

EDITED BY
JEREMY YUDKIN

THE NEW BEETHOVEN

EVOLUTION,
ANALYSIS,
INTERPRETATION



The New Beethoven



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Evolution, Analysis, Interpretation

Edited by Jeremy Yudkin



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For Lewis Lockwood:
Scholar, Colleague, Friend

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Figure P.1. Lewis Lockwood. Photo by Robert Goddyn.

Preface

It is a great pleasure to write here briefly about my friend and colleague Lewis Lockwood, for whom, on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday, this book was conceived, planned, organized, edited, and produced over the last many years, and to whom it is dedicated. I have known Lewis since 1982, when he was at Harvard, and I arrived to take up a position at Boston University. Since then our paths have become much closer. While I was serving as chair of the Musicology and Ethnomusicology Department, I invited Lewis—after his retirement from Harvard—to assume the honorary position of Distinguished Senior Scholar at Boston University, a position he graciously accepted. He taught seminars for us and advised graduate students, and in 2014 he and I founded the Boston University Center for Beethoven Research, for which he continues to serve as Co-Director.

A formal review of his life so far would include the following facts. He was born on what was most probably the same day as Beethoven's birthday in 1930 and educated at the High School of Music and Art in New York City, where he studied the cello, an instrument that he still plays and for which he has a special fondness. He attended Queens College as an undergraduate and studied with one of the best-known scholars of Renaissance music, Edward Lowinsky. For graduate school he also had as teachers the leading lights of musicology at Princeton University—legends in the field, such as Arthur Mendel, Nino Pirrotta, and Oliver Strunk—and completed his dissertation on the sixteenth-century composer, Vincenzo Ruffo. (This was later published as *The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo* [1970]). He played with the Seventh Army Symphony, also known as “Uncle Sam's Orchestra,” overseas for a year and a half during the mid-1950s and then returned to the United States to take up his own appointment at Princeton, where he taught from 1958 to 1980. He edited the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* from 1964 to 1967 and served as president of the American Musicological Society from 1987 to 1988. In 1980 he was appointed to the Department of Music at Harvard University, where he was later named Fanny Peabody Research Professor. He was appointed an emeritus professor in 2002.

His career has been marked by important contributions in two very different fields. His work on Renaissance music culminated in his important book *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505* (1984), which established the reputation of that city-state as one of the most important musical centers of the fifteenth century and which received the Marraro Prize of the Society of Italian Historical Studies and the Otto Kinkeldey Award of the American Musicological Society. The book was revised in 2008, and in that year Lockwood was also awarded the Paul Oskar Kristeller Lifetime Achievement Award from the Renaissance Society of America for his work in Renaissance Studies. A book of essays on music in Renaissance cities and courts was published in his honor in 1996.

But he has also been described as “the leading American authority on Beethoven,”¹ and his work on Beethoven is highly regarded throughout the scholarly world. His first book in this field was *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process* (1992), a highly influential work that brought the sketches and autographs of the composer under a new spotlight. In the same year he founded the yearbook *Beethoven Forum*, which ran for fourteen years. His biography, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life* (2003), was a finalist for a Pulitzer Prize in biography. This was followed by a book on the string quartets (2008) together with the members of the Juilliard Quartet and, more recently, by a book on the Beethoven symphonies (2015). A new book on the history of Beethoven biography, *Beethoven’s Lives: The Biographical Tradition*, is scheduled for publication at about the same time as this volume. His scholarship encompasses a broad range of articles, primarily focused on Beethoven’s creative process, and his largest project in this area was the work, carried out over seven years in collaboration with the music theorist Alan Gosman, on an edition of and commentary on one of the largest of Beethoven’s sketchbooks, the so-called *Eroica* Sketchbook. He has worked assiduously on the opus 69 Cello Sonata, with a facsimile of the first movement, edited by Lockwood and Jens Dufner of the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn, appearing in 2015. This is a work that has fascinated Lockwood since 1970, when his over-one-hundred-page groundbreaking article on the sonata appeared in the yearbook *Music Forum*.

I have compiled (you will find it below) a chronological bibliography of Lewis Lockwood’s publications. I took awed note as I did this that—standing as a rebuke to mere mortals and a cautionary warning to young scholars—there are sixty-five items that have appeared over a period of sixty-three years: fifteen books, six as editor; a journal with a run of fourteen years; several

musical editions, thirty-five articles in journals and conference proceedings, and twelve book chapters.

He has received honorary degrees from the Università degli Studi di Ferrara, the New England Conservatory of Music, and Wake Forest University. He was elected to membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1984, and in 2013 to the American Philosophical Society. In 2018 he was named a co-recipient, with Margaret Bent, of the Guido Adler Prize of the International Musicological Society, in the inaugural year of the Prize. And in the same year he was elected an honorary member of the Beethoven-Haus Association, only the second American scholar to have been so honored.

Over his career he has taught a very large number of students, many of whom have themselves forged distinguished reputations as teachers and scholars. Not all of them, for a variety of reasons, were able to contribute to this book, but certainly a significant number are represented in these pages.

But in addition to noting these striking academic achievements, it must be loudly acknowledged that the most remarkable of Lewis's qualities is his profound humanity. This reveals itself in all his work, in his never forgetting that the subjects of his research were human beings, living often challenging lives, or—in the case of Beethoven—tragic and painful ones. This humanity can be sensed throughout his biography of the composer, in the many articles on Beethoven's life and work, his moving comments on Beethoven symphony performances in the Lodz ghetto, his sympathy with and understanding of Beethoven's nephew or his royal pupil or his friends. But for those of us who are fortunate enough to know Lewis personally, this aspect of him shines through every interaction, every conversation, every one of his expressions about people and their lives. And this is not to mention the manifold ways in which he has quietly helped and supported so many of us. I have said this about him before, but I would like to put it here in writing: Lewis Lockwood is a deeply thoughtful, sympathetic, and caring man. His humanity is palpable and instinctive. All the authors in this book and many others around the world who know him agree: he is, in the terminology of his (and my) people, both in his scholarship and in his life, a true *mensch*.

Note

- I Joseph Kerman, "Beethoven the Unruly," *New York Review of Books*, February 27, 2003 (accessed May 24, 2020).

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Introduction

Jeremy Yudkin

I have called this book *The New Beethoven*, because, as the commemoration of the composer's birth reaches and then surpasses 250 years, we continue to find new things to say about the man, his life, and his remarkable works. For a couple of decades at the end of the twentieth century, it was assumed, naïvely, that everything about Beethoven had already been discovered, that commentary about his music had been exhausted, and that no further insights were possible. Over the past few years, however, with a burgeoning of further analysis and discussion, the establishment of a new international research group, and the founding of the new Center for Beethoven Research in Boston, Massachusetts, the future of Beethoven studies seems not just promising but bright with promise. Established scholars are publishing important new research, and young scholars are finding in Beethoven studies a vast landscape of intellectual and artistic opportunity.

Since 1770 few other composers in the Western musical tradition have encompassed such a wide range of human experience. And Beethoven's music was regarded as a touchstone by composers who came after him, from Mendelssohn, Wagner, and Brahms to Webern, Bartók, and Ornette Coleman. This inspiration has continued into modern times. The play *33 Variations* by Moisés Kaufman, inspired by Beethoven's "Diabelli" Variations, received its premiere in 2007. In 2015 the Saint Paul Chamber Orchestra commissioned five contemporary composers each to write a piano concerto inspired by one of Beethoven's five. The series ran for five years from 2015 to 2020. In 2016 the Pulitzer Prize-winning young composer Caroline Shaw premiered her *Blueprint*, a work for string quartet modeled on Beethoven's String Quartet, op. 18, no. 6. Also in 2020 a global partnership was created, with Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and pieces of new music performed on six continents and involving ten different orchestras. (And this is not to mention the recurring presence of Beethoven, and snippets of his music, in popular culture: Schroeder's obsession in *Peanuts* cartoons; Walter Murphy's

“A Fifth of Beethoven” [1976], memorably interpolated into the soundtrack of *Saturday Night Fever*; the 1991 video game *Dragon’s Lair II: Time Warp*; and a 2015 episode of the science-fiction series *Doctor Who*.)

Beethoven is regarded as an icon of global reach. Beethoven’s Ninth is performed with a chorus of ten thousand every New Year’s Eve in Japan. In China, as new conservatories, orchestras, concert halls, and opera houses are springing up around the country to celebrate the music of Western civilization, Beethoven remains the most popular composer by far.

Beethoven’s music has been seen almost universally as a celebration of human worth and independence, symbolizing freedom and dignity. Witness the performances of the Ninth Symphony at the fall of the Berlin Wall, the singing of the “Ode to Joy” as a symbol of protest in Tiananmen Square, the conversion of the lyrics of that music to connote solidarity in Chile for protestors against the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, and “flash mob” performances of the music in town squares, railway stations, and public spaces around the world.

This book represents today’s new Beethoven. I am confident that every generation will discover their own new Beethoven, and not just because growing young people will begin to experience the power and tenderness and transcendence in his music—though this is true. Research will continue; the thousands of pages of sketches and autograph manuscripts that have yet to be studied will gradually yield to analysis; and we shall gain new insights into the compositional process, performing practices, interrelations among works, and musical meanings of this extraordinary composer. For, as a twenty-first-century musician has said, “Beethoven’s voice is too powerful, and the influence he had on the evolution of musical language too immense, to be ignored.”¹

Every one of the essays in this book exemplifies what I have written here; every one of them provides new insight and encourages new thinking. The range of topics is vast, including the circumstances of the first performances of the *Eroica*; the meaning of the dedication of the *Missa solemnis*; Beethoven’s relationships to friends in Bonn, a publisher, a poet, and other composers; the instruments he owned; new thoughts about performance; nuances of meaning and intention one can glean from close study of his manuscripts; his structural and organizational practices; reflections of his deafness in music; performing variants; changes among editions; the presence of the divine in his late works; revelations regarding the middle and late quartets; contemporary reviews of the late quartets; the significance of titles and inscriptions on some of Beethoven’s works; the legitimizing of an

ungrammatical opening chord in the Seventh Symphony; new thoughts about the “Tempest” Sonata, the *Prometheus* works, and a late cello sonata; the world of F minor in the composer’s middle years; celebrations and musical tributes after his death; and a new way of looking at the Haydn/Mozart/Beethoven axis in Beethoven’s String Quartet, op. 130.

Works under discussion here reflect the richness of the composer’s *oeuvre*, from a tiny song setting to the Mass in C, the *Eroica*, the *Missa solemnis*, and the Ninth Symphony; from piano sonatas to string quartets and ballets; from overtures to variation sets; and from WoO 67 to opus 135. The authors, too, are varied, hailing from across the United States, Europe, and the Middle East, and including established senior scholars, distinguished performers, and younger researchers about to embark upon their careers.

The book is divided into five parts. The first, “A Creative Life,” contains four essays that consider aspects of Beethoven’s personal experiences. Steven Whiting’s essay provides new insights into Beethoven’s exposure as a young man to the *opéras-comiques* of the prolific French composer Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny (1729–1817), who was one of the creators of this new genre. Whiting persuasively suggests that this early exposure may have influenced Beethoven’s later work. David Wyn Jones discusses the composer’s relationship with the leading Viennese music dealer Johann Traeg, whose catalogue listed many thousands of works, and reveals Traeg’s importance in disseminating Beethoven’s music in the early years of the nineteenth century. Michael Ladenburger’s essay has four parts, relating to a cello that may have formed part of the original “quartet set” given to Beethoven by Prince Lichnowsky, the early reception of the Ninth Symphony, Beethoven’s friends in Bonn, and an important correction to the edition of the song “Ruf vom Berge,” WoO 147 (1817).

It is often wondered in which ways Beethoven’s terrible deafness might be manifested in his music. Bruce Adolphe suggests three possible passages: in the String Quartets, op. 95 and op. 135, and in the Piano Sonata, op. 110. The final essay in this section, by Christopher Reynolds, traces commemorations of the composer in the year after his death and shows how composers and poets and performers responded to this important event in the musical life of German-speaking lands.

Part 2 groups essays that deal with the *Prometheus/Eroica* connection in the works of Beethoven. These include the Contredanse, WoO 14, no. 7; the finale of *The Creatures of Prometheus*, op. 43; the Piano Variations, op. 35; and the fourth movement of the *Eroica* Symphony, op. 55. These disparate works show Beethoven’s fascination with the *Prometheus* theme, and

Alan Gosman suggests that they all evince a kind of restraint that is loosened at the end of each work. William Kinderman analyzes the genesis of op. 35 and another contemporary piano work, the “Tempest” Sonata, in three sketchbooks that Beethoven used in 1802. And Theodore Albrecht traces the performers for and the circumstances of all the earliest performances of the *Eroica* Symphony, from reading rehearsals in late spring of 1804 to the first public concert with nearly fifty musicians in April of 1805.

The Mass in C and the *Missa solennis* are the focus of part 3. Jeremiah McGrann revealingly compares the performing parts for the first (unsuccessful) performance of the Mass in C in 1807 with the published version of the work in 1812. Mark Evan Bonds looks closely at the manifold meanings of the words of Beethoven’s dedication of the *Missa solennis* to the Archduke Rudolph. And Scott Burnham shows how Beethoven grapples with musical ways of addressing or representing the divine in the *Missa*, comparing these attempts with similar struggles in the last movement of the Ninth Symphony.

Part 4 is dedicated to the string quartets, with performers joining scholars to consider aspects of these crucial works. Nicholas Kitchen presents a remarkably compelling argument for the view that we should take seriously the varied and highly specific expression markings Beethoven wrote in his autograph manuscripts. Other work on the quartets includes the essay by Lucy Turner on the String Quartet, op. 74, in which she argues that the work, less well studied than many of the other quartets, must be taken not as foreshadowing some other style but on its own remarkable merits. Robin Wallace presents translations of and revealing commentary on a cornucopia of contemporary German reviews of the late quartets, while Barry Cooper compares the autograph manuscript of the slow movement of the last quartet, opus 135, with a set of parts that were copied out later by Beethoven himself and which differ in some important ways from the readings given in the autograph.

Finally, in the last part of the book, part 5, our authors address crucial questions of style and interpretation. Erica Buurman looks at the “scherzo question” in Beethoven’s early sonatas. Why do some of these works have three movements and some four? Barbara Barry evokes the unique opposing polarities of expression in the F-major and F-minor works of Beethoven’s middle period. David Levy addresses the opening chord of the famous Allegretto in the Seventh Symphony and shows that it is designed not only to relate to the movement as a whole but also to send a message to music-theory traditionalists. Federica Rovelli demonstrates that, contrary to received opinion, corrections and emendations in the blank staves of autograph

manuscripts do occur in piano scores, and she suggests possible reasons for this. Richard Kramer closely analyzes aspects of the Cello Sonata, op. 102, no. 2, and Elaine Sisman untangles the possible meanings of inscriptions on music, especially the title of the fifth movement of the String Quartet, op. 130, finding possible antecedents in Haydn's *The Seasons*.

This book makes Beethoven new again, for all of these essays shine new light on Beethoven as a composer fighting with all his strength to create unprecedented modes of expression through music, never to repeat himself, to reach out to future generations—to us—to appreciate what he was trying to lay before us. They shine new light on his relations with his friends and colleagues, with publishers, with music dealers, with his patrons, with musicians, with God. They shine new light on a large number of works, on the way the music was conceived, the way it was emended, the way it was presented to performers for them to animate. And they shine new light on Beethoven the man—the imperfect, damaged, remarkable man, who continues so vitally to enhance our lives two hundred and fifty years after he was born. And counting.

Note

- 1 Jonathan Biss, partner with the Saint Paul Chamber Orchestra in the piano concerto project. <http://www.jonathanbiss.com/projects/beethoven-5-concerto-commissioning-project-with-the-saint-paul-chamber-orch> (accessed March 24, 2020).

Part One

A Creative Life

Chapter One

Of Deserters and Orphans: Beethoven's Early Exposure to the *Opéras-Comiques* of Monsigny

Steven M. Whiting

As a member of the electoral court orchestra in Bonn from 1783 through (most of) 1792, the adolescent Beethoven participated in performances of a wide variety of theatrical works, both spoken and lyric. His first stint in such a capacity was as rehearsal harpsichordist for the theatrical company directed by Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann (1743–96). Hired by Elector Maximilian Friedrich in 1778, Grossmann had quickly assembled a versatile troupe, mainly out of Abel Seyler's disintegrating company (of which he had been a member). Grossmann appropriated Seyler's music director, Christian Gottlob Neeffe (1748–98), after Seyler disbanded his troupe for good in August 1779. Neeffe soon became court organist as well, and gave lessons to Beethoven; Beethoven assisted him in both the chapel and the theater. The earliest document relating to his participation is an endorsement by court steward Count Sigismund von Salm-Reifferschied (dated February 23, 1784) of a petition by Beethoven to receive a regular appointment—that is, to be paid for services he had been rendering for some time on a probationary basis: “The petitioner has been amply tested and found capable to play the court organ as he has done in the absence of Organist Neeffe, *also at*

rehearsals of the plays and elsewhere, and will continue to do so in the future” (my emphasis).¹ After Max Friedrich’s death in April 1784, Grossmann’s troupe was let go with four weeks’ salary (Neeffe remained as court organist), and for several years Maximilian Franz, the next elector, hired various theatrical troupes for Carnival seasons only. For Carnival 1785 the troupe of Grossmann’s rival Johann Heinrich Böhm was engaged, but we know little about what it performed, in which town it performed it, or whether it used the court orchestra.² For Carnival 1786 Maximilian Franz engaged a “Französisches Hoftheater” formed from remnants of the French-language troupe that had been resident in Kassel. A *Hoftheater* presumably used the *Hoforchester*, which meant that Beethoven was probably playing.³ For Carnival 1787 Maximilian Franz seems to have hired Grossmann, but the engagement was quickly hamstrung by legal disputes between Grossmann and his partner, Christian Wilhelm Klos.⁴ Finally, in January 1789, Maximilian Franz reorganized the court theater under the musical direction of Joseph Reicha, and Beethoven played not harpsichord but viola in the orchestra, presumably until he left for Vienna in November 1792.

With regard to Beethoven’s experiences with Grossmann’s troupe, Alexander Wheelock Thayer opined: “No comments need be made upon the influence which daily intercourse with it, and sharing in its labors, especially in the direction of opera, must have exerted upon the mind of a boy of twelve or thirteen years possessed of real musical genius.”⁵ Perhaps this observation—that no comments need be made—was true in Thayer’s time; but nowadays, when the theatrical repertoire in question has become less familiar, a few comments may be welcome, if they tell us something about the musical and dramatic procedures that Beethoven learned to take for granted (or at least to consider as feasible options) at a young age, not to mention the *Lebensanschauungen* to which he might have been exposed.

In the repertoire of the electoral theater, *opéras-comiques* loomed large, whether in German translation or in their original French.⁶ Elsewhere I have broached the question of what Beethoven may have taken from stage works with music by André-Modest Grétry, of which he may have known as many as fourteen before he left for Vienna in November 1792.⁷ Among French composers whose stage works were offered in Bonn, the next in compositional importance was Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny (1729–1817). Beethoven almost certainly participated in performances of *Le Déserteur*, *La Belle Arsène*, *Rose et Colas*, and *Félix, ou L’Enfant trouvé*. The scores of three more works with music by Monsigny were held in the electoral library in Bonn, but no performances there are known.⁸ These seven works with music by Monsigny

are listed in table 1.1 in chronological order of their premieres in Paris, with notice of the original librettist and (in parentheses) the German translator (when known or applicable). Finally, documented performances in Bonn are noted. Any performances during Carnival 1786 were in French; the rest were in German. As table 1.1 indicates, the scores of *Le Roi et le fermier*, *L'Isle sonnante*, and *Le Faucon* were part of the electoral library but not performed (so far as we know) in Bonn. Members of the court orchestra did enjoy something like borrowing privileges, though, so Beethoven was free to pursue any curiosity he might have had about these three works. As we shall see, he would have had good reason to take a look at *Le Roi et le fermier*, Monsigny's first collaboration with the librettist Michel-Jean Sedaine and in several respects a break-through work. *Rose et Colas* was one of the handful of operatic works that Grossmann staged before Neeffe arrived in Bonn. Beethoven would have been just eight years old. It was not given again until Carnival 1786, this time in French. *Rose et Colas* (or to use the German title, *Röschen und Colas*) is the only one of these operas that Beethoven could have heard again in Vienna. Among Monsigny's operas, it is hardly surprising that *Le Déserteur* enjoyed the greatest number of performances in Bonn because, as John Warrack noted, it "had a long and successful career on German stages."⁹ *Félix, ou L'Enfant trouvé*, Monsigny's last completed *opéra-comique* and the third of his major collaborations with Sedaine, had a strong dose of social satire and an inspiring plot. Beethoven may well have retained a memory of it because *Félix* was performed during the fourth season of the court theater as reconstituted by Elector Maximilian Franz (December 28, 1791–February 20, 1792), which was either the penultimate or the last season in which Beethoven played viola in the court orchestra. He left Bonn in early November 1792, and the fifth season of the court theater had barely begun.¹⁰

Le Roi et le fermier

Based on Robert Dodsley's 1736 comedy *The King and the Miller of Mansfield*, as translated into French twenty years later by Claude-Pierre Patu, *Le Roi et le fermier* was Michel-Jean Sedaine's first full-length *opéra-comique*. As Sedaine would remember it, "In 1762 I achieved what I had believed impossible: to elevate the tone of this genre, even to put a king on the stage, in a three-act work that would take as long to perform as any five-act play at the Théâtre Français" (i.e., the Comédie-Française).¹¹ What was bolder

Table 1.1. *Opéras-comiques* by Monsigny performed at court or held in score at the electoral library in Bonn

Title	Premiere in Paris	Original librettist (translator)	Performances in Bonn
<i>Le Roi et le fermier</i>	Nov. 22, 1762	Michel-Jean Sedaine	
<i>Rose et Colas</i>	March 8, 1764	Sedaine	April 9, 1779; Feb. 4, 1786
<i>L'Isle sonnante</i>	Aug. 1767	Charles Collé	
<i>Le Déserteur</i>	March 6, 1769	Sedaine (J. J. Eschenburg)	Dec. 9, 1779; May 28, 1780; April 6, 1783; by July 13, 1787
<i>Le Faucon</i>	Nov. 2, 1771	Sedaine	
<i>La Belle Arsène</i>	Nov. 6, 1773	Charles-Simon Favart (J. André or Neefe)	March 9, 1780; Jan. 26, 1783; Feb. 1, 1786
<i>Félix, ou L'Enfant trouvé</i>	Nov. 10, 1777	Sedaine (J. André)	Jan. 22, 1792

than putting said king on the stage was subjecting him to a lecture from his plain-spoken constable. Sedaine had offered the *livret* first to François-André Danican Philidor, who pondered it at length before declaring it “unfeasible.” Monsigny, by contrast, set it with alacrity—hence Sedaine’s lavish praise for the composer in the *avertissement* of the published *livret*: “I had to find a great artist, a skillful musician willing to have some confidence in me, and finally, a friend willing to risk a new genre in music.”¹² There were problems with the censor in Paris, and a planned premiere at court fell through. For all we know, the factors militating against a premiere at Fontainebleau also forestalled performance at the electoral court. Still, Sedaine insisted on publishing the *livret* as he had written it, not as he had to change it for performance, lest he be accused of having wanted to stage reckless political discourse when he only intended that one see “what an English farmer, irritated by an unjust courtier, might say in such circumstances.”¹³

The *fermier* in Sedaine’s story is Richard, not only a land-holder but also a royal gamekeeper who has, thanks to his father’s foresight, received enough education to acquaint him with the world and to sharpen his independence of thought. The ostensible abduction of Richard’s fiancée, Jenny, by a maleficent local lord has set Richard’s feelings into jealous turmoil, but

now evening is approaching, a storm is brewing, and the king himself is hunting in the woods. Richard's duty (and that of his guards) is to prevent poachers from taking advantage of the circumstances. Richard's jealousy is soon allayed by Jenny herself, who explains how Lord Lurewel's henchmen had diverted her flock into the courtyard of his castle and had sent her to Lurewel to ask for them back. (Jenny is an orphan who has been taken in by Richard's family; her flock is all the dowry she has.) Jenny has not only resisted Lurewel's unwanted advances: she has made a daring escape after Lurewel left off his seduction to join the hunt. Indeed, she is stout-hearted enough to appeal directly to the king, if need be, against the capricious aristocrat. "I shall throw myself at his feet: he will listen to me; he would not be king if he were not just" ("Je me jeterai à ses pieds, il m'écouterait; il ne seroit pas Roi s'il étoit pas juste"). The storm erupts full force in the *entr'acte* music, and in act 2 we find the king unhorsed, disarmed, and separated from his party. Richard finds him but has no reason to recognize him, so the king can pretend to be one of the royal retinue. On the basis of simple humanity, then, Richard offers hospitality and leads him to his abode, where his mother, his sister, and Jenny are waiting. Meanwhile, Lurewel and one of his courtiers, also lost in the storm, are discovered and arrested by Richard's guards, who (mis)take them for poachers. The ensuing *entr'acte* music is, not without irony, an "air de chasse."

On the way home, as we later learn, Richard explains Lurewel's attempted abduction and saves the stranger from falling into a pit. The third act, set in Richard's humble dwelling, makes Jenny's (and the author's) key philosophical points about goodness and royalty. Soon the air of friendliness is such that Jenny invites the noble stranger to their wedding. Jenny, Richard, and the stranger each get an aria about what constitutes happiness: for Jenny, a life shared with one's beloved; for Richard, a life lived in the country rather than in the corrupting city; for the stranger, who pretends to remember a lesson imparted in an opera to a king by his tutor, true happiness is to spread happiness to one's subjects. It is a pithy statement of enlightened monarchy:

Le Bonheur est de le répandre,
De le verser sur les humains,
De faire éclore de vos mains
Tout ce qu'ils ont droit d'en attendre.¹⁴

(Happiness is to spread happiness,
 To pour it out upon other humans,
 To make bloom from your hands
 All that they have a right to expect from you.)

That tutor, Richard remarks, truly earned his wages. When Richard's guards bring in their presumed poachers, Lurewel quickly reveals his identity, then his evil designs on Jenny (whom he imagines still locked up in his castle); finally, he recognizes the king, setting the stage for an elaborate septet that conveys the dénouement. Before the astonished peasants, the king questions Lurewel and sends him off in disgrace. He tries to ennoble Richard, who refuses the honor. He accepts the invitation to the wedding, and promises to assume responsibility for Jenny's dowry. After his departure, Richard's mother, ever the practical peasant, remarks, "If I'd known it was the king, I'd have cooked the chicken!"

What in Monsigny's treatment of the subject might have caught the attention of young Beethoven? To begin with, the overture connects to the opera by leaving the pattern of the Italianate *sinfonia* incomplete. There's a Presto ma non troppo in E-flat major and parallel binary form, followed by an Andante Allegretto in C minor. Instead of a third movement, there is an Allegro in E-flat major, which is Richard's despairing first aria, "Je ne sais à quoi me résoudre" ("I don't know what to do"). The overture figuratively places the spectator in the middle of the first scene. This structural precedent would be followed by Grétry seven years later in the overture to *Lucile*, and by Mozart nine years later in *Ascanio in Alba*. Another source of musical interest is the recurrent use of counterpoint to dramatic ends.

The first example is the passacaglia-like G-minor duet in act 1, scene 6 for Richard and his sister, Betsy. Betsy is hurt that Richard has been gruff with her in front of the guards, and Richard, upon hearing that Betsy has intelligence of Jenny, is very eager to achieve a reconciliation. An equally humorous example comes in act 2, scene 4. Stumbling around in the dark after the storm, Lurewel and the courtier think they hear the king's voice, which motivates a D-minor duet "à demi voix": "Ah ciel! Ah si c'étoit le Roi" (Oh, heavens! What if it were the king?). It is a through-composed piece of pseudo-ecclesiastical counterpoint for two hypocritical souls who, scared out of their wits, claim only to tremble for the safety of their king. Quite at odds with the symbolic implications of the texture, their diction takes on the patter style of commoners, thereby offering purely musical commentary on the difference between nobility of birth and nobility of character. (Two

quodlibet-like trios for the women in act 3 make similar use of light-hearted counterpoint.) Yet the most impressive feature in Monsigny's score is surely the storm that connects acts 1 and 2. It begins to rise during the duet (act 1, scene 10) between Richard and Jenny, "Ah! Richard, ah mon cher ami" ("Ah, Richard. Ah, my dear friend"), forcing the duet several times out of its strophic form and into recitative, each time with more intense deployment of the usual orchestral devices (including precisely indicated swells and tremolandos), so that the resumption of the duet (and of musical structure per se) comes to express a denial of reality: "Jenny, qu'importe cet orage? / Ce nuage n'est qu'un passage" ("Jenny, what does the storm matter? That's just a passing cloud"). Finally, the royal hunt hurtles by, with horns and galloping figures in the upper strings, notated in $\frac{8}{4}$ time, while the lower strings continue in $\frac{4}{4}$. Even the barking of the dogs seems to have its motivic counterpart. Finally, sister Betsy joins them, and they flee for shelter. With barely a cadence in B-flat major, the music plunges into the entr'acte proper, a G-minor *orage* in which the *petites flûtes* make their obligatory appearance. The storm music continues into the G-minor duet for two of Richard's guards, which fills in what has "happened" between the acts. The ebbing storm carries us onward into scene 2, the entrance of the king with an E-flat-major "récitatif mesuré," declaring that weather is no respecter of rank. Nor (to judge from the musical interjections between his phrases) is it any respecter of musical structure, since it has by now spilled across four discrete numbers. Beethoven would encounter other operatic storms in Grétry's *Zémire et Azor* and Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride*; but it is difficult when studying Monsigny's entr'acte not to think of the *Sturm* in Beethoven's Sixth, especially given its carefully staged incursion into the "merry-making of the peasants" and its dispersal into the song of thanks.

Rose et Colas

Rose and Colas are the children, respectively, of Mathurin (a farmer) and Pierre (a vintner), and they are in love. Their fathers are not opposed to the match, although Pierre thinks they might be too young for marriage. As crafty peasants, though, the fathers bargain at such length over the nuptial happiness of their children that they risk driving them both away. The ninety-five-year-old wet-nurse of Mathurin helps bring the men to their senses, and they allow Nature to take its course. This *paysannerie* in one act was first performed in Bonn when Beethoven was a lad of eight years old,

so it may be doubted whether he witnessed it. It may also be wondered how Grossmann's troupe tackled the more complicated ensembles without a regular music director. Grossmann did have capable singers, and he may have availed himself of the expertise of Kapellmeister Andrea Luchesi or the concertmaster, Gaetano Mattioli, in rehearsing the C-minor "Trio Fuga," which extends over two hundred measures.

This trio may be considered the musical highlight of the show, and its dramatic context makes clear that its learned style and minor mode are not to be taken at face value. The two peasants have agreed in principle to let their children marry, but Pierre wants to delay the wedding until after his grape-harvest (*vendange*), even until Epiphany, to make the youngsters more eager to accomplish the work that he is growing too old to do. Pierre therefore urges that they begin the process of negotiation but drag it out week by week through a feigned quarrel (among other pretexts), thereby even increasing the affection of their children for each other. They are sealing their agreement with an embrace when they notice Rose entering. They immediately seem to pick a fight, and the first subject entry is Rose's despairing "Mais, mais ils sont en courroux" ("But they're really in a rage"). In their subject entries, the two fathers hurl opprobrium at each other and call off the wedding, while Rose goes over to a grieving countersubject. By the second exposition, while Rose sets the exasperated question "Pourquoi vous mettre en colère?" ("Why are you angering each other?") to the subject, the fathers are using the countersubject to congratulate each other on how well their ruse is succeeding. Each takes care to resume his posture of rage when it is his turn to sing the subject. The pedal point is especially humorous in its effect. Mathurin is warning of dire consequences should Colas try to enter his house, but actually Colas is in the scene the whole time, rather like the low G, only in hiding. The whole ensemble is a marvelous example of *buffo fugato*, in which the learned style points a staged quarrel that the daughter takes seriously. The confusion and comic effect are only heightened by the breakneck tempo of the whole. Beethoven must have encountered serious fugues in C minor in the context of his service as organist at Bonn, but Monsigny may have been among his masters in the art of the humorous fugue.

Le Déserteur

Alexis is a young soldier who hails from a French village close to the Flemish border. Shortly before his discharge, he is given a twenty-four-hour leave to

visit his home and his fiancée, Louise, on condition that he return to camp in time for a visit from the king. But the local duchess decides, for reasons never divulged, to make this leave the occasion for a cruel practical joke. A mock wedding between Louise and her oafish cousin Bertrand is staged just as Alexis is returning, and a child of the village is recruited to break the “news” to him. Alexis despairs so completely that he attracts the attention of four border guards; and, once he realizes that he can end his suffering through military execution if he declares his intention to desert, he does so, and the soldiers duly arrest him. Act 2 takes place in a military prison; the jailer is kindly; the only other prisoner seems to be a bibulous clown with the punning name Montauciel (Up to Heaven), who leavens Alexis’s tragic monologues. Louise and her father visit, and are amazed that Alexis is not cheered by the news that the whole wedding was a sham. They have no idea of the condemnation that Alexis has brought upon himself and that he is likely to be shot by evening. They soon discover the truth. While Alexis has a brief hearing before the judges, Louise’s father wants to appeal to Madame la Duchesse. Louise answers realistically: “Elle l’a mis dans la peine; elle ne sera pas là pour l’en tirer” (“She’s the one who put him into this difficult position; she won’t be there to pull him out of it”). After her father leaves, Louise asks the jailer whether the king might grant a pardon in such a case. Yes, the jailer replies, and no, it couldn’t hurt to throw herself at his feet and beg for grace. This already gives us a clear idea of the dénouement; it is only a question of delaying it until the end of act 3. And so act 2 closes with a comic duet for Montauciel and Bertrand, Louise’s cousin.

Act 3 has another comic ariette for Montauciel, whose own elaborately demonstrated illiteracy will make him the convenient bearer of a letter of farewell from Alexis to Louise and her father. Then a soldier—one of the soldiers who arrested Alexis, with the punning name Courchemin (Shortcut)—arrives with an official packet, and he tells of a strange young woman who threw herself on the king’s mercy with a story so moving that even old soldiers were weeping. The king had granted the reprieve, and the girl had run off, turning down the gold offered by certain nobles in the king’s retinue because it would be too heavy for her to carry. Drums beat offstage; jailor and soldier exit. And drums invade the following monologue for Alexis. The executioners are approaching, but only Montauciel arrives, bottle in hand, for a last drink with Alexis. Alexis hands over his letter and bids Montauciel farewell. The soldiers enter together with Louise—at the end of her strength, shoes in hand, hair in disarray. She can only manage to say “Alexis, ta . . .” (“Alexis, your . . .”) before fainting in his arms. Alexis’s valedictory aria, “A

Dieu, chère Louise” (“Adieu, dear Louise”), is cut short by recitative, in which he urges the soldiers to end his misery through execution. We witness the dénouement from the perspective of the slowly reviving Louise, who hears the offstage shouts of “Vive le Roi” and remembers the pardon she has brought to Alexis. She runs off, as her father and aunt run on to proclaim the royal pardon and jump for joy. This last entrance, tantamount to holding up a poster, must have been to allow enough time for the final scene-change to the public square, where a chorus celebrates the pardon of Alexis and the bravery of Louise. With its cliff-hanging resolution, *Le Déserteur* was nothing less than a rescue opera *avant la lettre*.

Arthur Pougin called *Le Déserteur* Monsigny’s masterpiece and Sedaine’s as well.¹⁵ It was clearly a favorite of Grossmann’s. It was among the first operas he offered after securing Neefe’s services as music director in October 1779, and over the next two years he repeated it ten times in five different cities. In Bonn, the role of Alexis was created by Tobias Pfeiffer, drinking buddy of Beethoven’s father, Johann (they were both tenors), sometime lodger in the Beethoven household, and early teacher of the young Ludwig.¹⁶ Beethoven may have been involved in the performance on April 6, 1783, which celebrated the anniversary of Maximilian Friedrich’s elevation to the office of elector. The last performance in Bonn is known only from a letter of July 13, 1787 from Neefe to Grossmann, concerning an initiative taken the preceding May by Christoph Brandt, a member of the Hofkapelle.¹⁷ Brandt was hoping (prematurely, as it turned out) to persuade Elector Maximilian Franz to revive the court theater by mounting performances with an ad hoc troupe. Neefe reported that the house was full for *Le Déserteur*, empty for the other show, and that his wife took two roles, whereas he kept his distance from the undertaking. In Neefe’s metaphorical assessment, the child was scarcely born before it died. Beethoven, just returned from his first journey to Vienna, may have played in the orchestra.

Beethoven’s very first exposure to this opera would have come before any staging in Bonn, if it is true that the carillon tower of the electoral palace intoned the overture on a daily basis, before it was destroyed in a fire one month after his sixth birthday.¹⁸ The overture is indeed one of the most innovative features of the opera, for it traces in advance the course of the *drame* to come. Its opening presents pastoral and military renditions of the same D-major melody—perhaps the very tune that sounded from the belfry in Bonn. Then come three episodes in *Sturm und Drang* style (D minor, Presto ma non troppo), alternating with *pastorelle* lamentations in D minor and A minor, respectively, both dominated by oboes and bassoons. The

mournfulness is dispelled by a military tattoo (a reference to the king visiting the camp?) and a striking motivic dialogue between falling thirds in the oboes and surging triadic gestures in the strings (representing Louise's appeal to the king?).¹⁹ The initial section then returns in full. This very melody, in its military guise, will become the refrain of the act 3 finale, with the text "Oubliez jusqu'à la trace / D'un malheur peu fait pour vous: / quel plaisir! il a sa grace, / c'est nous la donner à tous" ("Forget every trace of a sorrow ill-suited to you; what a pleasure! He has his pardon, which we should extend to all").

This was the earliest significant example of what a recent scholar has called the "ouverture à citation."²⁰ Not that the adolescent Beethoven would have worried about historical priority, but he certainly would have noticed that two more of Monsigny's *opéras-comiques*—*La Belle Arsène* and *Félix*, both performed in Bonn—had overtures that anticipate the dénouement. And he would have found the same procedure adopted by Nicolas Dézède in *Julie* and in several operas by Grétry, all of them in Grossmann's repertoire and frequently performed in Bonn: *Le Magnifique*, *Le Jugement de Midas*, *Les Événements imprévus*, and *Zémire et Azor*.²¹ Add to these Beethoven's repeated exposure to Mozart's *Entführung aus dem Serail*, with its anticipation of Belmonte's first aria amid the overture, and *Don Giovanni*, with its anticipation of the final scene at the beginning of the overture, and it is little wonder that three of the four overtures to *Fidelio* give foretastes of the opera to come and that the overture to *Egmont* ends with the same music that accompanies the conclusion and resolution of the play. Beethoven was thoroughly familiar with the procedure before he left Bonn.

Also predictive of Beethoven's practice in *Egmont* was Monsigny's use of entr'acte music to suggest what was happening "between the acts." The first musical number in *Le Déserteur* is Louise's ariette "Peut-on affliger ce qu'on aime?" ("Can one afflict the person one loves?"). As we soon discover, Louise is thereby expressing her reluctance to go through with the sham wedding demanded by the duchess. Act 1 ends with Alexis denouncing the ostensibly perfidious Louise as a "monstre cruel" ("cruel monster"). The following entr'acte quotes Louise's initial ariette, which contradicts Alexis's denunciation, at the same time as that denunciation answers Louise's rhetorical question in the negative. The music between acts 2 and 3 (marked "Andante amoroso") anticipates the music Courchemin will sing (act 3, scene 6) to relate the encounter between the unknown girl and the king (also marked "Amoroso"); but in strict narrative sequence, Louise would obviously be throwing herself on the king's mercy *before* Courchemin's account of the

moment, so this entr'acte indeed alludes to what is happening between the acts. As we have seen, Monsigny proceeded likewise with the entr'actes in *Le Roi et le fermier* (especially the *orage* after act 1). Grétry clearly learned from Monsigny's example in *Zémire et Azor*, in which the music between acts 1 and 2 depicts Sander and Ali's ride on the back of a cloud from Azor's palace to their home in Hormuz (the setting of act 2), and the music between acts 3 and 4 suggests through quotation of Zémire's aria "Rassure mon père" what would actually be happening at that moment.²²

Equally striking is the mixture of "terror, pathos, and outrageous comedy" in Sedaine's *livret*—a mixture possibly inspired by the model of Shakespeare.²³ The most obvious examples come in the juxtapositions of Alexis's death-row plight with Montauciel's gallows humor in acts 2 and 3. But the mixture is illustrated with particular clarity by the special case of Monsigny's contrapuntal numbers. One musical highlight of *Rose et Colas* was the C-minor *Fuga* conveying the twists and turns of a feigned altercation and the very real distress of a character directly affected by it. The C-minor fugue in *Le Déserteur* likewise unfolds at a breakneck pace (*Prestissimo*) but is deadly earnest. In act 2, scene 11, Louise bursts in, having learned the truth about Alexis's condemnation. Her consternation, "O ciel, quoi? tu vas mourir!" ("Oh, heavens! Oh no! You are going to die!") is conveyed with a jagged fugal subject: a conjunct ascent from C to Ab, plunging to Bb, then a sequential repeat starting from Bb. Each character has a different text to the same subject, and each takes a turn at launching an exposition. The episodes are more homophonic, with Louise and her father each declaring their guilt and Alexis trying to console them.

The overall dramatic effect of the fugue is of three characters with their individual perspectives, all caught in the same impossible situation. Were it not for the tempo and the mode, one might almost glimpse a template for "Mir ist so wunderbar" in *Fidelio*. To this sublime ensemble there is a ridiculous counterpoise in *Le Déserteur*, at the end of act 2. Bertrand, the supposed spouse-for-a-day, has come to visit Alexis in prison but only finds the ever-tipsy Montauciel, who insists that he sing something. Bertrand, good-hearted simpleton that he is, sings "Tous les hommes sont bons" ("All men are good"), in the unlikely key of G minor. Montauciel thinks the song is sweet enough to send the devil back underground, and so he launches into his own paean to wine and love, "Vive le vin, vive l'amour" ("Long live wine, long live love"). The melody is quite different, but (suspiciously enough) in the same key, meter, and tempo as Bertrand's song. When Montauciel insists that they sing together, Bertrand protests that he doesn't know Montauciel's

song. "Qui est-ce qui vous dit de chanter ma chanson? Dites la votre, et moi la mienne: c'est plus gai." ("Who's telling you to sing my song? Sing your own, and I'll sing mine; that'll be more fun.") And lo, the songs fit as tightly together as a double-song by Irving Berlin. After the fugato tragedy, Monsigny gives us counterpoint in the service of comic relief.

The only aristocratic character in *Le Déserteur* is Madame la Duchesse, and we have no reason to find her sympathetic. Her caprice sets the plot in motion, but we never see her, her motive is never explained, and she has no part in the dénouement. Indeed, Louise's terse comment, quoted above ("She's the one who put him into this difficult position . . ."), is the last reference to her at all.²⁴ Not surprisingly, musical structures usually chosen for the lyrical utterances of characters of higher social status are here used for characters of inner nobility. In act 1, scene 7, Alexis, having just learned of the "wedding" between Louise and Bertrand, steps into the *opera seria* role of the noble soul in torment. He sings an out-and-out *scena*, "Infidèle, que t'ai-je fait?" ("Faithless one, what have I done to you?").²⁵ (Even the label is Italian: "Recitativo obbligato.") As Alexis swings back and forth between outrage and tenderness, it becomes ever clearer that the oboe symbolizes the imagined beloved—first at "Toujours chérie" ("Always beloved," p. 53), then even more explicitly at "J'accours à sa voix, oui c'est elle, c'est ma Louise qui m'appelle" ("I run to her voice; yes, it's her, it's my Louise who's calling me," pp. 55–56).

At this point, rage wins out, and the aria "Fuyons ce lieu que je déteste" ("Let us flee this place that I hate," Allegro, $\frac{2}{2}$, p. 57) soon becomes an ensemble, as Courchemin and three other soldiers observe Alexis's attempted desertion and comment on his deranged state before arresting him in the coda. Once in prison at the beginning of act 2, Alexis has a tragic monologue in D minor, "Mourir n'est rien, c'est notre dernière heure" ("To die is nothing, it is [just] our final hour," p. 84), that begins like a rage aria but is interrupted as he takes out the last letter from Louise and re-reads it; the oboes duly enter ("Viens, cher amant" ["Come, dear lover"], Andante amoroso, F major, p. 89). This, however, breaks off with the next wave of jealous rage, and Alexis reverts to recitative. The return to the A section is much compressed, rhythmically and structurally, and gains in urgency thereby. One can only wonder whether Beethoven remembered these scenes when drafting the monologue for the imprisoned Florestan at the beginning of act 2 in *Fidelio*. There, too, the oboe enters as Florestan's delirious vision takes shape—of the angel who so resembles his wife—"ein Engel, Leonoren der Gattin so gleich" ("an angel, so like my wife Leonore"). Of

course, neither prisoner yet imagines that the woman symbolized by the oboe will, through an act of bravery, become his salvation.

In both *Le Déserteur* and *Fidelio*, the finale entails a sudden transformation of setting from prison cell to public square. Monsigny's finale moves from D minor to D major, as the 1805 finale of *Fidelio* moves from C minor to C major. For all the differences between the two, the finale of Sedaine/Monsigny's rescue opera *avant la lettre* is a worthy precedent. An octet of principals and a four-part chorus are deployed over 162 measures, either in alternation, or with superimpositions, or blending with one another.²⁶ Monsigny's finale benefits from our sense of having come full circle, to a resolution forecast by the overture.

La Belle Arsène

Unlike other Monsigny operas performed in Bonn, *La Belle Arsène* does not have a *livret* written by Sedaine, and it is set in the mid-sixteenth century, during the reign of Henri II and Catherine de' Medici. On the basis of Voltaire's moral tale in verse *La Béguéule* ("The prude"), published the year before,²⁷ Charles-Simon Favart fashioned this *comédie-féerie* about a haughty beauty eventually tamed—through trials that begin with an enchanted garden in which her every wish is fulfilled and end in the wilderness with a collier interested only in the fulfilment of his own wishes. (The stay in the wilderness begins with another storm.) Having met her match in selfishness, Arsène humbly acknowledges her love for the knight Alcindor, who has been pining after her since the first scene. She conveniently faints so that the stage may be transformed into a wedding chamber. Her fairy-godmother Aline, who has arranged the trials, tells her she has brought her here to witness the wedding of Alcindor; then she will be returned to her collier. Arsène accepts this bitterly, before learning that she is Alcindor's intended bride. Aline unites the two with a homily that alludes to the opening of Voltaire's *conte*: "Un sage a dit: 'Rien n'est plus périlleux / Que de quitter le bien pour être mieux'" ("A wise man has said, 'Nothing is more dangerous than leaving what is good for what seems better'").

The premiere at court in Fontainebleau (November 6, 1773) had no success.²⁸ Favart, feeling guilty for the failure and wanting to salvage at least some of Monsigny's music, offered his collaborator a different libretto and invited him to fit to it as much of his score for *Arsène* as he could. Monsigny was not interested. Favart reluctantly revised the *livret* of *Arsène*, and the revision

(now in four acts) was offered at the Comédie-Italienne on August 14, 1775. Here too the reception was cool, but a revival in May 1779 launched a run of performances that lasted several years. The performances in Bonn (starting on March 9, 1780) were thus riding the crest of this new vogue for the show. Beethoven may have participated in the second performance (January 26, 1783); for the third performance (in French), his services as harpsichordist would certainly have been needed.

The musical highlights in *Arsène* are fewer than those in *Le Déserteur*. The overture starts by anticipating the refrain from the final scene, sung by Aline and her chorus, "A l'amour livrez vos cœurs" ("Surrender your hearts to love," bottom of p. 102 in the short score).²⁹ It then goes back to the characterizing ariette from act 1, scene 7, that launches the action: Arsène's "Non, non, j'ai trop de fierté pour me soumettre à l'esclavage" ("No, no, I am too proud to submit to slavery," p. 15). The secondary theme may refer to act 4, scene 4, Arsène's duo with the collier, "Ayez un cœur sensible" ("Have a sympathetic heart," p. 86). The storm music makes its appearance several pages later, albeit in D minor instead of C minor (Arsène's "Où suis-je? quelle nuit profonde" ["Where am I? What a dark night"], on p. 70), followed by a clearer reference to "Ayez un cœur sensible." The overture then repeats the refrain from the final scene before the bustling coda.

It is hard to gauge the full impact of the *orage* that begins act 4, since the Bailleux score includes only the violin line, the voice(s), and the basso continuo. But it gives a convincing impression of the terror felt by Arsène, alone and exposed to the elements for what is probably the first time in her life. The highpoint of the storm comes with a tree-splitting lightning bolt, *très fort*, on D-flat major (p. 73). Several pages later, Arsène glimpses "un monstre" just before the storm ebbs; one must consult the libretto to learn that the monster is a bear crossing the stage.³⁰ (Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* comes to mind.)³¹ How that particular stroke of staging was managed in Bonn is anyone's guess. But there seems to be little else in this score that might have made a lasting impression on the young Beethoven.

Félix, ou L'Enfant trouvé

Monsigny's last completed *opéra-comique* was premiered on November 24, 1777, at the Comédie-Italienne. Audiences were disconcerted by the acerbic social satire, and the work did not catch on until the 1790s.³² It was performed in Bonn during Carnival of 1792 (December 28, 1791, to February

20, 1792), one of Beethoven's last seasons in the orchestra. Reichard's *Taschenbuch für die Schaubühne* reported that Bonn too needed time to warm to the opera; there as in Paris, the third-act trio was a success:

Felix [sic]. The opera at first did not quite manage to please; from the second act onward, it pleased a great deal. Mademoiselle Willmann and Herr Müller sang their duet with much feeling, and the sweet, hearty trio had to be repeated. The last scene between Herr von Strahlheim and the wet-nurse was acted with animation by Herr Steiger and Madame Neefe. Herr Dardenne performed the role of legal scholar quite well.³³

Herr von Strahlheim is the name given Sedaine's character Gourville, as in Johann André's German adaptation.³⁴

In *Le Roi et le fermier*, the son of the house was united with the young lady whom his family adopted as an orphaned girl. In *Félix*, the daughter of the house is united with the young man whom her family adopted as a foundling. Félix has grown up amid three brothers and Thérèse, whom he has come to love as more than a sister. Those feelings are reciprocated. While Félix has been making the family farm thrive, the brothers have moved to the city, and taken up occupations reflected in various modifications to their family name:³⁵ army captain (Morinville); lawyer (La Morinière); and *abbé* (St. Morin). All three are ruthless social climbers who convince their father to allow Thérèse's betrothal to a local lord (Versac), who is looking to restore his fortunes through a hefty dowry; to them, she is a commodity in a transaction to move the family up another rung.

As the opera begins, the family have gathered with Versac and the notary to draw up the marriage contract. Félix ducks the occasion by going for a walk, in woods made dangerous of late by bandits. Father Morin explains that payment of the whole dowry is contingent on the expiration of a thirty-year statutory limit: His farm had been bought with funds acquired under obscure circumstances, and three more years must elapse before he can dispose of his wealth. The servant-girl, Manon, reports shots outside. Versac and two of the brothers run out (the *abbé* stays behind to pray for them); Thérèse worries about Félix. The men return with a M. de Gourville, who says his life has just been saved. A tall stranger, armed only with a walking-stick, has subdued his attackers but must have been wounded in the gunfire. Gourville also muses at the fatality that, twenty-seven years previously, he lost everything on the same road. Instead of explanation, there is a comic ensemble: Manon fends off the rude advances of Morinville,

the other brothers vacillate between restraining and encouraging the flirtation, and Versac claims to have chased the robbers at least five hundred paces before losing his breath. The quintet is interrupted on a V^7 chord by Morin, who (speaking) bids them to supper.

In act 2, Félix declares his intention to leave. Father Morin approves the plan, without knowing its motive, and recounts the circumstances under which he found Félix. There had been a storm, the causeway by the pond had collapsed, and the countryside was flooded. Morin discovered a woman tangled in the branches of a willow, unconscious, with a babe in her arms. It was Félix's wet-nurse. Morin took the baby to his hut, then rescued the nurse. Two leagues away they found a *dame* drowned in her carriage with a valise. They questioned the nurse repeatedly, but she spoke only German. Much later, they learned that she came from "Noussdorff." "Un grand monsieur" had hired her and brought her to a noblewoman who engaged her to nourish her newborn; fifteen days later the catastrophe occurred. If Félix wants to learn more, the nurse still lives in the village. Morin offers a "petit sac"—fourteen years of wages for the work Félix has done. And he hands over the *procès-verbal*, signed by Morin's pastor, of how he was found. Morinville (the army captain) interrupts with a letter for Félix to sign—a letter committing him to enlist in Morinville's regiment.

Morin has convinced himself of Gourville's connection with the catastrophe that so redounded to his benefit. Knowing their father's solemn vow to return everything should the owner present himself within thirty years, the brothers try to dissuade him from giving "their" inheritance (and with it Thérèse's dowry) to this man they claim to have rescued. Morin will not be moved, so they plot to get rid of Gourville as soon as possible. Gourville retires to a bed-alcove but leaves the light burning. Unaware of his presence, Thérèse and Félix bid each other farewell. When Thérèse notices that Félix is bleeding, he describes his encounter with the bandits in the forest. Gourville, peering through the curtains, recognizes the man who saved his life. Félix gives Thérèse the wages Morin paid him, so that she can support his nurse after Morin dies.

Early the next morning, having visited the causeway, Gourville and Morin convince Félix to stay another day, because the wedding is no longer certain. Gourville asks about the yield of the farm. Morin answers that, when there are lots of poor people, there is no profit at all; in better years, it can yield two thousand *écus*. "And they are yours!" Morin feels sure that Gourville is the original owner of the money with which Morin bought the property. He produces the valise, and Gourville recognizes his monogram. Gourville is

astonished by such probity. So are the sons, who protest their father's honesty in a progressive ensemble—a “duo which continues as a trio and finishes as a quartet.” Morin sorely rues having sent his sons to the city to pursue any career other than farming. But will Gourville employ him as steward of the land he has returned?

At this juncture comes the “sweet, hearty” trio, in which Félix and Thérèse promise not to abandon Morin, and Morin openly wishes that Félix were his actual son. Gourville enters with the notary and a new contract, whereby Gourville gives everything to Félix on condition that he marry Thérèse. Félix promptly gives everything back to Morin. The brothers, horrified, demand a reading of the contract. When Gourville's noble titles are revealed, the lawyer recognizes the weakness of their position. The only thing missing is Félix's *nom de famille*. He has none, Morin explains, because he is a foundling. The recognitions now come thick and fast. When the old nurse arrives, Gourville, questioning her in German,³⁶ recognizes her as the wet-nurse hired twenty-seven years previously, and she recognizes him. And so Gourville has been saved by his own son. A massive ensemble ensues, in which Thérèse despairs that Félix may no longer marry her because he is a nobleman; but this and all other difficulties are resolved amid general reconciliation.

As this lengthy synopsis may suggest, there was much in this story to inspire Beethoven. Virtue is upheld, a family is restored, human failings are held up to ridicule and seem susceptible to improvement, and the boy gets the girl. As in Jean-François Marmontel's libretto for Grétry's *Silvain*, the last-minute revelation of nobility and thus of class difference between future bridegroom and bride is brushed aside in the interest of true love. There was just as much in Monsigny's music to interest Beethoven. The very first ariette for Félix—“Non, je ne serai point ingrat” (“No, I shall not be ungrateful”)—is a turbulent statement in C minor with off-kilter phrasing—three-measure syncopated motives, punctuated with low unisons, riddled with dynamic contrasts—that plunges us straight into the heart of his psychological turmoil. After a more expository B section (in E-flat major), there is, instead of the expected repeat (*da capo* or *dal segno*), a new section in C major (adagio, triple time, with flutes and horns to the fore over pizzicato strings), as Félix describes the tender feelings he harbors for the daughter of his benefactor, “Et je séduirois sa fille?” (“And would I seduce the daughter?”). The section closes by prolonging the crucial dilemma, “Mais la quitter, ma douce amie?” (“But to leave her, my sweet friend?”). The *dal segno* repeat (from the first vocal entrance) is meant to answer this heart-rending question. It is a stunning opener.

The next main character, Thérèse, has an equally striking ariette (act 1, scene 3): a *da capo* structure in which the A section—"Quoi! tu me quittes, tu t'en vas" ("What! You're leaving me; you're going away")—is a Lamentabile in A major and the B section an Allegro starting in F-sharp minor. Monsigny is pushing the received form to the maximum by introducing not only harmonic contrast but changes of tempo and meter. With the central characters thus introduced, the secondary characters, most of them caricatures, follow with numbers and/or dialogue that highlight their flaws: general dissoluteness (Versac), brutality (Morinville), legalistic pedantry (La Morinière), and pious hypocrisy (St. Morin). Sedaine practices the same economy with the main characters. In act 1, scene 11, Thérèse expresses her concern for Félix with an ariette—"Hélas! où peut-il être?" ("Alas, where can he be?"; allegro, $\frac{2}{4}$, G minor)—that has an unusually short introduction, as though she were too agitated for anything longer than six measures. In the B section (B-flat major but with much unrest in the dynamics) she looks with trepidation to the morrow, when she will lose Félix and be stuck with Versac. With her dilemma thus starkly drawn, Sedaine gives her no further solo numbers. Likewise, Félix has no further solo numbers after the wistful Lamentabile with which he opens act 2: "Il faut, il faut que je les quitte, / Ces lieux si chéris de mon cœur" ("I have to leave these places so dear to my heart"). Both characters participate in ensembles, but we need learn nothing more about them musically until the dénouement. Morin, by the way, goes without any solo number until act 3, scene 7, when he declares that, whatever his sons may think, he is doing the right thing by turning his property and possessions over to Gourville: "Il est dans le fond de mon âme" ("There is, in the depths of my soul"). This D-minor Largo has the variety of motive and affect (although not the structure) that one would otherwise associate with a noble character.

The trio singled out in many a contemporary review follows. In D major, Félix assures Morin that he is doing the right thing—"Ne vous repentés pas mon pere / D'avoir rempli votre serment" ("Do not repent, my father, of having kept your oath")—and that he will stay by his side to help him. Morin answers in unison texture: "Bien malheureux qui se repente / d'avoir fait ce qu'il a dû faire" ("Unhappy is the man who repents of having done what he had to do"). The melodic diction is simplicity itself. After a cadence in the dominant, both meter and tempo change (triple time, *afettuoso amoroso* [*sic*]) as Thérèse joins the ensemble in duet with Félix: working together, they will look after their father until the end of his days. The ensemble ends

as a trio in the new tempo and meter. There is no musical return and no going back on this decision once taken.

While Monsigny and Sedaine seem never to have adopted the “chain-finale” developed by Goldoni and Galuppi,³⁷ the finales in *Félix* are nonetheless impressive for their length and complexity. The finale of act 1, motivated by the simple act of Manon’s calling the brothers to supper, turns into an aggressive flirtation (hunting horns are prominent in the orchestration) that grows from a trio into a quintet of 246 measures, as the other brothers and Versac all join in. The characters take turns with patter style that stands out against the fuller rhythms of the other parts. When the tempo and meter change (presto, $\frac{2}{4}$), a rough scene threatens to get even rougher, until (as previously noted) Morin interrupts them angrily with a spoken summons. The quintet does continue, but with everyone singing “à demie voix [*sic*].” Five characters pursue their individual perspectives, while leaving the stage and urging quiet upon each other—“Chut! suivons mon père” (“Shh! Let’s follow my father”)—to a *pp* close. Except for the dramatic situation and the key, the technique would bring to mind the end of act 1 in *Fidelio*, with its *ppp* dynamic and departing chorus. An audience hardly knows how to respond to either finale, especially since Monsigny’s finale has, until then, given every sign of driving to a raucous close.

The act 3 finale—“Quoi, c’est son fils” (“My goodness, it’s his son”)—bursts *attacca* upon Gourville’s recognition of Félix as his son (the score does have a cautionary note that the orchestra should sound a unison *ut* beforehand). It too is massive, full of dramatic twists and turns as described above; but after some twenty pages, the music rears up on the dominant, “tous à demie voix” (“everyone mezza voce”) and continues in a hushed and hymnic *amoroso* intoned by the chorus: “Vivez ensemble longtems” (“Live together for a long time”). For the next eight pages Monsigny resorts again and again to *subito f* and *subito pp* statements of this final benediction before moving on to universal rejoicing, presto, *ff*, complete with a contredanse for the huntsmen and the ladies of the village. Such closing tactics may remind us how operatically Beethoven proceeds on the final pages of the Ninth Symphony, with his sudden braking of energy, poco adagio, at measures 810 and 832, and the penultimate maestoso (m. 916) before the clamorous final prestissimo. For all the musical differences, the rhetorical template would seem to have been set in Bonn. As already noted, this is another dénouement that is anticipated from the start; roughly the first half of the overture is a bar-for-bar anticipation of the finale, up through the V chord just before the hymnic *amoroso*.³⁸

Conclusion

What Patrick Taïeb called Monsigny's "ouvertures à citation" attracted comment early on. The critic Castil-Blaze called attention to the "citing" technique in the overture to *La Belle Arsène*:

You will tell me perhaps that Monsigny placed into the overture . . . every motive from the principal airs, in an order similar to that in which they appear in the opera, and that by these means he guides the listeners step by step, instills such confidence in the orchestral music that they will follow the heroine from the tourney [the trials at opening] to the scene with the collier. Fine: but I shall also have you observe in passing that all these diverse refrains, these musical dictums, which the composer has slipped into his potpourri for better or for worse, do not have any particular expression and do not become significant until after one has heard them several times with their words.³⁹

True enough, perhaps, but it is precisely in a repertory system allowing repeat performances of each work that this condition is fulfilled, not to mention that the rehearsing musician is willy-nilly hearing multiple performances of each work with the words. So while audience members were perhaps making the intended connections from overtures to ariettes, Beethoven (consciously or not) may have been absorbing a lesson about how to suggest an outcome in an incipit.⁴⁰ The lesson is manifest in three of the overtures written for his only opera, as it is in the *Egmont* music, where he also harked back to Monsigny's tactic of using entr'acte music to suggest events taking place between the acts. One such entr'acte (in Monsigny's *Le Roi et le fermier*) is a truly impressive storm that overspills the usual boundaries, in that it begins toward the end of act 1 and rages into the first scenes of act 2. With such a precedent, one may be forgiven for regarding the *Sturm* in the "Pastoral" as entr'acte music in a symphonic context.

In some yet-to-be-written study of imitative counterpoint in opera, Monsigny will surely have a place for his witty applications of learned style to humorous ends. Whether or not Beethoven had the opportunity to study the two pseudo-ecclesiastical duets in *Le Roi et le fermier*, the scene of feigned fugal argument in *Rose et Colas* offered the same lesson, as did the contrapuntal combination of two discrete *chansons* in *Le Déserteur*. However, the C-minor fugal trio in that opera (act 2, scene 11) constitutes a non-comic, absolutely serious precedent—as three characters try to absorb the reality of Alexis's impending death-sentence—for the canonic quartet in *Fidelio*. In this connection, it may be coincidental that the second acts of both operas

begin with tragic monologues for imprisoned protagonists close to death, and that in both cases the oboe stands in as instrumental proxy for the imagined beloved, who will eventually secure the prisoner's release. Still, it seems likely that *Le Déserteur* was indeed the first of the many "rescue operas" that Beethoven encountered on the way to *Fidelio*. One of the next—even if there was not a performance in Bonn, the score was in the elector's library—would have been Grétry's *Richard Cœur-de-Lion*, setting a libretto that Sedaine had first offered to Monsigny.⁴¹ Beethoven would compose variations on its "rescue song" some three years after his arrival in Vienna.

If Beethoven had his eyes and ears open as he rehearsed and performed these *opéras-comiques*, he encountered, along with the music, any number of Enlightenment commonplaces: for example, the corrupting city vs. the "pure" countryside (*Le Roi et le fermier* and *Félix*) and nobility of character vs. nobility of birth (witness Lurewel in *Le Roi et le fermier* or the duchess in *Le Déserteur* or Versac in *Félix*). In one instance (*Félix*), a *dénouement* hinges on nobility of character coinciding with nobility of birth; but even then, the virtuous, hard-working orphan has been raised by a virtuous peasant . . . whose own sons have not turned out so well.

Far be it from me to claim that a handful of adolescent impressions suffices to explain Beethoven's later output and outlook. All that *is* claimed here is that, when we do try to explain this or that aspect of the mature Beethoven, we ought to remind ourselves of ideas (musical, rhetorical, socio-political, philosophical) to which he was exposed early on, so that, when we encounter them in his later career, we may greet them as old friends.

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Notes

- 1 Thayer, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, 70, rev. and ed. Forbes (translation slightly modified). The original German (from Schiedermaier, *Der junge Beethoven*, 165) is as follows: “Supplikant auch nach vorgangener gnugsamen Erprüfung und gefundener sattsamen fähigkeit zu der Hof Orgel, welche er bei oft überkommender Abwesenheit des Organisten Neffe bald zu der Comoedienprob, bald sonstn ohnehin öfters tractiret, und führohin in solchem fall tractiren wird.”
- 2 The chief historical source here is an anonymous dispatch, “Schreiben aus Cölln den 20sten Jenner 1785,” 216–22. From this report it emerges that Böhm’s troupe was engaged in October 1784 to give four performances a week in Cologne; that from the beginning of November they played three times a week in Bonn and twice a week in Cologne; that the elector had hired them for

- "the entire winter" (i.e., Carnival); and that they pleased the general audience more than they pleased the connoisseurs. A list of titles is given, organized by theatrical genre (*Trauerspiele*, *Schauspiele*, *Lustspiele*, etc.), but dates are given only for performances that had taken place by January 20, 1785. Two *Operetten* by Monsigny are listed as being in the repertoire—*Arsène* and *Félix*—but there are no specifics about any performance in Bonn. See also Reisinger, Riepe, and Wilson, *The Operatic Library of Elector Maximilian Franz*, 107.
- 3 Details of titles and dates are given in two issues (January 3 and January 10, 1786) of the *Bönnisches Intelligenz-Blatt*. I am grateful to John D. Wilson for sending scans of the relevant advertisements.
 - 4 For details, and the disastrous professional consequences of the legal judgment for Grossmann, see Rüppel, *Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann*, 357–67.
 - 5 Thayer, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, rev. and ed. Forbes, 33.
 - 6 Under Grossmann alone, the court theater offered 27 different opéras-comiques in German translation, along with 3 French tragedies and 36 different French comedies in German translation. Compare for Italian fare: 13 Italian comedies were adapted for performance in Bonn, and 10 *opere buffe*. For a slightly different count, see Betzwieser, "Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann," 103–4. Betzwieser does not include spoken theater in his tabulation, but his table does make clear that the *opere buffe* were each offered only within a single season; *opéras-comiques* were often repeated over two or three seasons. They tended to have a longer "shelf life."
 - 7 Whiting, "Before the Fever Burned," 271–89.
 - 8 The remains of the electoral operatic library, now preserved at the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria in Modena, are the subject of Reisinger et al., *The Operatic Library of Elector Maximilian Franz*, which I have only been able to examine briefly before submitting this essay.
 - 9 Warrack, *German Opera*, 195.
 - 10 Thayer, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, rev. and ed. Forbes, 98.
 - 11 "En 1762 j'ai effectué ce que j'avais cru impossible, d'élever le ton de ce genre, et mettre même un roi sur la scène dans un ouvrage en trois actes qui occupât la scène aussi longtemps qu'une pièce à cinq actes au théâtre français." Sedaine, "Quelques réflexions inédites," 507. See also the discussion in Ledbury, "Sedaine and the Question of Genre," 25. Translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.
 - 12 "Il falloit que je trouvasse un grand Artiste, un Musicien habile qui voulût bien avoir un peu de confiance en moi, enfin un ami qui voulût bien risquer un genre nouveau en musique." Quoted in Charlton, "Sedaine's Prefaces," 243.
 - 13 Ibid.
 - 14 Monsigny, *Le Roi et le fermier*, 160–61. Here and in the following pages, the orthography and punctuation of text, the performance instructions (among

them Monsigny's consistently misspelled qualifier "ma non troppo"), and the instrument names follow that of the early published scores and librettos.

- 15 Pougín, *Monsigny et son temps*, 129.
- 16 Tobias Friedrich Pfeiffer was a member of Grossmann's troupe for its first *Spielzeit* (1778–79) and part of its second (he left the troupe on February 26, 1780). See the dispatches excerpted from the *Dramaturgische Nachrichten* 2 (1780) in Maurer and Maurer, *Dokumente zur Bonner Theatergeschichte*, 33; and Thayer, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, rev. and ed. Forbes, 61.
- 17 See Leux, *Christian Gottlob Neefe*, 92; and Woodfield, "Neefe and the Bonn National Theatre," 292.
- 18 The fire took place on January 15, 1777. See Thayer, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, rev. and ed. Forbes, 40. Ludwig Schiedermair too referred to this carillon as one of Beethoven's early musical impressions: "Als das Glockenspiel des Schloßturms die Melodie aus Monsignys *Déserteur* erklingen ließ, wird auch er ihr gelauscht haben" ("When the bells of the palace tower pealed the melody from Monsigny's *Déserteur*, [Beethoven] too would have listened"). Schiedermair, *Der junge Beethoven*, 137.
- 19 These motives do not recur in the opera proper, so my associations are hypothetical.
- 20 Taïeb, *L'Ouverture d'opéra en France*, 111. As Taïeb shows, the "ouverture à citation" was far more common in *opéras-comiques* than in *tragédies lyriques*. His "Annexe 3" lists ten examples of quotation overtures from the repertoire of the Académie Royale de Musique between 1774 and 1812 (392). His "Annexe 4" lists sixty-seven examples from the Opéra-Comique between the years 1782 and 1814. Moving the early date back to 1760, one would find as many as eighty-six examples.
- 21 For specific dates, see Betzwieser, "Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann," 103–4; and Whiting, "Before the Fever Burned," 274–75.
- 22 *Le Déserteur* was premiered on January 6, 1769; *Zémire et Azor* on November 9, 1771. The latter opera was given in Bonn on December 29, 1782, and March 6, 1783, which performances Beethoven could have witnessed, and on February 6, 1786, in which he participated. See Whiting, "Before the Fever Burned," 280. Concerning the entr'acte music in *Egmont*, see Ballstaedt, "Musik zu *Egmont* Op. 84," 650–52; and Whiting, "Die *Egmont*-Musik," 462–72.
- 23 Ledbury, "Sedaine and the Question of Genre," 28. Paule Druilhe also invokes the model of Shakespeare in *Monsigny: Sa vie et son œuvre*, 78. Ledbury underscores Sedaine's provocatively noncommittal generic designation, "drame en trois actes" and points out that Sedaine refers to Shakespeare in a preface as early as 1764. The only French-language access to Shakespeare then available was via Pierre-Antoine de La Place's eight-volume collection *Le Théâtre anglois* (Paris, 1745–49), which included prose renderings of ten plays and summaries of the rest.

- 24 In act 3, scene 2, Louise's father says they tried to tell Madame la Duchesse about the situation, but she was not at home.
- 25 It will be useful to consult the score, *Le Déserteur*, starting on p. 52. Following references are to pages in that score.
- 26 Cook, *Duet and Ensemble*, 165–66. Cook calls this “the most ambitious mixed ensemble encountered” in her study of thirty-nine *opéras-comiques*.
- 27 Voltaire, *La Bégueule*. The tale is best known for its opening lines, which have become proverbial: “Dans ses écrits, un sage Italien / Dit que le mieux est l'ennemi du bien.”
- 28 The following information is drawn from Pougin, *Monsigny et son temps*, 162–65, 174.
- 29 A short score of *La Belle Arsène* (comprising first violin part, voice part, and bass line) was published by Bailleux without the overture, which is available only in a contemporary arrangement for keyboard. The short score is available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1165044s/f1.image>. The overture arrangement is at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9057887j?rk=21459;2> (accessed September 1, 2018).
- 30 “Elle aperçoit un ours qui traverse le Théâtre pour regagner le forêt.” *La Belle Arsene*, 26. There is no such direction in the German translation: *Die schöne Arsene*, 73.
- 31 “Exit [Antigonus], pursued by a bear.” Act 3, scene 3.
- 32 Pougin, *Monsigny et son temps*, 175–81. According to Pougin (*Monsigny et son temps*, 293–94), it was fear of losing his eyesight that encouraged Monsigny to cease composing at the age of forty-eight. He would live to be eighty-eight.
- 33 “Felix, Op. wollte anfänglich nicht recht behagen; vom zweiten Akt an gefiel sie sehr. Demois. Willmann und Hr. Müller sangen ihr Duett mit viel Empfindung, und das süße herzige Terzett mußte wiederholt werden. Die letzte Scene zwischen Herrn von Strahlheim und der Amme ward von Herrn Steiger und Madam Neeffe lebhaft gespielt. Hr. Dardenne machte die Rolle des Rechtsgelehrten recht gut.” “Kurfürstl. Cöllnisches Hoftheater zu Bonn,” 125–26. The same source documents a post-Easter season from May 1 to June 30. The next pre-Advent season began in October 1792, and Beethoven may have played in the first few performances before leaving for Vienna. See Thayer, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, rev. and ed. Forbes, 98.
- 34 *Felix oder der Findling* (Vienna, 1785). André's adaptation was also printed in Cologne by Langen in 1790.
- 35 It is a pity that André found no similar German equivalents. He simply identified each son by his profession.
- 36 In footnotes, Sedaine supplies a French “translation” of their conversation. In André's German adaptation, the language common to Strahlheim and the wet nurse is Dutch.