



Archduke Rudolph photograph courtesy of the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien.

Beethoven and His Royal Disciple

Lewis Lockwood

Introduction by Jessie Ann Owens

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Jessie Ann Owens

It is an honor to introduce Lewis Lockwood, one of the most distinguished musicologists of our time. Lockwood, the Fanny Peabody Professor Emeritus at Harvard University, has done

seminal work in two quite different fields – Renaissance music and Beethoven studies. Certain themes – or habits of mind – are clearly distinguishable in his work in both areas.

His earliest scholarship was on Renaissance music. He was a student of Edward Lowinsky at Queens College and of Oliver Strunk and Arthur Mendel at Princeton University. He wrote his dissertation about the masses of the sixteenth-century Italian composer, Vincenzo Ruffo, who was grappling with how to respond to changes in musical style that were part of the Council of Trent and related reform initiatives. Some thirty years after its publication, his monograph on Ruffo and the Counter-

Reformation has yet to be superseded. He continued with a series of important articles on major figures such as Josquin, Willaert, and Palestrina, and on topics such as *musica ficta* – traditions of performance in which musicians added sharps and flats that the composers had not written into the music – and imitation technique – the reworking by one composer of a composition by another composer. What seems less predictable in his career was the decision to undertake archival research on the Este court. His book *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400 – 1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century* won the Kinkeldey Award for the best book in musicology. He also received an honorary degree from the University of Ferrara – surely a signal recognition for an American scholar.

Lewis's other field, the study of Beethoven, has been a lifelong passion, and not just because they share the same birthday! Lewis entertained himself on the long subway ride from the Bronx to the High School of Music and Art by memorizing Beethoven opus numbers. Starting in 1970, he published a series of articles about Beethoven's compositional process that helped define what has now become a standard subfield of musicology – working with autographs, sketches, and drafts to understand the stages through which a piece of music passes. His first major article about Beethoven, devoted to the autograph of Opus 69 – the A-major cello sonata – won the Einstein Award of the American Musicological Society for the best article by a scholar in the early stages of his career.

In the late 1980s, Lewis used his term as president of the American Musicological Society as a bully pulpit to argue for the importance of writing not just for other musicologists but more broadly for colleagues in other disciplines and indeed for the larger audience of music-lovers and concertgoers. His recent book, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life*, a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize, establishes a new model of musicological discourse with its sophisticated account of the complex relationship between biography and the musical work. Those of us in the music business marvel that he has managed to write an entire volume using little technical language and only a few music examples, and yet offer insights that can be appreciated by specialists as well as the literate public.

What brings the two halves of his professional life together, Renaissance and Beethoven, is precisely what we will hear tonight: a deeply contextual analysis of the relationship between patronage and musical creativity.

Lewis Lockwood

The Problem of Artistic Biography

The poet Rainer Maria Rilke once said of Rodin and Tolstoy, both of whom he knew personally, that their artistic commitment was so intense that the other parts of their lives seemed simply to wither “like some organ they no longer require.” Extravagant as it may seem, Rilke’s remark captures the most basic problem of artistic biography – how to determine relevant connections between what happens in the life and what happens in the work, how to discover the ways in which these two dimensions shed light on one another. To the conscientious biographer of a major artist, the artist’s imaginative works themselves, in all their fullness of expression, occupy the foreground.

Beethoven’s behavior with patrons, and with the world in general, was erratic, unpredictable, demanding, and hostile . . .

Seen from this point of view, much of what we can know of the artist’s “life,” in the ordinary sense, is what seems to be left over from his or her all-consuming concentration on the work. It forms part of the context in which we seek to understand the work, but only part of it.

There are many ways to approach this problem, without supposing that there is any universal formula for its solution. In my own recent biography of Ludwig van Beethoven (1770 – 1827) I tried to subdue this problem by putting the music first, balancing it with extensive discussion of the composer’s life. I found it useful to imagine a three-part division, in which Beethoven’s “career,” that is, the part of his life devoted to the production and dissemination of his works, might furnish traceable threads of connection. Beethoven’s deafness, isolation, lifelong physical suffering and irascible personality are the stuff of legend, and, indeed, some well-known commentators attribute the powerful and heroic aspects of his works to his will to overcome his deafness and isolation. Attractive as it seems, such a viewpoint tends to overlook or minimize his many important works, and styles within works, that don’t fit the “heroic” model, leaving us dissatisfied with the narrowness of this or any single critical category. We sense that, with Beethoven as with other artists on his level, a unified creative per-

sonality underlies the diversity of styles in his work, as well as the seemingly separate domains of “life” and “art” – but gaining access to that deeper person through sheer biographical study is difficult.

I’d like to come at this issue by focusing on one of the most important personal relationships of Beethoven’s later life, one that enables us to trace an unusually close connection between the personal and the aesthetic. It emerges from Beethoven’s close attachment in his later years to Archduke Rudolph, a member of the Habsburg ruling family, who became his patron and at the same time his pupil in composition.

Beethoven and His Patrons

Beethoven’s patrons loom large in his biography. The names of Waldstein and Razumovsky need no introduction to music lovers, and hardly less important are the other Viennese aristocrats (along with some friends and acquaintances) to whom he dedicated compositions or had close relations during his career. His dedicatees included members of the high nobility, such as the Princes Karl Lichnowsky, Franz Joseph Lobkowitz, and Ferdinand Kinsky, along with others who bore lesser titles, and also women such as the Countesses Josephine Deym, Marie von Erdödy, Babette von Keglevics, and Giulietta Guicciardi. His situation was entirely different from that of Joseph Haydn (1732 – 1809), who spent nearly thirty productive years in the service of a single family, the Esterházy, and lived on this patron’s landed estates at Eisenstadt and Eszterháza. More like Mozart, who spent his Viennese years (1781 – 1791) as a freelance pianist, composer, and teacher, Beethoven lived a precarious life as an independent artist through all his thirty-five years in Vienna, from 1792 to his death in 1827. Since he never had a fixed position with a regular salary at any time, despite his hopes for one, he needed patrons to support him. His livelihood depended on their financial help and on what he could gain from publishers in an age without copyright. His need to publish helps to account for the mixture of works, including the arrangements and revisions, that comprise his lifetime publications from Opus 1 to Opus 135, plus the many works that he issued without opus numbers. It also helps us understand why he spent so much time and effort dealing with publishers and worrying about money.

Beethoven’s behavior with patrons, and with the world in general, was erratic, unpredictable, demanding, and hostile, not only in later life when his deafness and isolation were becoming absolute, but even in his earlier years

when he was forging his career. In the 1790s in Vienna he had no more devoted friend than Prince Karl Lichnowsky, who gave Beethoven a matched set of Italian stringed instruments (still preserved at the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn) to encourage him to write quartets. Lichnowsky housed Beethoven, took him to Prague in 1796 on a concert tour, and paid him an annuity of six hundred florins from 1800 to about 1808. “He really is,” Beethoven wrote of Lichnowsky in 1805, “surely a rare example among persons of his social class – one of my most faithful friends and promoters of my art.” But if the tale is true, it was to Lichnowsky that he said, after an angry falling-out, “Prince, what you are, you are through an accident of birth. What I am, I am through myself. There have been and will be thousands of princes; there is only one Beethoven.”

Beethoven’s ambivalence toward his supporters and publishers was part of his innate resistance to the blandishments of the outer world – except when he gave way to flattery, as at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, where he met the crowned heads of Europe, including Czar Alexander and Empress Elisabeth of Russia. In view of his stubborn posture of rugged independence, his relationship to the Archduke Rudolph was all the more remarkable.

The Archduke Rudolph (1788 – 1831)

Born in 1788, the Archduke Rudolph was Beethoven’s junior by seventeen years. He was the youngest son of the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Leopold II, who had succeeded Joseph II in 1790 but lived only two more years. So in 1792 the Habsburg throne fell to Rudolph’s oldest brother, Francis II, a quiet and cautious ruler who survived until 1835. He was the “Kaiser Franz” for whom Haydn wrote his famous Austrian national anthem in 1798. Francis lived through the whirlwind set loose on Europe by Napoleonic France, and then through the first twenty years of the post-Napoleonic Restoration. He went to war with France in 1792 and eventually had to watch his Austro-Hungarian dominions fall piece by piece to the Napoleonic war machine. He presided over the formal demise of the traditional Holy Roman Empire in 1806, thus ending a regime that had lasted for eight centuries. Having started as Francis II of the greater Austrian Empire, he now became Francis I, Emperor of Austria.

Most of the emperor’s younger brothers were slated for military careers or high administrative posts. The exception was Rudolph, the dreamer of the group, who tried to become a

Beethoven in an engraving made by Lazarus Gottlieb Sichling between 1830 and 1863 after an 1823 portrait by Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller.

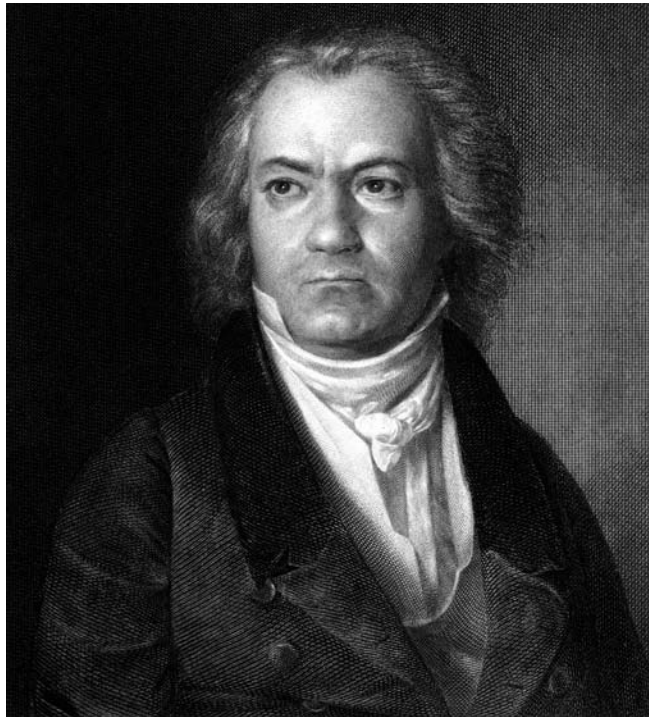


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cadet but turned instead to music and eventually to the church. Rudolph's portraits show a delicacy of features and demeanor unlike the masculinity of his brothers. Rudolph had serious aspirations as a pianist, and all indications are that, until epilepsy and gout caught up with him, he could play extremely well. He also turned out later, under Beethoven's tutelage, to be a surprisingly competent professional composer.

Beethoven may have met Rudolph as early as 1803, but by 1808 they were in contact and from then on to the end of Beethoven's life Rudolph was his principal benefactor. In 1809, when Beethoven was threatening to take a position with Jerome Bonaparte in Westphalia, Rudolph set up a contract along with Princes Lobkowitz and Kinsky to pay him a handsome annuity of four thousand florins, as long as Beethoven agreed to stay in the Austrian dominions. When the other two partners or their estates stopped paying by reason of bankruptcy or death, Rudolph continued to pay his share scrupulously, and in 1811 he even raised the nominal amount to make up for the loss in revenue brought on by the Austrian financial debacle. This annuity remained Beethoven's only regular source of income over the years.

Despite the suffering of the royal family and all of Austria from the incessant wars and invasions that lasted until Waterloo in 1815, Rudolph never wavered in his support of the composer who had come to be the central figure in the musical world of his time. And so, fittingly, he received the dedications of more Beethoven compositions than any other pa-

tron: nine major works, including the Fourth and Fifth Piano Concertos; the Piano Sonata in E-flat Major, "Lebewohl," Opus 81a; the Violin Sonata in G Major, Opus 96; the Piano Trio in B-flat Major, Opus 97 (the "Archduke"); the Piano Sonata in B-flat Major, Opus 106 ("Hammerklavier"); the Piano Sonata in C

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Minor, Opus 111; the Missa Solemnis, Opus 123; the Grand Fugue in B-flat Major, Opus 133; and some other lesser works and canons. From 1809 on Rudolph became Beethoven's devoted composition pupil, the only such pupil of Beethoven's later years.

It was clear from early on that Rudolph would eventually go into the church. As early as 1805, at age seventeen, he took minor vows as a priest and became coadjutor to the Archbishop of Olmütz in Moravia; thus his succession as archbishop was assured fifteen years before his installation in 1820. It was for this event that Beethoven composed his Missa Solemnis (actually finished in 1823).

At this point I want to pay tribute to the path-breaking work of Susan Kagan, who carried out research on Rudolph's life and works some years ago. Kagan has written an important book on Rudolph, published some of his music, and, as pianist, has also recorded some of his keyboard works.

The Composer and his Royal Pupil

What was the nature of Beethoven's relationship to Rudolph? First and foremost, that of grateful artist to generous patron, a patron whose status in the top rank of the nobility conferred undeniable prestige. As much as Beethoven scorned other aristocrats, he was deferential to the Archduke, and he took pride in this high social connection. He once told his friend Gleichenstein that it was a shame that Gleichenstein hadn't come to a certain soiree, because he would have met the Archduke there, and, "as the friend of his friend, you would not have been made to feel his high rank." The relationship plays strongly into Maynard Solomon's biographical theme of Beethoven's lifelong "nobility pretense." In 1818, when Beethoven's legal case against his sister-in-law for custody of his nephew Karl was transferred from the court of the nobility to one for commoners, he was outraged, and the great democrat complained to his lawyer that he was now being bracketed with "innkeepers, shoemakers, and tailors." As Solomon points out, for some years Beethoven let the Austrian-German world think that the "van" in his name, derived from his Flemish ancestors and having no implication of rank, was the equivalent of the German "von," a token of nobility.

Mixed with his beliefs in the egalitarian ideals of the French Revolution and the rights of man was Beethoven's urgent desire that the world should recognize his superiority as an artist and admit him into the higher echelons of society. As Solomon puts it, "Beethoven, through his nobility pretense, was able to put himself in the place of the mighty, to partake of aristocratic power, to share the insignia of social supremacy, and to 'conquer' the nobility by pretending to be of it." His close relationship to Rudolph must have seemed to confer an aura of reality on his dreams of exerting power and influence in the world. And he cultivated this relationship with an apparent depth of feeling that forces us to take it very seriously.

Beginning in 1808 he began to dedicate major works to Rudolph. The dedications of the Fourth and Fifth Piano Concertos broadly reflected the Archduke's pianistic ability in big works intended for public concerts. But

Beethoven sustained his work through all the vicissitudes of physical illness, deafness, and alienation, not only by his obsessive devotion to his craft but also by maintaining his faith that great music could benefit humankind.

then came, as a much more personal gesture, the Piano Sonata in E-flat Major, “Lebewohl,” Opus 81a. Written in the late spring and summer of 1809, it is Beethoven’s only fully programmatic piano sonata. Its subject is the Archduke’s departure, absence, and eventual return from the royal family’s exile during Napoleon’s siege and occupation of Vienna. (The title originally planned for the sonata was to be “Der Abschied – am 4ten Mai – gewidmet und aus dem Herzen geschrieben S[einer] K[aiserliche] H[hoheit],” “The Farewell – on the 4th of May – dedicated and written from the heart to His Royal Highness.”) Beethoven remained in Vienna during the fearful French bombardment and the long occupation, but managed to compose this sonata and other important works (including the “Harp” Quartet, Opus 74), besides compiling extracts from theorists in order to teach counterpoint, figured bass, and strict composition to the Archduke when he should return.

He never had a more devoted pupil. Susan Kagan counts about twenty-four finished works by Rudolph, plus dozens of unfinished ones. Most of Rudolph’s compositions are for solo piano or are keyboard chamber music, and it can’t be accidental that Rudolph’s special proclivity for fugue and fugato coincides with Beethoven’s own emphatic turn to counterpoint in his later years. Rudolph amassed a very large music library in the royal palace, which he made available to Beethoven, and it soon became easier for Beethoven to locate his works in Rudolph’s collection than in his own chaotic household. Rudolph let Beethoven use rooms in the royal palace for rehearsals and performances, provided extra financial donations, used his influence to help Beethoven in his litigation over nephew Karl, guaranteed loans – in general, treated him “as a friend and not a servant,” as Beethoven said in a letter of 1819.

Needless to say, however, Beethoven grumbled about his teaching duties. In a letter he com-

plained to Ries in 1823 that while the Archbishop was to be back in Vienna for four weeks he expected Beethoven to give him a lesson every day, of two and a half to three hours each. It’s hardly surprising that Beethoven’s intense concentration on his own work made him angry about the regular routine of trudging over to the royal palace two or three times a week to give Rudolph his lessons, and he often wrote him short notes canceling the lessons and pleading illness, sometimes giving considerable detail about his current physical problem. One senses that he knew the epileptic prince would sympathize with him. As Beethoven wrote, “He understands music and is quite absorbed in it. He is so talented that I am sorry not to be able to take as much interest in him as I used to.” On the other hand, Beethoven took pride in Rudolph’s accomplishments. And even if he once compared Rudolph to King Richard the Lion Heart and himself to Blondel, Richard’s minstrel, he worked hard at correcting Rudolph’s work. Nothing is more suggestive than the contemporary report that when Beethoven in his last years was stone deaf to conversation, he could somehow hear the Archduke’s soft voice through the smallest of his ear trumpets.

“I never . . . shall succeed in being a courtier”

The complexity of their relationship is visible in Beethoven’s letters. We catch a glimpse of it in a letter of March 1819, in which Beethoven offers fulsome congratulations to Rudolph on the news of his accession, while reminding him that “this new honor will not be accepted without some sacrifices.” He thanks Rudolph for a large new composition that he has sent him, which in fact was a set of forty variations on a theme that Beethoven had given him. Beethoven calls the variations “masterly” and lauds Rudolph’s “truly fine talents and really excellent gifts of imagination” – but he also points out “several little slips” in the composition and urges Rudolph to keep on striving to improve. Later in the same letter, Beethoven drops the mask of humility and reminds Rudolph that, although he is a royal prince, he cannot dictate to Beethoven as if he were a servant: “Your . . . command that I should come, and again your intimation that [you] would let me know when I should do so, I was never able to fathom, for I never was, still am not, and never shall succeed in being a courtier.” Now comes the heart of the matter: “Your Imperial Highness can . . . create in two ways – both for the happiness and welfare of very many people and also for yourself. For in the present world of monarchs, creators of music and benefactors of humanity

have hitherto been lacking.” Thereafter Beethoven declares that, eventually, when “a High Mass composed by me will be performed during the ceremonies solemnized for Your Imperial Highness [it] will be the most glorious day of my life.” When Beethoven finished the *Missa Solemnis* in 1823, three years after Rudolph’s actual installation, he inscribed the autograph manuscript to Rudolph with the words, “From the heart – may it go to the heart.”

Some of the other works he dedicated to Rudolph reflected his personal allegiance in other ways. For example, while he was composing the “Hammerklavier” Sonata in 1817, Beethoven was also planning a choral piece for Rudolph’s name day. A now lost sketchbook of 1817, which was described in the late nineteenth century by the great Beethoven scholar Gustav Nottebohm, contained sketches for both the choral piece and the piano sonata; two of these sketches carried the text “Vivat Rudolphus” (“Long live Rudolph”). The motifs of both choral sketches relate directly to the dramatic opening gesture of the “Hammerklavier” Sonata, with its powerful upward leap and continuation, and suggest that these words of praise for Rudolph are encoded in the opening motif and thus the work as a whole. It is certainly interesting that to open the “Lebewohl” Sonata, eight years earlier, he had written the word “Le-be-wohl” (“Farewell”) into the score, as if to make explicit the heartfelt meaning of the opening musical gesture. It is as if the piano is singing this word, one note to each syllable.

The “Archduke” Trio, Opus 97

The “Archduke” Trio, Opus 97 (which was admirably played by the Boston Trio as part of this presentation) is generally known by Rudolph’s title for no other reason than that it was dedicated to him; the same nickname could just as reasonably have been applied to the great piano sonata, Opus 106 that he called “Hammerklavier” (Beethoven was then insisting on the use of German rather than Italian on the title pages of his publications). The Trio Opus 97 was composed in 1811, during the twilight years of his second period. It is the last of Beethoven’s works for piano trio, a genre that he took over from Mozart and Haydn and to which he contributed a series of works – the three Trios of Opus 1; the Clarinet Trio, Opus 11; and the two magnificent Trios of Opus 70 – that were innovative in their structural and aesthetic qualities, not least in the ways in which the violin and cello match in importance the powerful resonances of the piano.

Beethoven had known for most of his career that in his works he was speaking not only to his own time but to the future.

The “Archduke” Trio is among the bigger works of his middle period, which I have called elsewhere his “second maturity.” It is set up not in the three movements traditional in piano trios, but in four large movements, like his symphonies and quartets. It has a substantial Allegro first movement; a long Scherzo and Trio; a massive slow movement, here in variation form; and an attractive and brilliant finale. It embraces both the monumental and the lyrical aspects of Beethoven’s style, and every movement has the length and complexity that we find in some other of his large cyclic works of this time, including the String Quartet in F Major, Opus 59 No. 1 and the Seventh Symphony in A Major, Opus 92. Especially noteworthy is the memorable opening paragraph, initiated by the piano alone, with the strings gradually joining in the ensemble and then elaborating new figures as they prepare for the restatement of the main theme in which they will now be the dominating voices. The scheme of the whole movement is innovative in its use of harmonies related by descending thirds, rather than the tonic and dominant polarity characteristic of most works in major keys at this period. It uses one of Beethoven’s adroit opening gambits in beginning with a lyrical theme that subdivides into shorter motifs that develop later in the movement, thus organically connecting the parts to the whole. It is a process similar to the opening of the first movement of the “Pastoral” Symphony in F Major, Opus 68.

The Scherzo is a brilliant tour de force of intricate dialogue among the three instruments; and the contrasting “Trio” section presents a chain of contrasts that begins with the fugue-like exposition of a slithering chromatic theme and moves on to a brilliant Viennese waltz. The slow movement, a chain of variations based on a long hymn-like theme, brings a vein of solemnity to the work. The variations gain in gravity as they proceed, culminating in a freely elaborated Coda, or closing section. The slow movement ends by preparing the way for the finale – a brilliant, at times jocular, sonata-rondo movement that makes much use of instrumental interplay and completes the whole work by lightening the atmosphere.

The Missa Solemnis

For Rudolph’s installation Beethoven planned and executed his greatest choral work, the Missa Solemnis. “As difficult as it is for me to speak about myself,” he declared to his publisher, “nevertheless I do believe that it is my greatest work.” Written on a symphonic scale for soloists, chorus, and full orchestra, it stands with the Ninth Symphony (which he wrote directly afterward) as a monumental expression of his belief in humanity’s relationship to God. Though not a churchgoer, Beethoven was a born Catholic who had been deeply influenced by Enlightenment ideals. This mass symbolizes not only the power of belief but the individual’s interior experience of faith; in these ways it resonates with the then current revisionist views in Austrian and German religious circles that were seeking to reinforce the importance of highly personal forms of devotion. Its final movement, the “Dona nobis pacem,” contains a telling subtitle: “Prayer for inner and outer peace.” It is a representation of the struggle between war and peace familiar to everyone in Beethoven’s lifetime, and reflects his hope for the *pax humana*, the ideal of human life unblemished by war and anxiety. Musically it belongs with Bach’s B Minor Mass (which Beethoven knew as early as 1810, at least in part, and which he may have seen in its entirety through contemporary copies). But in the personal sense, this mass is his largest tribute to his royal disciple.

“In the world of art . . . freedom and progress are the main objectives”

In Beethoven’s letter of March 1819 we saw a mixture of his self-assertion as a great artist, his pride in his royal pupil, and his encouragement to Rudolph to use his new position as a benefactor of his people and also to continue as a composer. Equally lofty ideals emerge in a letter of July 1819. Beethoven had been to the royal palace to consult some older music in Rudolph’s music library. “The older composers do us a double service,” Beethoven writes in praise of the music of earlier eras, “since there is generally real artistic value in their works (among them, of course, only the German Handel and Sebastian Bach possessed genius).” And now Beethoven comes to the crux: “in the world of art, as in the whole of our great creation, freedom and progress are the main objectives. And although we moderns are not quite as far advanced in solidity as our ancestors, the refinement of our customs has enlarged our sphere of action. My eminent music pupil, who himself is now competing for the laurels

of fame, must not bear the reproach of being one-sided.”

On the one hand, he is giving Rudolph avuncular advice to steep himself in the solid techniques of the masters of earlier music, above all Bach and Handel. But his main purpose is to underscore that by returning to earlier models, Rudolph (like Beethoven himself) can achieve a connection to the past and can bring “freedom and progress” to his artistic work.

We do not think of Beethoven as an especially literate artist, but as he once claimed, “from my childhood I have striven to understand what the better and wiser people of every age were driving at in their works.” Behind this 1819 letter to Rudolph stands a lifetime of belief in the ideals of freedom and progress that had fired the French Revolution, coupled with an awareness of the successive betrayals of those beliefs that had come about through the Reign of Terror, through Napoleon’s despotism, and through the repressive regimes that had succeeded Napoleon after 1815. Beethoven had grown up at a time when Kantian idealism was the new intellectual dogma, and through all his disillusionment with contemporary politics he held to that broad image. In a conversation book of 1820 he wrote, “The starry sky above us and the moral law within us – Kant!!!!”

In music his strongest statement of sustained belief in these ideals – that “all men shall be brothers” – was the Ninth Symphony (1822 – 1824), but in personal terms his vision of Rudolph as benevolent prince and archbishop follows a parallel line. Beethoven sustained his work through all the vicissitudes of physical illness, deafness, and alienation, not only by his obsessive devotion to his craft but also by maintaining his faith that great music could benefit humankind – that his aim was not to provide cultural entertainment but to make a significant difference in the world. Such music could not be merely effective, simple, and popular, but had to live up to the highest standards of artistic tradition, purpose, and expression. Such a view, possible for artists in the Romantic era but agonizingly difficult today, is akin to Shelley’s claim that “poets are the unacknowledged legislators of mankind.”

For Beethoven, then, his royal pupil seemed to personify an ideal. Beethoven saw in Rudolph the rarest of patrons: a member of the high ruling class who gave him generous support and had become his pupil and disciple, thus replacing the typical political values of his class with an acceptance of artistic ones. In a deeper sense, Beethoven’s vision of Rudolph was really an imagined vision of himself. Though Ru-

dolph was a perfectly competent composer, none of his work rose above the average levels of Beethoven's lesser contemporaries. But Beethoven had known for most of his career that his capacities and accomplishments were far above those levels, and that in his works he was speaking not only to his own time but to the future. Which is in fact what has happened.

Suggestions for further reading and listening

Emily Anderson, ed., *The Letters of Beethoven*, 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1961); William Drabkin, *Beethoven: Missa Solemnis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Susan Ka-

gan, *Archduke Rudolph, Beethoven's Patron, Pupil, and Friend* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1988); Susan Kagan, "Beethoven and His Pupils" CD, Koch International Classics No. 3-7351-2 HI (containing Archduke Rudolph's Forty Variations on a Theme by Beethoven, Susan Kagan, pianist); Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 2003); Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998). ■

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1. Jessie Ann Owens and Lewis Lockwood



2



3

2. Irina Murisanu (Boston Trio), Bernard Burke (MIT), and Louis Cabot (Cabot-Wellington, LLC)
3. Owen Gingerich (Harvard University), Arnold Relman (Harvard Medical School), and Marcia Angell (Harvard Medical School)



4



5

4. Leslie Berlowitz (American Academy) and Christoph Wolff (Harvard University)
5. Lewis Lockwood, Karen Painter (Harvard University), and Reinhold Brinkmann (Harvard University)