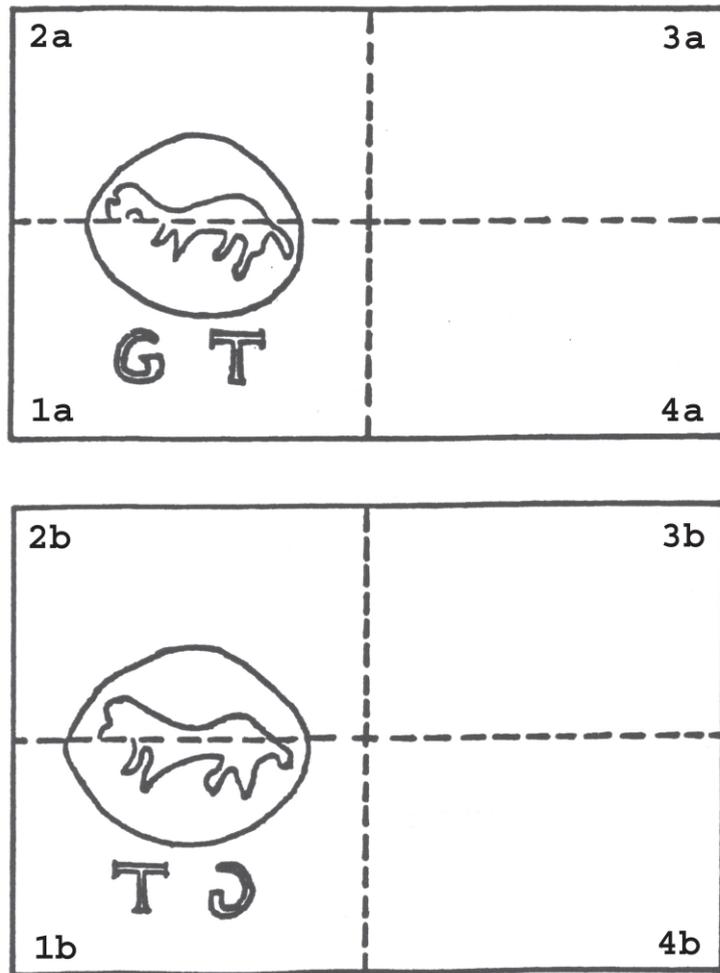
Figure 6: Paper type 4 (one quadrant): “Archduke” Trio autograph, volume 1, folio 2.



17. JTW, pp.198–99. One suspects that the ever-cautious Tyson would have liked further to include folio 3 as another “survivor” if there had been a watermark.

18. These dates match the events Beethoven mentioned in his letter to the Archduke, quoted earlier in n.1, wherein he reported his completion of the music.

Figure 7: Paper type 5: "Archduke" Trio autograph, volume 1, folios 4-17.



autograph seems to be contradicted by the evidence: there are no significant differences in ink and script between the first three folios and the rest of the volume. Regardless of the different paper sizes and the varied watermarks, all the folios of volume 1 appear to have been written at about the same time.

With the "Archduke" autograph thus offering apparently conflicting evidence for the date of its origin, it is fortuitous that two further sources taken together may present the strongest reason yet for questioning the date of 1814/15. The first source is a one-page manuscript of "Archduke" sketches in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Cary 46; Plate 1) that has never been investigated thoroughly.<sup>19</sup> The second is a set of parts for the work that once belonged to Archduke Rudolf himself

19. For a description of this manuscript, see my *Source Studies*, pp.16-17.

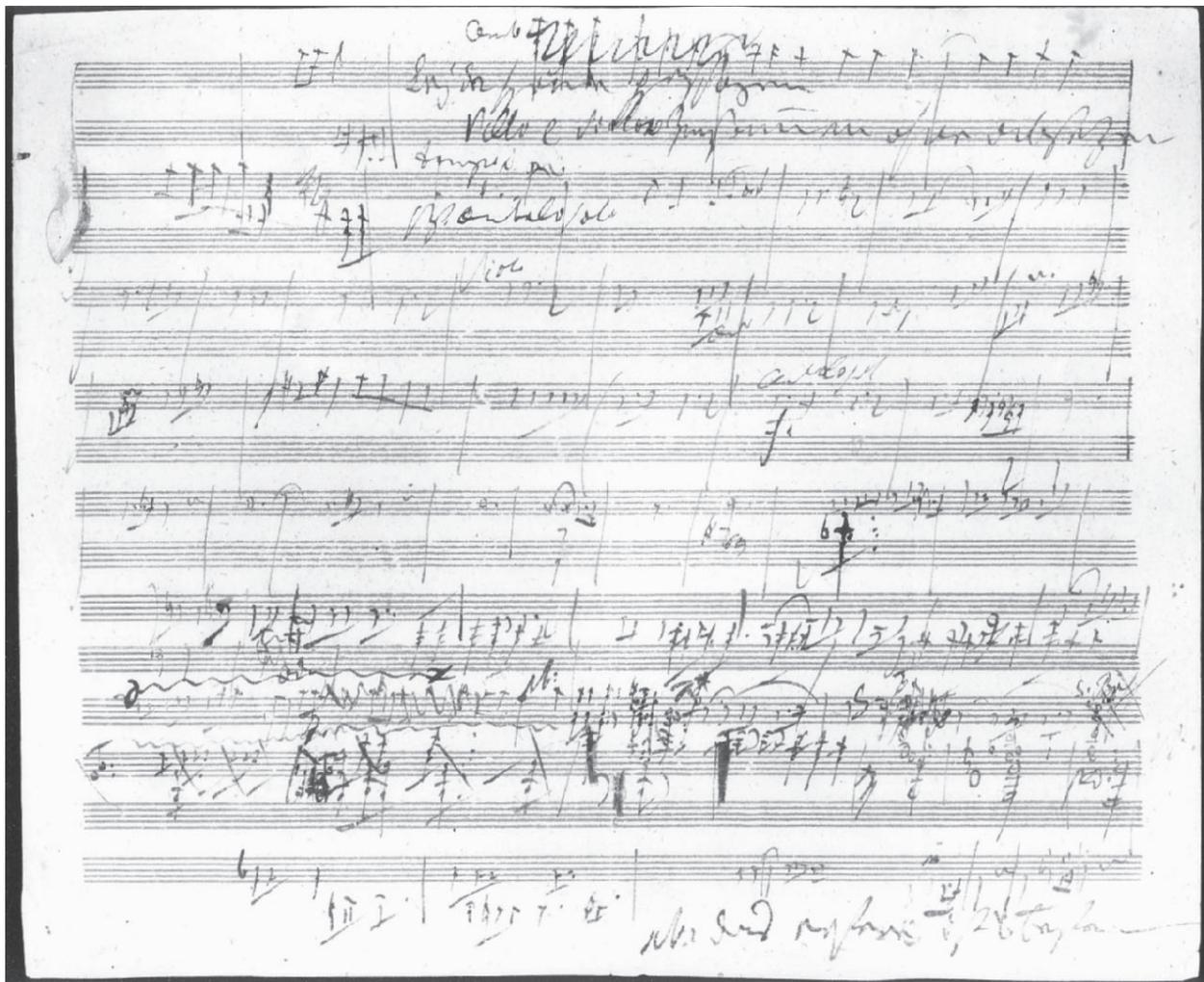


Plate 1: Sketch folio for Beethoven's "Archduke" Trio, op. 97. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Mary Flagler Cary Collection (Cary 46). Reproduced by permission.

and now housed in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna (ms A 58a).<sup>20</sup> Brandenburg reports that the two string parts from the set are missing;<sup>21</sup> I found them preserved together with the piano part in a bundle.<sup>22</sup>

Except for the first folio of the piano part, this set of "Archduke" parts is written out entirely by Wenzel Schlemmer (1760–1823), Beethoven's trusted copyist.<sup>23</sup> They contain corrections and other entries in the composer's hand, as well as fingering markings in the violoncello part to indicate that they were once used in performance, perhaps by Beethoven, Ignaz Schuppanzigh, and Joseph Linke at the work's first public performance on 11 April 1814, the occasion of the composer's last public appearance as a pianist. As far as my inquiry is concerned, Schlemmer's parts are important for two reasons: (1) they may be dated to 1811, the year of the "Archduke" Trio's completion;<sup>24</sup> and (2) the text of the Andante is identical to that of the autograph and thus presents the final version of the music.

20. The old siglum for this manuscript XI 4677, Q 16976 cited by Sieghard Brandenburg in "Die Beethovenhandschriften in der Musikaliensammlung des Erzherzogs Rudolph," *Zu Beethoven: Aufsätze und Dokumente* 3, ed. Harry Goldschmidt (Berlin:Verlag Neue Musik, 1988), p.168, is no longer in use. My thanks to Dr. Otto Biba, Director of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, for his kind hospitality and for allowing me access to this manuscript.

21. Brandenburg, "The Beethovenhandschriften," p.168.

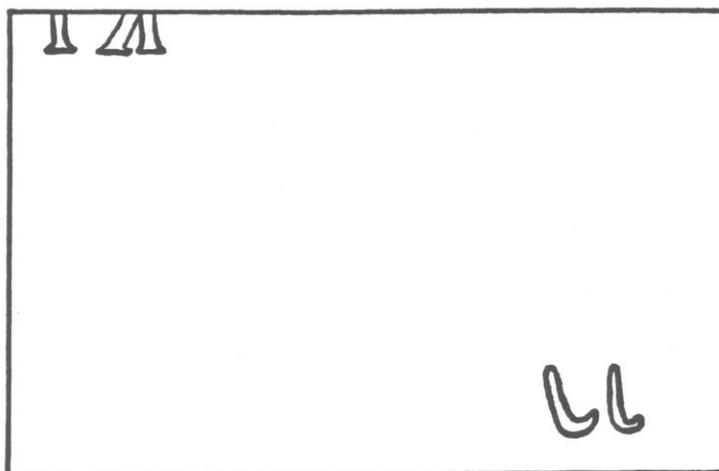
22. The origin of the Schlemmer parts may be traced to Beethoven's request expressed in a letter to Archduke Rudolf to have parts of the work made: "Da ich trotz aller angewandten Mühe keinen Kopisten, der mir im Hause schrieb, erhalten konnte, schicke ich ihnen mein Manuscript, sie brauchen nur gnädigst zum *schlemmer* um einen Tauglichen Kopisten zu schicken, der das Trio jedoch nur in ihrem Palaste kopieren müste." See Brandenburg, II, 183 (letter no.491), where the date of the letter is speculated to be "Anfang April 1811." A somewhat earlier date of "end of March 1811" accompanies the translation of this letter in Anderson, I, 316–17 (letter no.301) as follows: "Since in spite of all my efforts I have not been able to secure a copyist who will copy at my home, I am sending you my manuscript. All you need to do is kindly to send to *Schlemmer* for a good copyist who, however, must copy the trio at your palace."

23. Brandenburg ("Die Beethovenhandschriften," p.168) identifies the hand of the first folio as that of Aloys Fuchs (1799–1853), an Austrian scholar and collector of musical autographs who was appointed to the board of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in 1829. This folio contains the title page and (in the verso) the first twenty-one measures of the first movement. Brandenburg suggests that the original first folio might have contained an attractive dedication in Beethoven's own hand and was removed as a keepsake.

24. Brandenburg (*ibid.*), too, gives the same date in his examination of the piano part. Details of the watermarks of the Schlemmer parts will be included in my forthcoming essay "Aspects of the Genesis of Beethoven's String Quartet in F Minor, Op.95" in *The String Quartets of Beethoven*, ed. William Kinderman (Champaign: U Illinois P).

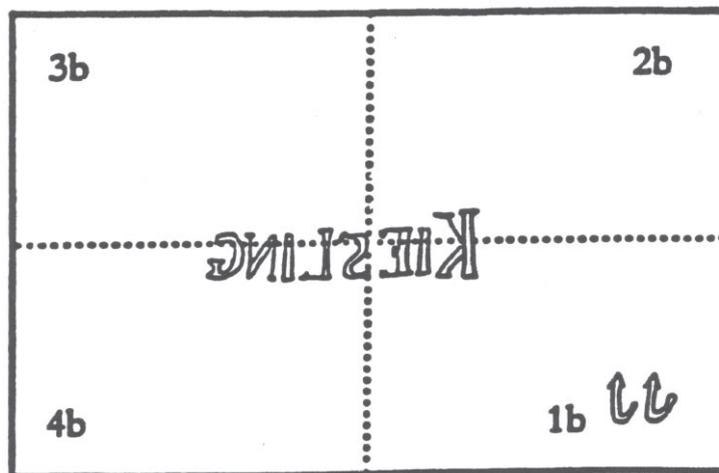


Figure 8: Paper type 6 (one quadrant): The Pierpont Morgan Library ms, Mary Flager Cary Music Collection (Cary 46).



Because it is a single folio, the watermark of the Morgan Library manuscript is incomplete (figure 8).<sup>26</sup> It is essentially the same as quadrant 1b of figure 9, one of the two paper types that characterize Landsberg II, the sketchbook containing the bulk of the extant sketches for the Andante variations. Since the Andante sketches in Landsberg II are among the later entries that Beethoven entered in the sketchbook,<sup>27</sup> we may infer that the Morgan Library folio dates from no earlier than the fall of 1810, the *terminus ante quem* for Landsberg II, and no later than early 1811, when the work was completed.

Figure 9: Paper type 7, Mold B: Landsberg II Sketchbook. (Reproduced, by permission, from Douglas Johnson, Alan Tyson, and Robert Winter, *The Beethoven Sketchbooks: History, Reconstruction, Inventory* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: U California P, 1985], p.556.)



26. For details of the usual connections between watermarks and sheet gatherings, see JTW, pp.46–54.

27. See my *Source Studies*, pp.190–91.

Violin I (Vi=) and Piano accompaniment. The score includes dynamic markings *cres:* and *ped. cres:*, and rehearsal marks (177) and (178x). The piano part includes 'O' symbols.

Violin I (Vi=) and Piano accompaniment. The score includes dynamic markings *p:* and *ped.*, and rehearsal marks (181x). The piano part includes 'O' and '[x]' symbols.

Violin I (Vi=) notation.

Example 2: "Archduke" Trio  
 autograph, volume 2, pp.46–  
 47: transcription of excised  
 music in context.

First system of musical notation. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a quarter note, followed by a half note, and then a quarter note. The piano accompaniment (bass clef) features a dotted quarter note followed by a half note, with some notes crossed out.

Second system of musical notation. The piano accompaniment (treble clef) starts with a measure marked "(184x)" and "ped. O ped." followed by a measure with "O". The vocal line (bass clef) continues with a dotted quarter note and a half note.

Third system of musical notation. The vocal line (treble clef) consists of a series of eighth notes with accents, ending with a measure marked "=de vno".

Fourth system of musical notation. The vocal line (treble clef) has notes marked with "[x]" and ends with a measure marked "=de" and "p:". The piano accompaniment (bass clef) has a note marked with "[x]" and ends with a measure marked "p:".

Fifth system of musical notation. The piano accompaniment (treble clef) starts with a measure marked "(187x)" and ends with a measure marked "(178)". The piano accompaniment (bass clef) has measures marked "sml." and "p: ped.".

Sixth system of musical notation. The vocal line (treble clef) consists of a series of eighth notes with accents, ending with a measure marked with a fermata.

The most significant point about the Morgan Library manuscript to my inquiry is that mm.178a-85a, an eight-measure passage in the draft of the coda (bracketed in ex.1), are absent from the Schlemmer copy of 1811. But it appears, although in a variant version, in the autograph in mm.178x-84x (ex.2), where it is fully scored in ink, before Beethoven crossed it out with bold strokes of the quill, together with mm.185x-88x, which he had already written out. (Measures 185x-88x, which correspond to mm.186a-89a in the Morgan folio, are crossed out, not because Beethoven rejected them, but because they stand in the way of the revision of mm.178x-84x that Beethoven wanted to make starting at the “=de” referent.) Since the music that replaces mm.178x-84x in the autograph is reproduced in the Schlemmer copy, the cancellation in the autograph must have been done *before* the Schlemmer parts were made in 1811. The autograph therefore cannot have been written later than that year. Consequently, and despite the correspondence of the rare watermark between the “Archduke” autograph and the autograph for the Violin Sonata, op.96, there is no reason not to take the composer’s inscribed dates of “Trio am 3<sup>ten</sup> März 1811” and “geendigt am 26<sup>ten</sup> März 1811” in the former manuscript at face value, even though March 1811 is a good twenty-odd months earlier than 29 December 1812, the date of the first performance of op.96. The prevailing wisdom that papers with the same watermark date from about the same time does not hold true in this instance. But a more significant point concerning the new date of the “Archduke” autograph is that it calls into question the view that the “Archduke” is closer than previously recognized to works that Beethoven completed in 1815/16, including the two Cello Sonatas of op.102, the Piano Sonata in A, op.101, and *An die ferne Geliebte*, op.98.<sup>28</sup>

## 2. Attempts at Revision

As the first complete text of the work, the “Archduke” autograph naturally served as the source for the Schlemmer parts. These, in turn, became the basis for the (presumably lost) *Stichvorlage* for the Steiner and Birchall editions,<sup>29</sup> a fact attested

28. See Brandenburg, “Die Quellen,” pp.223–24.

29. The inscription “S. A. Steiner und Comp. Nr. 2582” at the top of many pages in both volumes of the autograph has led Kinsky and Halm to conclude, incorrectly, that the autograph served as the *Stichvorlage* for the Steiner edition; see Kinsky-Halm, p.272. Written in the neat hand of Tobias Haslinger (who took over the firm under his own name in 1826), it served merely to indicate Steiner’s ownership of the manuscript (“2582” is Steiner’s publication plate number), which he had obtained as part of the agreement he made with Beethoven; see the draft of the contract of sale in *Ludwig*

to by the telltale reappearances of some particular features of the Schlemmer text in both the Birchall edition and the proof copy for the Steiner edition.<sup>30</sup> Before the *Stichvorlage* was made, however, Beethoven apparently proofread the Schlemmer parts with the aid of the autograph, during the course of which he revised the text somewhat, mainly in isolated details, such as dynamic markings. In the autograph, these corrections and revisions appear in both reddish-brown and black pencil—testimony to Beethoven's going through the manuscript on more than one occasion with a critical but, as we will see, far from perfect editorial eye. The same implements were used in the editing of the Schlemmer parts.

Further changes to the "Archduke" text occur in the Steiner proof copy, although this time Beethoven did not record them in the earlier sources. As a result, some revisions, such as the addition of "dolce" for the violin double stop at m. 191 in the opening Allegro and the grace notes in the piano part in m. 197 of the same move-

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*van Beethovens sämtliche Briefe*, ed. Emerich Kastner and Julius Kapp (Leipzig, 1923; rpt. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1975), p. 307. This contract is slated for inclusion in vol. 8 (yet to be published) of Brandenburg's edition of the letters; a translation appears in Anderson, III, 1423. One fact worth mentioning is this: mm. 213 and 214 of the scherzo are missing in the autograph, but not in the Schlemmer parts and in the two first editions, which also points to the Schlemmer parts, and not the autograph, as the basis for the *Stichvorlage* for Steiner and Birchall.

30. The evidence supporting this conclusion is different for each of the two first editions, and two representative examples may be mentioned here. Both the Schlemmer and the Birchall violin parts are marked by missing accidentals needed to change  $D^b$  to  $D^{\natural}$  in mm. 249–55 of the scherzo (and later in the reprise of the same music). These omissions probably stem from the imperfect proofreading that Ferdinand Ries undertook on the composer's behalf (Ries, an old pupil of Beethoven, was then living in London); see Friedrich Chrysander, "Beethoven's Verbindung mit Birchall und Stumpff," *Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft* 1 (1863), 435. Although the omissions originated in the autograph, they characterize neither the Steiner edition nor the publisher's proof copy that contain corrections in Beethoven's hand. (The whereabouts of this proof copy is unknown. It once belonged to Martin Bodmer, a noted collector of original Beethoven manuscripts, and it appears to be missing several pages. I thank Dr. Brandenburg for allowing me to consult a microfilm of it in the Beethoven-Archiv [microfilm numbers 1414/15 and 1471–73]). Indications that the Steiner first edition was based on the Schlemmer text appear in several places in the Steiner proof copy. For example, the proof copy followed Schlemmer (and the autograph) by abbreviating, in the finale, the series of sixteenth-note tremolos in the piano part in mm. 152–58 and mm. 160–64. These abbreviations were removed in the final print on Beethoven's instruction: "alle ausgesetzt." This sort of clarity that Beethoven wanted for his printed music gives point to his comment to a friend in 1816, the year the "Archduke" was published, that "any engraved work is better than a manuscript" (jeder Stich besser als schrift); see Brandenburg, III, 251–52 (letter no. 929) and, in translation, Anderson, II, 574–75 (letter no. 630).

ment, appear only in the Steiner proof copy and not in the autograph or in Schlemmer. Clearly, then, no single early source—not even the autograph—transmits what might be considered a definitive text of the work.

Nevertheless, the autograph remains uniquely significant because of the many revisions it contains.<sup>31</sup> As mentioned previously, two revisions—one in the scherzo and another in the Andante—are quite extensive and will be discussed below in some detail. The remaining revisions are comparatively small. Of these, the most interesting concerns the tempo marking of the slow movement. Copied out as “Andante cantabile” in Schlemmer and engraved the same in the two first editions, it appears as “Andante cantabile ma però con moto” in the autograph, with “ma però con moto” inscribed in a distinctively smaller script in lighter ink. The change was apparently made after Beethoven had proofread the Schlemmer parts, perhaps following a rehearing of the music that alerted him to the potential for the music to drag. The revised tempo marking appears in the text of the *Gesamtausgabe* published by Breitkopf and Härtel in the 1860s.

### 3. The Revision of the Scherzo

Replete with ink cancellations and erasure patches caused by scraping (perhaps with a small blade), mm. 74–85 of the scherzo make up the most difficult passage to read in the “Archduke” autograph. The corrections affect only the string parts; in ex. 3, the erased music (insofar as it can be made out) is placed above the revised version for comparison.

In place of the background series of running eighth notes that now occupy mm. 74–84, what Beethoven once had in mind was a more playful idea: starting at m. 74, the tossing back and forth of the pervasive subthematic anapestic motives between the strings and the piano, in a manner similar to the motivic interplay between the two hands of the piano part in mm. 78–85. This much is clear from

31. These revisions do not (of course) include corrections of copying errors, some of which still remain in the autograph to bear striking testimony to the mechanical and workmanlike approach that Beethoven sometimes adopted while writing out the manuscript. The omission of two measures in the scherzo (mm. 213–14) I have mentioned previously (see n. 29). Also worth noting is the insertion of an E♯ accidental in the violin part in m. 97a of the first movement exposition to create a nonsensical major-seventh double stop with the F below in place of a dominant seventh. This error came about because Beethoven had apparently mistaken the redundant E♭ accidental in the previous measure to be foreign to the key signature. One copying error that the composer *did* spot after he had written out the autograph was the omission of mm. 352–55 in the rondo finale. To correct this error, Beethoven copied out the missing measures into an additional folio (fol. 15) and inserted it into the manuscript.

The musical score is arranged in four systems. The first system contains measures 74-76. The second system contains measures 77-80. The third system contains measures 81-84. The fourth system contains measures 85-88. The piano part includes a section marked 'in 8ve' (octave) in measures 77-80. Dynamics include 'cres.' (crescendo) and 'ff.' (fortissimo).

Example 3: "Archduke" Trio  
 autograph, volume 1, p.23:  
 transcription of mm.74-85 of  
 the scherzo.

the few bits of music that have survived the scraping, and that may yet be discerned (but only barely) amid the veritable thicket of cancellations.

A desire to obtain maximum contrast between this passage and the one immediately following was probably Beethoven's reason for revising. For when compared to the *moto perpetuo* type of running eighth notes, the extended stretch of motivic interplay in the strings does not generate the same degree of momentum and, consequently, cannot lead to as emphatic an arrival point at m.85 to contrast with the new music that begins in m.86—a *dolce* tune in the cello over a *subito piano* cushion of an accompaniment in the keyboard. Furthermore, the separate roles in the texture of the final version in mm.78–85—the relentless forward thrust of the strings in the background against the light motivic interplay in the piano—generate a certain friction that motivic interplay alone cannot create here, but which forms part of the essential nature of the contrast between the two musical passages: warmth and lyricism in the mellower subdominant key from m.86 onward against the brighter, more forceful angularity of the previous music in the tonic.

#### 4. The Revision of the Andante

The rejected music in the coda of the Andante in ex.2 that allows us to establish the date of the “Archduke” autograph is also the most interesting and important revision in the manuscript. As ex.4 indicates, the final version of the coda of the Andante is in two sections. The first, mm.160–74, is characterized by an extraordinary passage of harmonic fog, where a series of frustrated cadential resolutions and diminished-seventh chords create a certain sense of suspended motion recalling the bridge passage in mm.21–26 of the opening Allegro. The break from the preceding uncomplicated and straightforward harmony of the theme and variations that form the main bulk of the movement is sharp and drastic.

By contrast, the second section, mm.174–93, seeks immediately to mitigate the effect of this harmonic cloud by affirming and reaffirming D major as the tonic, at once richly sonorous and quietly radiant. This section has two phrases. In the first phrase, mm.174–85, we hear in the cello and violin a brief and touchingly wistful dialogue based on music derived from the main Andante theme, followed by a longer thematic paraphrase of the same music in delicate triplets in high octaves in the piano. Following this paraphrase, the second phrase, mm.185–93, gently settles the music deeper and deeper into the home key, to the point of almost complete inaction when the tranquillity is disturbed by the unexpected entry of the dominant-seventh harmony of E $\flat$ . It is the earlier version of the first phrase that Beethoven crossed out in ex.2.

Example 4: "Archduke" Trio:  
Andante coda, mm. 159-94.

159 **First section**

pp

pp

pp

pp

pp

pp

pp

pp

171

*cresc.* *dim.*

*cresc.* *dim.*

174 **Second section,  
first phrase**

*espr.* *espr.*

177

*cresc.* *p*

*cresc.* *p*

*cresc.* *p*

tonic cadence

180

*cresc.* *p*

*cresc.* *p*

*cresc.* *p*

evaded cadence

183

Second section,  
second phrase

*mezza voce*

tonic cadence

186

*mezza voce*

*p*

189

*dim.*

*dim.*

192

*dim.*

*pp*

*pp*

This revision may be summarized as follows. In ex.2 and prior to the cancellation of the music, Beethoven made small pencil crosses in the free adjunct staff below mm.178x-80x to signify that they were to be eliminated. With mm.178x-180x thus excised and m.177 followed immediately by m.181x, the music approaches more nearly the stretch of mm.178-84 in ex.4, the passage of paraphrase in octave triplets in the piano right hand. But whereas this paraphrase lasts seven measures in ex.4, in ex.2 it plays for only four (mm.181x-84x), and Beethoven sought twice to broaden it.

The first attempt at extending the paraphrase appears in ex.2 in the sketch in the adjunct staff below mm.183x and 184x. By replacing the last two beats of m.184x with this sketch of one measure and two beats, the paraphrase is prolonged by a modest one measure of cadential elaboration.

The second attempt involves the sketch in the adjunct staff below mm.185x-88x. A real intensification of the paraphrase rather than a token cadential prolongation, this more substantial four-measure sketch, which Beethoven marks for the violin, is meant to replace just one measure, m.184x. Consequently, the paraphrase passage now lasts seven measures (mm.181x-83x, followed by the sketch in the adjunct below mm.185x-88x), and this length is retained in the final version. A complete, but modified, version of this second attempt is then written out in the autograph (the “Vi=” at m.178x is linked to the “=de” at m.178), following the cancellation of the original passage. As ex.4 shows, the final version combines two aspects of ex.2: the sketch in the adjunct staff for the violin but now rescored for the piano, and the string parts of mm.178x-80x.

The questions that must be asked concerning the cancellation and revision are these: why did Beethoven abandon his original conception of the passage so late in the genesis of the movement? And how does this passage compare with the final version in terms of its function in the coda?

In spite of Beethoven’s revisions, the length of the coda in the autograph remains unchanged: the number of measures removed is the same as the number of measures added. Rather, what has changed is the comparative weight of the various tonic cadences in the paraphrase passage and, consequently, the way the music paces itself as it draws gradually to a close. This change needs to be examined in some detail.

Prior to the cancellation in ex.2, the paraphrase passage begins with a tonic cadence in mm.180x-81x. Because this cadence is preceded by an evaded tonic cadence in mm.177-78x and the powerful pull to the tonic in the ensuing three-measure cadential delay, it acquires an added weight that firmly establishes it as the fundamental closing cadence of the movement. As a result, the attempt to height-

en the key further by means of another emphatic tonic cadence in mm.184x–85x at the end of the paraphrase comes somewhat as an anticlimax. Despite being music of the greatest beauty, this additional paraphrase passage is structurally ineffectual.

In ex.4, the paraphrase passage also begins with a tonic cadence, but one markedly less assertive than that in ex.2; in this example, it is evident in mm.177–78 that the effect of this cadence is undercut by, among other things, the anticipatory tonic chord in m.177. The weight of the next tonic cadence, which comes at the end of the paraphrase passage in mm.184–85, is significantly enhanced by the evaded tonic cadence in mm.181–82 and the pull to the tonic in the ensuing three-measure cadential delay. Unlike ex.2, this fundamental closing cadence of the movement is not followed by another passage designed to heighten the tonic further. Rather, the music now fades quietly away and—notwithstanding the surprise chord—concludes one of Beethoven's quietest, most expansive and ethereal movements.

If Beethoven's concern had been purely technical, there would have been no need for him to cross out so much of the music he had already written out carefully in the autograph. For the problem of an emphatic tonic cadence coming after the arrival of the fundamental closing cadence could be solved simply by removing the offending second cadence—that is, the paraphrase passage of mm.181x–84x in ex.2—and leaving the rest of the now-canceled music intact. It is apparent, then, that preserving the paraphrase passage was a particular priority with the composer.

Perhaps the paraphrase passage meant to Beethoven a sublime moment in the *Andante*—the movement that is the heart of the whole work—whose calm and contemplative character has been the feature that impressed commentators since Beethoven's time. Carl Czerny, who had studied the “Archduke” with the composer himself, singled out the *Andante* theme—the foundation of the whole movement—as “holy, religious.”<sup>32</sup> Berlioz had a similar view, and described in more striking and vivid terms the sort of reaction that one can have during the course of listening to the “Archduke”:

At the third or fourth recurrence of the sublime and passionately religious theme in the middle of the *Andante*, one of [the listeners] may no longer be able to restrain his tears, and once he begins to let them flow, he will end up

32. Carl Czerny, *On the Proper Performance of All Beethoven's Works for the Piano* (Czerny's *Reminiscences of Beethoven* and chaps.2 and 3 from vol. IV of the *Complete Theoretical and Practical Piano Forte School*, op.500), ed. with comm. Paul Badura-Skoda (Vienna: Universal Edition and Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Theodore Presser, 1970), p.101.

(I have witnessed this phenomenon more than once) weeping violently, fiercely, and convulsively. That is what you may call a musical effect. Here is a listener overwhelmed and intoxicated by the art of sound, a human being lifted to heights immeasurably far above the plane of ordinary life.<sup>33</sup>

Something of “heights immeasurably far above the plane of ordinary life” may, indeed, be glimpsed here. The soft and delicate triplets in the high register in slow tempo that sparkle in the paraphrase passage create a figuration rarely encountered in Beethoven’s music. It does, however, appear in the winds in the finale of the Ninth Symphony, at the concluding measures (mm. 650–54) of the section beginning “Ihr stürzt nieder Millionen?”—the section of the finale imbued with an imposing religious aura. In that music, which Beethoven had instructed to be played “divoto”—devoutly—the triplets of the woodwinds give subtle point to shimmering tremolos in the strings, thus lending musical imagery to the words “above the starry firmament he must surely dwell” (über Sternen muß er wohnen).<sup>34</sup> Indeed, it was a similar imagery that inspired Adolf Bernhard Marx to describe the “Archduke” Andante as “lofty and calm as the starry night, still as a prayer,”<sup>35</sup> further

33. Hector Berlioz, *The Art of Music and Other Essays (A Travers Chants)*, trans. and ed. Elizabeth Csicsery-Rónay (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1994), p. 61. The original text in Hector Berlioz, *A travers chants* (4th edn. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1886), p. 95: “Au milieu de l’andante, au troisième retour de ce thème sublime et si passionnément religieux, il peut arriver à l’un d’eux de ne pouvoir contenir ses larmes, et s’il les laisse un instant couler, il finira peut-être (j’ai vu le phénomène se produire) par pleurer avec violence, avec fureur, avec explosion. Violà un effe[t] musical! violà un auditeur saisi, enivré par l’art des sons, un être élevé à une hauteur incommensurable au-dessus des régions ordinaires de la vie!” For a discussion of issues concerning Berlioz and heightened musical experiences, see Katherine Kolb Reeve, “Primal Scenes: Smithson, Pleyel, and Liszt in the Eyes of Berlioz,” *19CM* 18 (1995), 211–35.

34. Pulsating triplets also lend musical imagery to blazing stars at one point in the song *Abendlied unterm gestirnten Himmel*, WoO 150, written in 1820 when the composer was in the midst of work on the *Missa solennis*, op. 123. Like the slow movement of the second “Razumovsky” Quartet, which supposedly came to Beethoven when he was “contemplating the starry sky,” this song is in E major; see n. 35.

35. “Das Andante ist erhaben und ruhig, wie die Sternennacht, still wie ein Gebet” (Adolf Bernhard Marx, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen*, 2 vols. [1859; 3rd edn. Berlin: Otto Janke, 1875], II, p. 224). In making this link between the “Archduke” Andante and the Ninth Symphony finale, Marx probably had in mind Czerny’s report that the broad and serene E-major Adagio of the second “Razumovsky” Quartet, which has a hymnlike opening theme and a soaring first violin part that prefigures the solo violin in the Benedictus of the *Missa solennis*, came to Beethoven when he was “contemplating the starry sky and thinking of the music of the spheres”; see Thayer-Forbes, pp. 408–09.

testimony to how the "Archduke" Andante was widely understood by serious listeners in the nineteenth century.

As the comparison with the finale of the Ninth Symphony also indicates, in a broader sense, the sort of quietly elevated and rarefied spirit that resonates from the Andante coda looks ahead to the composer's last style; one is reminded of other inspired moments, such as the closing measures of the *Heiliger Dankgesang* movement from the String Quartet in A Minor, op.132, and the Credo from the *Missa solennis*, op.123. Also stylistically forwardlooking, but in a very different and more intense way, is the contemporaneous Quartet in F Minor, op.95, which, although completed in 1810, was not published (like the "Archduke" and op.96) until 1816.<sup>36</sup> In its unprecedented tautness, pithiness, and volatility, as well as its emphasis on fugue and counterpoint and on high contrasts—it shares the last three features with the "Archduke" Scherzo—op.95 gathers quite remarkably, in a single entity, several distinctive hallmarks of the late quartet style of the 1820s. It is, as Beethoven remarks in one of his rare letters in English, "written for a small circle of connoisseurs,"<sup>37</sup> a pronouncement applicable also to every one of the composer's late quartets. Even op.96, the remaining chamber work of the time, is not devoid of late-style characteristics: witness the widespread lyricism; the Baroque-inspired pliability of the chromatic lines in the last movement fugato variation;<sup>38</sup> the ex-

36. Steiner was once again the Viennese publisher, although this time the authentic English edition was brought out not by Birchall but by Clementi in 1817. See Kinsky-Halm, p.268; and Tyson, *The Authentic English Editions of Beethoven*, pp.95–96. The watermark for the vast majority of the forty folios of the op.95 autograph (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Mus. Hs. 16.531) is similar to paper type 31 in JTW, p.554. Although this watermark is also found in some of the folios of the Landsberg 9 Sketchbook (SBK), a manuscript dating from about February to March 1814, there is good reason to believe that the op.95 autograph originates not from 1814 but from 1810, the year of the Quartet's completion. Arguments for 1810 are presented in my essay "Aspects of the Genesis of Beethoven's String Quartet in F Minor, Op.95."

37. The full text of this letter appears in Anderson, II, 604–07 (letter no.664), where the date is given as "c. October 11, 1816," and Brandenburg, III, 305–07 (letter no.983), where "um den 7. Oktober 1816" is suggested. For recent discussions of Beethoven's audiences, see Joseph Kerman, "Beethoven Quartet Audiences: Actual, Potential, Ideal," in *The Beethoven Quartet Companion*, ed. Robert Winter and Robert Martin (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U California P, 1994), pp.7–27; and Leon Botstein, "The Patrons and Publics of the Quartets: Music, Culture, and Society in Beethoven's Vienna," *ibid.*, pp.77–109.

38. It is interesting to note the contrapuntal similarities between this G-minor fugato variation and the thirteen-measure G-minor fugato *Klavierstück*, WoO 61a, that Beethoven wrote on 27 September 1825 for Sarah Burney Payne, granddaughter of Charles Burney, as a souvenir for her visit. (See Solomon, *Beethoven*, p.339; and Thayer-Forbes, pp.956–57. Thayer mistakenly identifies Sarah Burney Payne as Burney's daughter.)

ploitation of trills as an intrinsic part of the expression; the slick and glassy dance-like character of the trio, and so on. Evidently, then, the transition from the “heroic” to the late style had already begun at least by 1810, three years earlier than usually acknowledged.<sup>39</sup> And it could be earlier still if we take into account the kinship between the sort of lyrical *Innigkeit* of the “Archduke” Andante and parts of the *Missa solemnis* and the late quartets with the “reflective, pensive lyricism” that Lewis Lockwood senses in some middle-period works including the Mass in C, the slow movements of the Violin Concerto, and the slow movements of the first two of the three op.59 Quartets.<sup>40</sup>

39. See, for example, Joseph Kerman and Alan Tyson, *The New Grove Beethoven* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1983), p.91.

40. Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), p.273. Something of this “reflective, pensive lyricism” may already be heard in such earlier works as the slow movement of the “Pathétique” Sonata and the first movement of the “Moonlight” Sonata.