MUSIC IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

London in the 1790s

The French Revolution transformed France's cultural landscape, including its music. But Europe as a whole also felt effects of the Revolution. As we saw in Chapter 15, Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito*, performed in Prague in 1791, could have communicated a counter-revolutionary message to its first audience. Another city that heard the Revolution's musical reverberations was London. Throughout the century London had drawn talented and ambitious musicians from the Continent; but during the Revolution, musicians previously active in Paris, or who might have settled there, came to London instead. In 1793 one of the daily papers marveled at the large number of such musical refugees: "Nothing less than the demolition of one Monarchy, and the general derangement of all the rest, could have poured into England and settled such a mass of talents as we have now to boast. Music as well as misery has fled for shelter to England."

RIVAL CONCERT SERIES

The death in 1782 of Johann Christian Bach, who had helped to organize concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms since they opened in 1774, led to the end of the popular Bach-Abel Concerts. But they were quickly replaced by other series, several of which also took place at Hanover Square: the Hanover Square Grand

Concert (1783–84), the Professional Concert (1785–93), and Salomon's Concert (1791–94). The last was the brainchild of the violinist and impresario Johann Peter Salomon, yet another German immigrant, who brought the public concert to an unprecedented level of artistic excellence.

All three of these series presented 12 or 13 concerts (one each week) during a season that began around the middle of the winter and continued until late spring. In trying to win subscribers, their organizers engaged celebrated composers, instrumentalists, and singers to appear regularly, and exclusively, on their series. But the series did not differ much in the format of their programs, which consisted of two parts separated by an intermission. Both parts began with symphonies, often called overtures, a term reflecting the symphony's ancestry in the operatic sinfonia (see Chapter 5). The second part ended with an orchestral work variously called a finale, a full piece, or a symphony. Concerts typically included Italian arias sung by two or three singers, male and female, who often joined in the performance of a duet or trio near the end of the program. Two or three concertos for different instruments, one of which often served as the conclusion of the concert's first half, constituted the third essential ingredient of concerts in London. Audiences loved novelty, and programs frequently called attention to the newness of music that was to be performed.

An announcement in the *Public Advertiser* of the first concert in the Professional Concert's 1790 series, on February 15, contained the evening's program:

ACT I

Overture	HAYDN
Quartetto	PLEYEL

For two Violins, Tenor [viola], and Violoncello, by Messrs. CRAMER, BORGHI, BLAKE, and CERVETTO

Song	Miss CANTELO
Sonata Piano Forte	Mr. DAME
Song	Signora STORACE
Concerto Violin	Mr. CRAMER

ACT II

New Grand Overture	M.S. HAYDN
Song	Miss CANTELO
Concerto Hautboy [oboe]	Mr. PARKE
Song	Signora STORACE
New Overture	M.S. GIROWETZ

This program was exceptional only in that no male singer participated. The songs performed by the evening's vocal soloists, Miss Cantelo (first name unknown) and Nancy Storace, were almost certainly Italian arias. Storace, born in England to an English mother and an Italian father, had sung opera in Italy and Vienna, where she created the role of Susanna in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*. The program emphasized the novelty of the "overtures"—again, probably concert symphonies—that framed the second half by the abbreviation "M.S." (manuscript), implying they had not yet been printed. Only the symphony by the young Bohemian composer Adalbert Gyrowetz could have been really new, as Gyrowetz had recently arrived in London and might have composed it especially for this occasion. But the compositional star of the evening—the only composer named more than once—had not yet written any symphonies for London. In February 1790 he was far from England; during his long life he had never ventured more than about 100 miles from his birthplace near Vienna.

HAYDN'S FIRST VISIT TO ENGLAND

Salomon's efforts during the 1780s to give his concerts an edge over the competition included repeatedly inviting Joseph Haydn—the popularity of whose symphonies in London can be surmised from their prominence on the concert program quoted above—to write symphonies for London and to direct their performance in person. Haydn, busy fulfilling his duties for Prince Nicolaus Esterházy (see Chapter 10) and writing music for other patrons who did not require him to travel, declined Salomon's invitations. But in September 1790 Nicolaus died. His son Anton largely abandoned Eszterháza, Nicolaus's magnificent but isolated palace, and disbanded his father's opera troupe. He kept Haydn on salary but gave him little to do.

Salomon, in Germany hiring musicians for his next concerts, realized that if he was ever to engage Haydn, this was the time. In November or early December he hurried to Vienna and, on being admitted to Haydn's residence, announced: "I am Salomon from London and have come to fetch you. Tomorrow we shall conclude an agreement." In this agreement Haydn promised to write six symphonies and to direct their performance from the keyboard. Some of Haydn's friends doubted that the composer, now 58, could survive the long trip across Europe and find success in a city much bigger than Vienna. Mozart said to him: "You have no training for the great world, and you speak too few languages." Haydn responded: "My language is understood all over the world!"

On December 15 Haydn and Salomon left Vienna together. Following in the footsteps of so many great musicians from the Continent, Haydn arrived in

London at the beginning of January 1791. Thus began the first of two long visits, each of which included two concert seasons.

Haydn wrote to a friend that it took him two days to recover from his journey by coach and boat. "Now, however, I am fresh and well again, and occupied in looking at this endlessly huge city of London, whose various beauties and marvels quite astonished me." He must have been equally surprised at the richness of London's musical life, of which he could have gotten some idea from an announcement in the *Public Advertiser* on January 7, 1791: "Never could this country boast of such a constellation of musical excellence as now illuminates our fashionable hemisphere. No one metropolis can exhibit such a union of masters as London now possesses." There follows a list of the weekly events planned for the upcoming season:

SUNDAY	The Nobleman's Subscription is held every Sunday at a different house.
MONDAY	The Professional Concert—at the Hanover-Square Rooms—with Mrs. Billington.
TUESDAY	The Opera.
WEDNESDAY	The Ancient Music at the rooms in Tottenham Street, under the patronage of Their Majesties.
	The Anacreontic Society also, occasionally, on Wednesday.
THURSDAY	The Pantheon. A pasticcio of music and dancing, in case that the Opera Coalition shall take place; if not, a concert with Mad. Mara and Sig. Pacchierotti.
	Academy of Ancient Music, every other Thursday, at Freemason's Hall.
FRIDAY	A concert under the auspices of Haydn at the Rooms, Hanover Square, with Sig. David.
SATURDAY	The Opera.

With the significant exception of Haydn, all the musicians mentioned on this list were singers: the sopranos Elizabeth Billington and Gertrud Mara, the *musico* Gasparo Pacchierotti, and the tenor Giacomo David were all among Europe's leading performers of Italian opera. Their names again underline the importance of vocal music (and Italian opera arias in particular) in concerts in London, as in the rest of Europe.

The list also reminds us of the crucial role that Italian opera had played in London's musical life since the early eighteenth century (see Chapter 7). Indeed,

Haydn came to England with the expectation of writing not only symphonies but also an opera seria, which was to be entitled *L'anima del filosofo, ossia Orfeo ed Euridice* (The Philospher's Soul, or Orpheus and Eurydice). He came close to completing it and putting it into production, but it fell victim to a rivalry between two theaters competing for the exclusive right to present Italian opera, and was never performed. Fortunately, Haydn had been paid for it in advance; he took it back to Vienna and eventually had parts of it published.

A TRIUMPHANT DEBUT

Salomon soon announced his intention to present 12 concerts on Friday nights, with Haydn directing the performance of a new work for each concert; subscriptions were to cost five guineas. After several delays, Haydn's first series of concerts began on March 11, 1791. He made his debut on a program that began and ended with symphonies by the Bohemians Antonio Rosetti and Leopold Kozeluch, and included arias sung by a soprano and tenor (both prominent opera singers), concertos for oboe and violin, and a symphonie concertante for piano and harp by yet another Bohemian musician, Jan Ladislav Dussek. But the pièce de résistance was Haydn's "New Grand Overture," played at the beginning of the second half of the program.

No fewer than three of the soloists—the pianist Dussek, the harpist Anne-Marie Krumpholz, and the violinist Madame Gautherot—had spent the period immediately before the French Revolution in Paris, exemplifying how London benefited during the Revolution from musical talent developed in France. Also French was the symphonie concertante, a concerto for two or more instruments of which French composers and audiences were particularly fond; Mozart had encountered it in Paris in 1778, as we saw in Chapter 13.

Haydn's "New Grand Overture" was probably his Symphony No. 92 in G Major, composed in 1789: not new, but apparently unknown in London. (Haydn was to present it again in July 1791 in Oxford, on the occasion of his receiving an honorary degree from the university; that performance earned for it the nickname *Oxford* Symphony.) Haydn directed its performance from the keyboard, in the middle of an orchestra whose arrangement was described by an eyewitness:

> The pianoforte was in the centre, at each extreme end the double basses, then on each side two violoncellos, then two tenors or violas and two violins, and in the hollow of the piano a desk on a high platform for Salomon [as concertmaster] and his ripieno [perhaps the first violin section]. At the back, verging down to a point at each end, all these instruments were doubled, giving the requisite number for a full orchestra. Still further back, raised high up, were drums, and on either side the trumpets,

> trombones, bassoons, oboes, clarinets, flutes, &c., in numbers according to the requirements of the symphonies and other music to be played on the different evenings.

The *Morning Chronicle* echoed the audience's ecstatic reaction to Haydn's concert: "Never, perhaps, was there a richer musical treat." Not surprisingly, it devoted most of its report to Haydn's symphony:

> It is not wonderful that to souls capable of being touched by music, HAYDN should be an object of homage, and even of idolatry; for like our own SHAKSPEARE, he moves and governs the passions at his will.
>
> His *new Grand Overture* was pronounced by every scientific ear to be a most wonderful composition; but the first movement in particular rises in grandeur of subject, and in the rich variety of *air* and passion, beyond any even of his own productions. The *Overture* has four movements. . . . They are all beautiful, but the first is pre-eminent in every charm, and the band performed it with admirable correctness. . . .
>
> We were happy to see the concert so well attended the first night; for we cannot suppress our very anxious hopes, that the first musical genius of the age may be induced, by our liberal welcome, to take up his residence in England.

Although Haydn's first season in London was marred by the failure to bring *L'anima del filosofo* to the stage, as a symphonist he triumphed. His success came despite his not fulfilling the agreement with Salomon, in which he had promised to write six symphonies. Having been engaged so soon before the beginning of the concert season, and with much of his early weeks in London taken up with the composition of his opera, he had little time to write symphonies. Of those he presented in 1791, only two, Nos. 95 in C Minor and 96 in D Major, are among the 12 that he would eventually compose for London. Salomon allowed him to fulfill his promise with a mixture of new symphonies and works (like the *Oxford* Symphony) new enough not to be familiar in England.

HAYDN'S SECOND SEASON

Haydn's success during the winter and spring of 1791 caused Salomon to ask him to stay in England and to headline the 1792 season. In July 1791 Haydn wrote Prince Anton Esterházy, seeking permission to extend his leave to the following summer. Anton's coldly polite answer, which managed to misspell Haydn's name, was an unpleasant reminder that despite his fame he was still a nobleman's servant:

To the Kapellmeister Hayden:
It is with much pleasure that I learn from your letter of July 20 how much your talents are prized in London and I genuinely rejoice thereat; but at the same time I cannot conceal from you that your present, already extended absence has turned out to be not only very vexatious for me but also very expensive since I was compelled to have recourse to outsiders for the festivities held at Eszterháza this month.

You will not think ill of me therefore that I cannot grant you the requested extension for a further year of your leave of absence; but instead expect to hear from you by the next post the exact time when you will arrive back here again.

Haydn ignored the summons: a personal rebellion that, in its own small way, echoed the Revolution unfolding in France. His experiences in London had taught him his true value. He knew that Anton earned prestige from having him as his music director. He calculated that the prince would not dismiss him, even if he extended his leave without permission. He was right.

The long period between the end of the 1791 concert season and the beginning of the 1792 season gave Haydn time to visit Oxford, to relax at the country estate of a banker who had befriended him, and to write music for his forthcoming concerts. That music included the Symphonie Concertante in B♭ Major (for violin, oboe, cello, and bassoon) and four symphonies, the most celebrated of which (No. 94 in G Major) came to be known as the *Surprise* Symphony because of the *fortissimo* chord, reinforced with a drumbeat, in the otherwise placid slow movement. Another symphony, No. 97 in C Major, is just as finely crafted but less sensational in it effects. Composed within a few months of Mozart's death on December 5, 1791, it exemplifies the brilliance, grandeur, and charm of Haydn's "London" Symphonies and at the same time presents what he might have intended as a gentle, private memorial to his friend.

THE SYMPHONY NO. 97

The Symphony No. 97, like all of Haydn's later symphonies, is in four movements: a Vivace in sonata form, preceded by a slow introduction marked Adagio; a set of variations on a theme, Adagio ma non troppo (see Anthology 24); a minuet marked Allegretto; and a finale that moves freely and unpredictably within the parameters of rondo form. In choosing the key of C major, Haydn also chose a particular orchestral color, dominated by trumpets and timpani, that he associated with this key. The timpani influenced the character of the Vivace's opening theme, with its fanfare-like alternation of the timpani's two notes, C and G (Ex. 16.1).

The slow introduction begins, like Haydn's String Quartet in G Major from the Opus 33 set (see Ex. 14.5), with an ending. But while the cadence at the beginning

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Vienna in the Napoleonic Era

The wars that shook Europe during and after the French Revolution made France and Austria implacable enemies. Queen Marie Antoinette was the sister of the Austrian Emperors Joseph II and Leopold II and the aunt of Emperor Francis (who ruled from 1792 to 1830); her imprisonment and execution aroused Austrian fear and hostility. So did the threat that France, in exporting revolution to other parts of Europe, presented to the Habsburg Empire. From the French Republic's point of view, Austria's allegiance to the monarchic form of government presented an equally dangerous threat.

The wars produced a great French leader whose heroic exploits mesmerized Europe, even those parts of Europe that hated and feared him. The prestige that Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) gained from his military victories allowed him to build up political power. Initially promising to preserve the Republic (as First Consul in 1799), he later crowned himself emperor (1804). His image so dominated Europe that it makes sense to call the 20-year period in which he rose to power and ruled France (1795–1815) the Napoleonic Era.

Music continued to flourish in Vienna throughout the wars, and sometimes composers found inspiration in the momentous events taking place around them. Haydn's *Missa in tempore belli* (Mass in Time of War, 1796) ends with a

Figure 17.1: *The title page of Beethoven's* Wellington's Victory *in the first edition of the keyboard reduction (Vienna: Steiner)*

martial Agnus Dei, in which trumpets and drums provide an ominous background to the prayer "Give us peace." Beethoven, writing the *Eroica* Symphony (1804) to celebrate Napoleon, and then ripping up the title page when he learned that the general had crowned himself emperor, was in the sway of great political events. A decade later he celebrated the defeat of France at the Battle of Vittoria in *Wellington's Victory*, a musical depiction of the battle, complete with national anthems and percussion-simulated gunfire (Fig. 17.1).

This might lead us to suppose that the musical cultures of Paris and Vienna, so closely linked during much of the eighteenth century, diverged during and after the Revolution. In some respects they did. We saw in Chapter 13 that Antonio Salieri, who wrote three operas for Paris in the 1780s and whose experiences there strongly influenced his compositional style, found it impossible to return to Paris after 1789. While Parisian aristocrats, leading patrons of the ancien régime, disappeared from musical life, the Viennese nobility projected its wealth and power with a self-conscious promotion of "greatness" in music, at the expense of music that it perceived as merely entertaining or pleasing; it was largely Viennese noblemen who created the artistic climate in which Beethoven

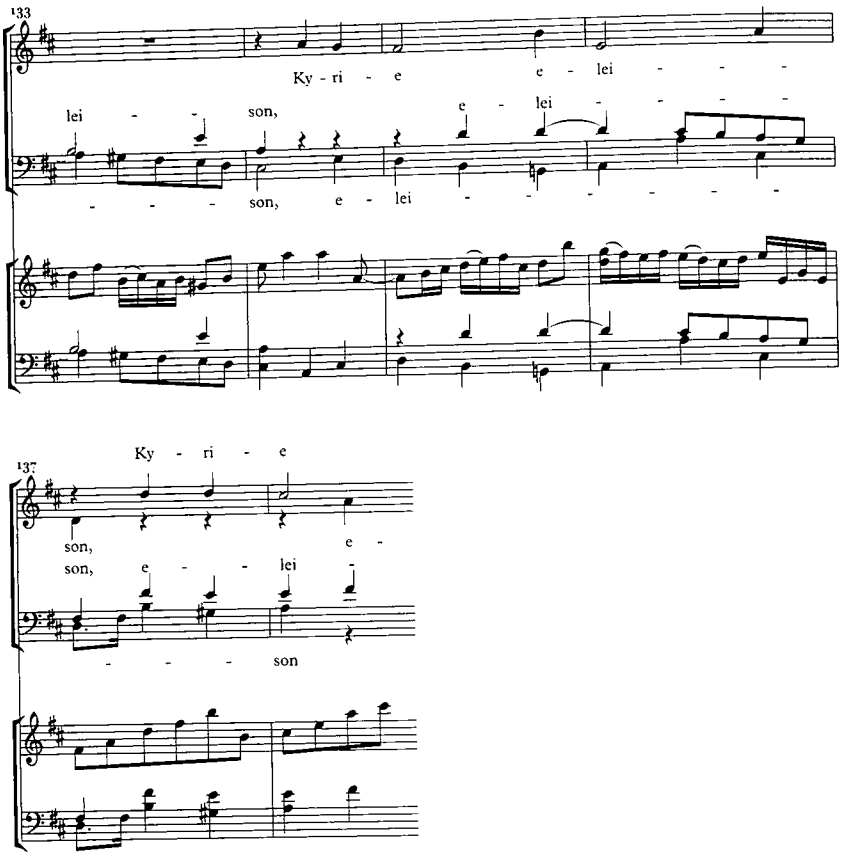
reached artistic maturity and Haydn created his last masterpieces. Yet during the brief lulls between military campaigns, French music lovers awarded a medal to Haydn and Viennese operagoers rediscovered the delights of opéra comique. Perhaps the single most important French influence on Viennese music was Napoleon himself, and the image of heroism, energy, and decisiveness that he projected so charismatically.

BEETHOVEN IN VIENNA: THE 1790S

Bonn, the small city where Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) was born, was almost as far from Vienna as it was possible to be in the German-speaking part of Europe. But as the residence of Maximilian, archbishop of Cologne and the brother of Emperors Joseph and Leopold, Bonn had close dynastic connections to Vienna. When young Beethoven, the son of a tenor employed by Maximilian, emerged as a prodigy, it was natural that the archbishop and other patrons in Bonn should think of sending him to Vienna to develop his talents to their fullest.

In 1792, less than a year after Mozart's death, Beethoven traveled to Vienna to study with Haydn. He took with him a letter from Count Ferdinand Waldstein, who helped organize his journey, expressing hope that the brilliant young pianist would one day equal Mozart: "You are going to Vienna in fulfillment of your long frustrated wishes. The Genius of Mozart is mourning and weeping the death of her pupil. She found a refuge but no occupation with the inexhaustible Haydn; through him she wishes once more to form a union with another. With the help of assiduous labor you shall receive *Mozart's spirit from Haydn's hands*."

With recommendations from such music lovers, Beethoven quickly found patrons among Viennese aristocrats, delighted to play a role in the narrative that Waldstein sketched out so attractively. Beethoven himself played his part, devoting special attention throughout his life to genres in which Mozart and Haydn had been particularly successful. In a series of piano sonatas he directed all his virtuosity into an exploration of the coloristic and harmonic possibilities offered by the quickly evolving instrument. With the string quartets of Opus 18 he established a reputation as a composer of chamber music with the potential to equal the achievements of his great predecessors. And in the symphony too he cultivated a style that caused listeners to make comparisons with Haydn and Mozart, and to think of him as the youngest in a trio of great masters. A critic writing in 1803 (who thus could have known only his first two symphonies) praised him for combining in his symphonies "Mozart's universality and wild, extravagant audacity with Haydn's humorous caprice."



Lord, have mercy

same tune in the second and third parts of the Kyrie, along with the same tempo and meter, gives these otherwise very different passages a satisfying sense of unity. In this Kyrie the theatrical style and the ecclesiastical style, the galant and the learned, once again found common ground, as effectively as they did in music composed at around the same time: the slow movement of Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony.

BEETHOVEN'S HEROIC STYLE

Since the nineteenth century Beethoven's biographers have used the word "heroic" in reference to his life and work during the decade that began around 1800. After several years in which he achieved recognition and financial success as a pianist and as a composer of instrumental music and built up an im-

pressive network of mostly noble patrons, around the turn of the century (at the age of 30) he began to lose his hearing. Beethoven withdrew from society and his despair grew to the point where he thought about killing himself. The crisis reached its climax in 1802 with the writing of what has come to be called the Heiligenstadt Testament—a remarkable document in which he revealed the depth of his sadness and isolation but also stated his resolve to prevail, for the sake of his art, over all obstacles.

There is certainly something heroic in the tone and content of the Heiligenstadt Testament. Beethoven's self-consciousness—he addressed parts of the letter to humanity at large and preserved it among his papers for the rest of his life—suggests that he regarded himself, in 1802 and the years that followed, as a musical hero: a man who was overcoming partial deafness to produce music of extraordinary power, expressivity, and originality.

THE *SINFONIA EROICA*

One of the first and greatest fruits of Beethoven's newfound strength in the face of adversity was a symphony that he originally planned to dedicate to or to name after Napoleon, whom he admired as the only leader capable of preserving the achievements of the French Revolution. He later abandoned those plans, as his friend Ferdinand Ries recalled:

> In this symphony Beethoven had Buonaparte in his mind, but as he was when he was First Consul. Beethoven esteemed him greatly at the time and likened him to the greatest Roman consuls. I as well as several of his more intimate friends saw a copy of the score lying upon his table with the word "Buonaparte" at the extreme top of the title page. . . . I was the first to bring him the intelligence that Buonaparte had proclaimed himself emperor, whereupon he flew into a rage and cried out: "Is he then, too, nothing more than an ordinary human being? Now he, too, will trample on all the rights of man and indulge only his ambition. He will exalt himself above all others, become a tyrant!" Beethoven went to the table, took hold of the title page by the top, tore it in two and threw it on the floor.

Even in his disillusionment about Napoleon, Beethoven continued to identify the Third Symphony with heroism. The full title, when it was published in 1806, was *Sinfonia eroica, composta per festeggiare il sovvenire di un gran Uomo* (Heroic Symphony, Composed to Celebrate the Memory of a Great Man). Many writers have suggested possible identifications of the "great man." Napoleon, even though he was no longer the hero that he had been during the last years of the French Republic? Beethoven's former patron Archduke Maximilian, who

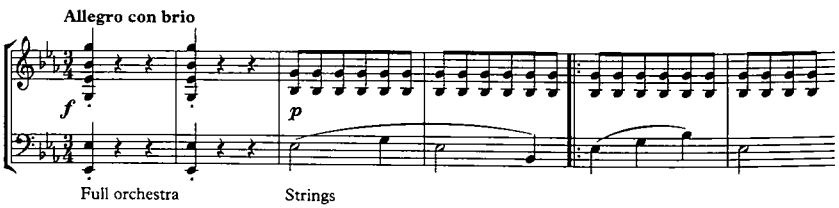
died in 1801? Prometheus, the mythological hero who brought fire to humanity? Beethoven himself? The musicologist Lewis Lockwood is probably right: "The 'hero' of the *Eroica* is not a single figure but a composite of heroes of different types and different situations."

The symphony's very first moments may depict the hero in prayer. Two measures of E♭ major harmony introduce a theme played by the cellos, which suggest by their baritonal register the presence of a male protagonist or narrator (Ex. 17.4). This opening may have reminded Viennese listeners of an aria they must have known by heart. In *Guide mes pas, ô providence* (Guide my steps, oh Providence), Mikéli's humanitarian credo in Cherubini's *Les deux journées*, the vocal part is preceded by two measures of repeated E♭-major chords, *forte* (Ex. 17.5). By introducing his cello melody in a context that resembles the beginning of *Guide mes pas*, Beethoven may have hoped his audience would associate the symphony's heroism with Mikéli, whose words, in turn, invite us to hear the symphony's opening measures as a supplication by the composer himself:

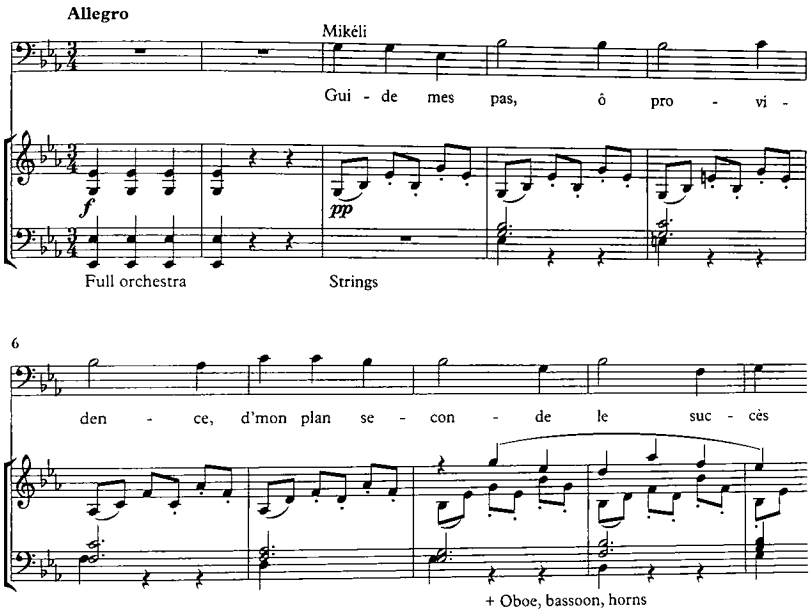
Guide mes pas, ô providence	*Guide my steps, oh Providence;*
D'mon plan seconde le succès.	*favor my plan's success.*

A prayer was perhaps appropriate for a composer embarking on a work as vast and original as Beethoven's *Eroica*: a symphony unprecedented in size and complexity, posing new challenges for performers and audience alike. The symphony is in the four movements standardized by Haydn, but with a scherzo replacing the minuet. The first movement alone, in sonata form, exceeds in length all but a few eighteenth-century symphonies. In composing a long and complex funeral march within a symphony that he originally planned for Napoleon, Beethoven may have appropriated the musical rhetoric of French Revolutionary music (see Anthology 28). Republican festivals, political rallies, and funerals gave composers such as François-Joseph Gossec (see Chapter 6) and Cherubini opportunities to demonstrate their commitment to the revolutionary cause by

Example 17.4: *Ludwig van Beethoven,* Sinfonia eroica, *movement I, mm. 1–6*



Example 17.5: *Luigi Cherubini,* Les deux journées, aria: Guide mes pas, ô Providence, *mm. 1–10*



composing grandiose, patriotic works, often requiring vast numbers of performers. The *Hymne et marche funèbre* (Hymn and Funeral March) that Cherubini wrote in memory of General Hoche, who had crushed the monarchist uprising in the Vendée, is among several similar works that might have inspired Beethoven. The scherzo is a celebration of energy and speed. The horn fanfares in the trio probably allude, like those in Philidor's aria *D'un cerf dix cors* and Haydn's chorus *Hört das laute Getön*, to the masculine joy and excitement of the hunt. The finale is a set of variations on a theme from Beethoven's own ballet score *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* (The Creatures of Prometheus, 1802). But starting from scratch, as it were, Beethoven began by presenting just the theme's bass line (Ex. 17.6a), which, in retrospect, we can hear as an adumbration of the first movement's opening theme (Ex. 17.6b).

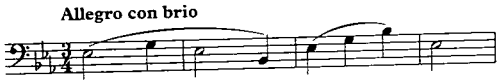
BEETHOVEN'S NOBLE PATRONS

Beethoven's brother Carl, who served as the composer's agent, explained how Beethoven's instrumental works were commissioned, made available in manuscript, and finally published. "These pieces were mostly commissioned by

Example 17.6: *Ludwig van Beethoven.* Sinfonia eroica

(a) *Movement 4, mm. 12–15*

(b) *Movement 1, mm. 3–6*



music lovers, and with the following agreement: he who wants a piece pays a specified sum for its exclusive possession for a half or a whole year, or even longer, and binds himself not to give the manuscript to *anybody*; after this period the author is free to do as he wishes with the piece." Carl did not mention one important part of the transactions: Beethoven was expected to dedicate a published work to the person who commissioned it. Thus in 1799 he received 400 Gulden from Prince Joseph Lobkowitz for the Opus 18 string quartets, of which the prince probably enjoyed exclusive ownership until they were published in 1801 in an edition dedicated to him.

Prince Lobkowitz was one of Beethoven's most steadfast and generous patrons. A wealthy member of the Bohemian nobility, he spent money on music so lavishly that he eventually brought his family to financial ruin. Not only was he involved in the origins of Beethoven's first set of quartets, but he also organized, in 1804, the first performance of the *Eroica* Symphony in his palace in Vienna.

In early 1809 Lobkowitz joined two of Beethoven's other patrons in agreeing to give the composer an annual stipend of 4,000 Gulden for the rest of his life, or until he received an appointment that brought him the same income. In exchange, Beethoven agreed only to live in Vienna or another city in the Austrian Empire, and to obtain the consent of his patrons before traveling elsewhere. With this agreement, as close as Beethoven could get to a MacArthur Foundation "genius" grant, he received a comfortable income while remaining free to do as he liked in everything connected with his work as a musician. The stark differences between these stipulations and those to which Haydn agreed when he signed a contract with Prince Esterházy in 1761 (see Chapter 10) reflect the increasingly elevated and independent status enjoyed by professional composers in the nineteenth century.

Soon after Beethoven started to receive payments under the contract, he composed and dedicated to Lobkowitz the String Quartet in E♭ Major, Op. 74 (later nicknamed *Harp*). All the string quartets he had written earlier in his

career had been conceived and published as sets of six or three. In writing a single quartet and dedicating it to a patron partly responsible for the annuity he had just begun to enjoy, Beethoven may have been expressing his gratitude.

Another nobleman for whom Beethoven wrote quartets (and it should be noted that Beethoven followed Mozart and Haydn in dedicating his quartets exclusively to men) was Count Andrey Kyrillovich Razumovsky, the Russian ambassador to the court of Vienna (successor to Mozart's patron Prince Golitsin). A rich and profligate patron of the arts, Razumovsky was particularly fond of string quartets, and he played an important role in the evolution of both the genre and the ensemble that played it. He participated (as a violinist) in performances of quartets, thus perpetuating the eighteenth-century tradition of informal, amateur performance, but he also sponsored one of the first permanent, professional string quartets.

Although Razumovsky commissioned the three quartets by Beethoven that bear his name before he took over the sponsorship of the professional ensemble, the commission and the sponsorship are closely related. The quartets that Beethoven wrote for Razumovsky, revolutionary in their complexity and difficulty, demand intensive rehearsal by expert players—unlike the amateur musicians for whom Haydn and Mozart wrote many of their quartets (see Chapter 14). Razumovsky's decision to engage such players testifies to the seriousness with which he took the genre; this seriousness is reflected in the quartets that Beethoven composed for him.

THE QUARTET IN C MAJOR, OP. 59, NO. 3

Written mostly in 1806, the three quartets of Opus 59 mark a new epoch in the development of the genre. Beethoven brought to the "Razumovsky" Quartets the inventiveness and energy, the new challenges for both players and listeners, with which he had redefined the symphony in the *Eroica*. These superbly crafted pieces together constitute a composite work—a trilogy—in which Beethoven raised the string quartet to the same level of artistic prestige as the symphony.

One of the elements that tie these quartets together is their use of Russian melodies, in tribute to the dedicatee. Beethoven called attention to two of the melodies with the inscription "Thème russe": the opening melody of the finale of Op. 59, No. 1, and the middle section ("Maggiore") of the Scherzo of Op. 59, No. 2. What might be a third Russian tune—at least it has an intensely Russian flavor—is the principal theme of the slow movement of Op. 59, No. 3.

This third quartet, in C major, consists of the expected four movements, with two fast movements in the tonic framing a slower one in the relative minor and a dancelike one in **ABA** form. More innovative was Beethoven's idea—which he was to develop further in the Fifth Symphony—of connecting the third and