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# Time, Morality, and Humanity in Beethoven's *Pastoral* Symphony

RICHARD WILL

Not a bar of the 'Pastoral' Symphony would be otherwise if its 'programme' had never been thought of."<sup>1</sup> In support of this peculiar claim, Donald Francis Tovey asserts that traditional Classical-period forms underlie all the passages in the *Pastoral* Symphony that most obviously refer to its program. He characterizes the trio of birdcalls at the end of the second movement as "a master-stroke of pure musical form" that falls into "perfectly normal" four-measure phrases and functions formally like codas in other Beethoven slow movements.<sup>2</sup> He labels the symphony's thunderstorm movement an "introduction," dismissing its manifest differences from other symphony introductions with a frankly disingenuous remark: "The only unusual thing about [the storm] is that it is in a quick tempo, whereas most introductions are slow."<sup>3</sup> Why would Tovey, at pains to argue elsewhere that Beethoven's instrumental music cannot be explained in terms of "normal" forms,<sup>4</sup> engage in special pleading for the *Pastoral*? What was at stake in reading this work as a "perfect classical symphony"?<sup>5</sup>

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1. Donald Francis Tovey, *Musical Articles from the Encyclopaedia Britannica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), 168.

2. Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, 6 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1935–39), 1:45, 52. He emphasizes the passage's function as a coda also in *Musical Articles*, 168; and in *Beethoven* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945), 123.

3. Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis* 1:45. See also his *Musical Articles*, 168.

4. See Tovey, "Some Aspects of Beethoven's Art Forms," *Music and Letters* 8 (1927): 131–55; reprinted in *Essays and Lectures on Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), 271–97. In this essay, Tovey himself places "normal" in quotation marks when using the term in connection with form.

5. Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis* 1:46.

### A modernist *Pastoral* Symphony

In part, Tovey was joining a long tradition of defending the *Pastoral* against critics of its tone-paintings. Although Beethoven described the work as “more the expression of emotion than tone-painting” (“Mehr Ausdruck der Empfindung als Malerei”),<sup>6</sup> during the century or so spanning the symphony’s 1808 premiere and Tovey’s comments, circumstances conspired to make the opposite seem true.<sup>7</sup> From as early as 1829, performers mounted stage productions of the *Pastoral* in which Beethoven’s program was acted out amidst appropriate scenery,<sup>8</sup> and, beginning with an 1833 drawing by Johann Peter Lyser, artists portrayed the composer writing the work while sitting next to a brook, pen and music paper in hand.<sup>9</sup> Both

6. This phrase is found on the title page of the first violin part used at the symphony’s premiere (Gustav Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana* [Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1887], 378) and on the verso of the title page of Breitkopf and Härtel’s first edition of 1809 (*Ludwig van Beethoven: Thematisches Verzeichniss von Gustav Nottebohm nebst der Bibliotheca Beethoveniana von Emerich Kastner, ergänzt von Theodor Frimmel* [Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1969], 62). Beethoven had earlier written two less elegant formulations of the same thought in his sketches: “Even without descriptions, one will recognize the whole, which [is] more emotion than tone-painting” (“Auch ohne beschreibungen wird man das ganze welches mehr Empfindung als Tongemähde erkennen”); on a leaf formerly in the *Pastoral* Symphony sketchbook and now in the sketch miscellany Landsberg 10, p. 77; see Beethoven, *Ein Skizzenbuch zur Pastoralsymphonie op. 68 und zu den Trios op. 70, 1 und 2*, ed. Dagmar Weise, 2 vols. [Bonn: Beethovenhaus, 1961], 1:17), and “Pastoral Symphony, in which [there is] no painting but rather emotions are expressed” (“Pastoral Sinfonie Worin keine Malerej sondern die Empfindungen ausgedrückt sind”); in the sketchbook Grasnick 3, fol. 16v; Beethoven, *Ein Skizzenbuch zur Chorfantasia op. 80 und zu anderen Werken*, ed. Weise [Bonn: Beethovenhaus, 1957], 92). All translations in this article are mine unless otherwise indicated.

7. Tovey developed his basic view of the work by 1906–10, when he wrote the musical articles for the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911). The article on program music there (vol. 22, pp. 424–27, at 426) says substantially the same thing about the *Pastoral* as the later version quoted above, which first appeared in the fourteenth edition (1929). Accordingly, the following discussion of the context for his comments focuses for the most part on the reception of the *Pastoral* before 1910.

8. David Wyn Jones’s *Beethoven: “Pastoral Symphony”* (Cambridge Music Handbooks [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995], 84–85) includes a partial translation of Otto Jahn’s description of one such staging from the (new) *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1 (1863): 293–99 (reprinted in Jahn, *Gesammelte Aufsätze über Musik* [Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1866], 260–70). George Grove summarizes Jahn’s report and two similar ones in his *Beethoven and His Nine Symphonies*, 3d ed. (London: Novello, 1898; reprint, New York: Dover, 1962), 226; and George Bernard Shaw reported on performances—entitled, appropriately enough, “Vision of Music”—that incorporated not only scenery but also songs, in “Music at Sydenham” (28 February 1877), reprinted in *Shaw’s Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw*, ed. Dan H. Laurence, 2d rev. ed., 3 vols. (London: Bodley Head, 1989), 1:95.

9. Alessandra Comini, *The Changing Image of Beethoven: A Study in Mythmaking* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 85–86 and figs. 50–51. Hector Berlioz imagined Beethoven in the same pose in which he appears in Lyser’s drawing (“Symphonies de Beethoven: 2e Article,” *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* [4 February 1838], 48; the relevant passage appears also in

stagings and images suggested that the work depicted natural sights and sounds more than it expressed emotion,<sup>10</sup> an impression reinforced in 1860 by Anton Schindler, who claimed, supposedly on Beethoven's authority, that the *Pastoral* included more tone-paintings than its program indicated. He identified a previously unknown bird in the second movement, the "Goldammer" (in the arpeggio figure at m. 58 and elsewhere), and connected a section of the scherzo with the comical antics of an Austrian village dance band (mm. 87–122).<sup>11</sup> Some readers were skeptical: finding no evidence that "Goldammers" sang arpeggios, George Grove concluded that, at least in regard to that part of the story, Beethoven was pulling Schindler's leg.<sup>12</sup> But several late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century discussions of Beethoven's symphonies accepted the gist of Schindler's account, perpetuating still further the *Pastoral*'s reputation for tone-painting.<sup>13</sup>

Enthusiasts of the work sought to protect it by defending tone-painting in principle<sup>14</sup> or, more typically, by asserting that Beethoven meant its

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the shortened version of this essay included in idem, *A travers chants* [Paris, 1862], reprint edited by Léon Guichard [Paris: Gründ, 1971], 56; translation in idem, *The Art of Music and Other Essays*, ed. Elizabeth Csicsery-Rónay [Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994], 22).

10. See Robert Schumann's complaint about the images of Beethoven by the brook, in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 2 (1835): 65.

11. Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, 3d ed. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1860), 153–57.

12. Grove, *Beethoven and His Nine Symphonies*, 211–12; and idem, "The Birds in the Pastoral Symphony," *The Musical Times* 33 (15 December 1892): 14–15. The Goldammer and Schindler himself drew withering comments from Tovey in *Essays in Musical Analysis* 1:46–47, 51. For a summary of the numerous additional objections that can be raised to Schindler's anecdote, as well as a convincing demonstration that he probably fabricated the entire story, see Barry Cooper, "Schindler and the Pastoral Symphony," *Beethoven Newsletter* 8, no. 1 (1993): 2–6.

13. E.g., Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Ludwig van Beethoven's Leben*, 3 vols. (Berlin: F. Schneider and W. Weber, 1866, 1872, 1879), 2:41–44 (translated in *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, ed. Elliot Forbes, rev. ed., 2 vols. [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967], 1:437–39); J.-G. Prod'homme, *Les Symphonies de Beethoven*, 4th ed. (Paris: Delagrave, 1906), 241–44; and Grove, *Beethoven and His Nine Symphonies*, 215, where he accepts the dance-band portion of Schindler's story.

14. As in Adolf Bernhard Marx, *Über Malerei in der Tonkunst: Ein Mairgruß an die Kunstphilosophen* (Berlin: G. Finck, 1828); on the *Pastoral* see especially pp. 18–22. Marx summarizes the conclusions of the earlier work, and quotes its discussion of the *Pastoral*, in *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1859; reprint, Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1979), 2:98–107. The defense of the symphony really began with Beethoven's own "more the expression of emotion than tone-painting," which was undoubtedly meant, at least in part, to preempt such criticisms as had been leveled a few years earlier at Joseph Haydn for the tone-paintings in his *Creation and Seasons*. The reaction to Haydn's oratorios is treated in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, 5 vols. (London: Thames and Hudson; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976–80), 4:572–601 and 5:182–99. The frequently acrimonious eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century debate over

tone-paintings in jest.<sup>15</sup> Their efforts notwithstanding, in 1893 the influential London music critic and program annotator Joseph Bennett was still complaining that Beethoven had “descended” to the imitation of bird-calls,<sup>16</sup> and a year earlier the architect, organist, and writer on music Henry Heathcote Statham called the same passage “a blot on an exquisite composition.”<sup>17</sup> Tovey put the defense on a new footing. Rather than claim, like his predecessors, that Beethoven intended the tone-paintings to be humorous, Tovey argued that the passages in question were composed to satisfy exigencies of form. If the music also imitated nature, that was strictly fortuitous: “The real cuckoo, nightingale, and quail *happen to be* musical birds whose themes are exactly what Beethoven wants . . . at a point of repose in the coda of his slow movement.”<sup>18</sup>

In making form the centerpiece of his argument, Tovey was undoubtedly also aiming to challenge the *Pastoral*'s association with nineteenth-century program music. Frederick Niecks, Tovey's predecessor in the Reid chair at Edinburgh and author of the first extended history of program

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tone-painting is discussed in Adolf Sandberger, “‘Mehr Ausdruck der Empfindungen als Malerei,’” in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Musikgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1924), 2:201–12; and Richard Will, “Expression or Tone-Painting? The Critical Fortunes of the Programmatic Symphony,” chap. 2 in “Programmatic Symphonies of the Classical Period” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1994), 98–165. In an apparently genuine anecdote, Ferdinand Ries reported that Beethoven was among those who criticized Haydn's tone-paintings. See Ries and Franz Gerhard Wegeler, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Coblenz: K. Bädeker, 1838), 77–78; and, on Ries's reliability, James Webster, “The Falling-out Between Haydn and Beethoven: The Evidence of the Sources,” in *Beethoven Essays: Studies in Honor of Elliot Forbes*, ed. Lewis Lockwood and Phyllis Benjamin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 3–45, at 17–18.

15. This rationale is found in the earliest, anonymous report on the work, “Musik in Leipzig,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 11 (1809): col. 436 (translated in Jones, *Beethoven: Pastoral Symphony*, 45–46); as well as in Michael Gotthard Fischer's review of the following year, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 12 (1810): col. 248 (reprinted in Stefan Kunze, ed., *Ludwig van Beethoven: Die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit; Gesammelte Konzertberichte und Rezensionen bis 1830* [Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1987], 122). Schindler, in *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, 154, has Beethoven himself saying that the nightingale, cuckoo, and quail were a joke (though not the Goldammer), a claim that Grove accepts and amplifies in *Beethoven and His Nine Symphonies*, 208–9.

16. Quoted by George Bernard Shaw from Bennett's program notes for a concert of the London Philharmonic Society, in “The Palace Theatre of Varieties” (8 February 1893), *Shaw's Music* 2:799.

17. H. Heathcote Statham, *My Thoughts on Music and Musicians* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1892), 280. Similar criticisms were still being voiced over three decades later. See especially Robert Haven Schauffler, *Beethoven: The Man Who Freed Music*, 2 vols. (Garden City, N.J., and New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., 1929), 1:264; and Harvey Grace, *Ludwig van Beethoven* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trubner, J. Curwen, 1927), 269.

18. Tovey, *Musical Articles*, 168; italics mine. Cf. *Essays in Musical Analysis* 1:45, where Tovey characterizes as an “unessential detail” the fact that listeners may recognize that Beethoven is quoting birdcalls.

music, surmised in 1906 that “the time cannot be far off when [Beethoven] will be regarded as the chief founder and the greatest cultivator of programme music.”<sup>19</sup> He counted the *Pastoral* among Beethoven's most significant programmatic works, an assessment that would have troubled Tovey because of its potential to call the formal integrity of the symphony into doubt.<sup>20</sup> The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed repeated attacks on composers of program music for their purported inability to create satisfactory musical structures. Eduard Hanslick wrote that the sections of Liszt's symphonic poems “appear often to be strung together as in a mosaic, [or] mixed up chaotically,”<sup>21</sup> Edward Dannreuther found Berlioz's programs to “disguise a lack of constructive power,”<sup>22</sup> and Tovey himself declared that Louis Spohr's programs “constantly conflicted with the externals of his form.”<sup>23</sup> Such criticisms went along with, and were to some extent inspired by, a widespread conviction that programmatic works were based on “extramusical” considerations such as the narrative structure of a program rather than on the specifically musical principles that underpinned “absolute” instrumental music.<sup>24</sup>

19. Frederick Niecks, *Programme Music in the Last Four Centuries* (London: Novello, 1906), 137. Grove arrived at similar conclusions; see “Beethoven,” in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1880–89), 1:206–7 (reprinted in Grove, *Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn* [London: Macmillan, 1951], 116–17).

20. The connection with program music would also have strengthened still further the *Pastoral's* reputation for tone-painting, which was so closely associated with program music in the early twentieth century that the two were not always distinguished. To blame were the chroniclers of program music, who devoted their accounts of its pre-nineteenth-century history to vocal and instrumental imitations of bird songs, hunts, battles, and similar subjects. See Niecks, *Programme Music*, 7–112; Frederick Corder, “Programme Music,” in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Grove, 3:35–38; and Otto Klauwell, *Geschichte der Programmusik von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1910), 11–98. Sandberger perhaps inadvertently implied that the *Pastoral* was the direct heir of this tradition by locating its precedents mainly in earlier musical depictions of natural phenomena (“Zu den geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen der Pastoralisinfonie,” in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze* 2:154–200).

21. “Das hindert freilich nicht, daß diese Bestandtheile oft mosaikartig aneinander gereiht, oft chaotisch durcheinander gemengt erscheinen.” The remarks appear in an 1857 review of Liszt's *Les Préludes* (Eduard Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien*, 2 vols. [Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1869–70], 2:119). Compare his similar comments on Berlioz and Spohr in Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens* 2:79–82, or on Joachim Raff's *Im Walde* in idem, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen der letzten fünfzehn Jahre, 1870–85* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1886), 35–36.

22. Edward Dannreuther, *Oxford History of Music*, vol. 6, *The Romantic Period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 113.

23. Tovey, *Musical Articles*, 171–72; these pages also contain similar remarks about Berlioz.

24. Many of Tovey's contemporaries shared this view to a greater or lesser extent. See Niecks, *Programme Music*, esp. iv and 4; William Wallace, “The Scope of Programme Music,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* (1899): 139–56; Ernest Newman, “Programme Music,” in his *Musical Studies*, 2d ed. (London: John Lane, 1910), 103–86, esp. 113; C. Hubert H. Parry, *The Evolution of the Art of Music*, 5th ed. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench,

According to Niecks, "it was the programme that in the *Pastoral* Symphony called for five instead of four movements, and caused the form of the slow movement to be vague, that of the Storm to be non-architectural, and that of the others to be more or less deviating from the traditional."<sup>25</sup> Tovey would have been appalled; while Niecks does not offer these observations as criticisms, they all too clearly open the way for a demotion of the *Pastoral* to the lowly status of the formally "incoherent" compositions of Liszt, Berlioz, or Spohr.<sup>26</sup> Tovey's insistence on the work's adherence to traditional forms cements its position in the pantheon of absolute instrumental works and secures Beethoven's stature as the uncontested master of "pure musical form."<sup>27</sup>

Tovey's stance proved indicative of things to come. In a reaction against nineteenth- and early twentieth-century predilections for hermeneutic interpretations of Beethoven's music,<sup>28</sup> a good deal of subsequent criticism sought to divorce all of his instrumental works from "extramusical" associations. The result for the *Pastoral*, not surprisingly, was an ever-greater emphasis on its musical structure at the expense of its program:<sup>29</sup> Leonard

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Trubner, 1909), 270–79 and 296–98; and Klauwell, *Geschichte der Programmmusik*, V–VII. For further discussion see Carl Dahlhaus, "Thesen über Programmmusik," in *Beiträge zur musikalischen Hermeneutik*, ed. Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Bosse, 1975), 187–204; and idem, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 128–40.

25. Niecks, *Programme Music*, 136.

26. Statham had already implied such a demotion by describing Beethoven's storm with the explicitly pejorative term "formless" (*My Thoughts on Music and Musicians*, 283).

27. As Joseph Kerman points out in "Tovey's Beethoven" (*Beethoven Studies* 2 [1977]: 172–91; reprinted in *Write All These Down: Essays On Music* [Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1994], 155–72), Tovey did not oppose programmatic associations per se but believed that they took a secondary position to specifically musical logic: "Music with words and program music are [for Tovey] not lower forms of art than absolute music, for the words and the programs are absorbed into the absolute music, and this maintains its own perfection according to its own formal principles" (*Write All These Down*, 158).

28. Particularly as embodied in Arnold Schering, *Beethoven und die Dichtung* (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1936; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1973). Several recent studies discuss Schering's work and the tradition in which it originated: Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 3–28 (a revised version of idem, "On the Programmatic Reception of Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony," *Beethoven Forum* 1 [1992]: 1–24); Thomas S. Grey, *Wagner's Musical Prose: Texts and Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 51–92; and Thomas Sipe, "Beethoven, Shakespeare, and the 'Appassionata,'" *Beethoven Forum* 4 (1995): 73–96.

29. See, for example, August Halm, *Von zwei Kulturen der Musik*, 3d ed. (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1947), 81–107, which uses the development of the symphony's first movement to demonstrate Beethoven's "harmonic economy" while never mentioning that it has a programmatic title; and Kurt von Fischer, *Die Beziehungen von Form und Motiv in Beethovens Instrumentalwerken*, 2d ed. (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1972), 246–47, which argues that "Beethoven is no program musician" on the grounds that the melodic motives of the storm resemble those found in nonprogrammatic Beethoven works.

Bernstein went so far as to urge the audience at his Norton lectures to concentrate on Beethoven's motivic process and ignore the program altogether. In an era of musical and music-analytical modernism, the program of the *Pastoral* Symphony was a liability—in Bernstein's words, a "semi-transparent curtain . . . that interposes itself between the listener and the music per se."<sup>30</sup>

### The two generic worlds of the *Pastoral*

While modernism rendered the *Pastoral* a great service by assuring it a lasting place in Beethoven's canon, Tovey's and similar readings of the work are no less problematic, in their own way, than those they were intended to displace. Tovey's insistence on the irrelevance of Beethoven's program, for example, is surely no more defensible than Schindler's quest for unidentified birdcalls. As others have argued, any program that a composer authorizes forms as integral a part of the musical work as "the music per se."<sup>31</sup> On a more practical level, the *Pastoral*'s program associates Beethoven's music not just with a few sights and sounds of the countryside but with the rich fund of cultural meanings inherent in the idea of the pastoral during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Several more recent critics of the symphony have explored how it may allude to those meanings,<sup>32</sup> and this article likewise investigates the work's dramatization of two prominent issues in contemporary discourse on the pastoral: the effect of time on pastoral idylls and the role of morality therein.

To engage these issues, however, is to confront a second problematic legacy of modernism, the idea that the *Pastoral* is a "normal" Classical-period symphony with respect to form.<sup>33</sup> Leaving aside, for the moment,

30. Leonard Bernstein, *The Unanswered Question* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 157–89, at 157.

31. Dahlhaus, "Thesen über Programmusik," 188–90; Walter Wiora, *Das musikalische Kunstwerk* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1983), 152; James Hepokoski, "Fiery-Pulsed Libertine or Domestic Hero? Strauss's *Don Juan* Reinvestigated," in *Richard Strauss: New Perspectives on the Composer and His Work*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Durham, N.C., and London: Duke University Press, 1992), 134–75, esp. 136–37.

32. See especially F. E. Kirby, "Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony as a *Sinfonia caratteristica*," *Musical Quarterly* 56 (1970): 605–23; Jones, *Beethoven: "Pastoral Symphony"*; and Rudolf Bockholdt, *Beethoven: VI. Symphonie F-dur op. 68 Pastorale*, Meisterwerke der Musik 23 (Munich: Fink, 1981). Owen Jander demonstrates that the symphony's second movement may have triggered associations connected with the symbolic meanings of birdcalls and the topos of the artist depicted in nature, while also pursuing an unsupportable reading of the movement as a "prophetic conversation" about Beethoven's impending deafness ("The Prophetic Conversation in Beethoven's 'Scene by the Brook,'" *Musical Quarterly* 77 [1993]: 508–59).

33. While positions as strict as Tovey's have disappeared, there remains a tendency to assimilate the *Pastoral*, and especially the storm, to symphonic tradition. Recalling Tovey, Charles Rosen analyzes it as an "introduction" (*The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* [New York: Viking; London: Faber and Faber, 1971], 402). Furthermore, both Jones

the frequently remarked differences in style and mood between the *Pastoral* and Beethoven's other symphonies, it can certainly be said that the work is based on a four-movement framework typical not only of Beethoven's but also of later eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century symphonies generally.<sup>34</sup> It begins with a fast and a slow movement in sonata form and continues with what is recognizably a symphonic dance movement, even though it differs in important respects from other Beethovenian scherzos, as we shall see.<sup>35</sup> It also concludes with a medium-tempo movement in rondo form. Before the final movement, however, comes the storm, which—even allowing for the flexibility with which Beethoven treated formal conventions—nevertheless counts as a serious disruption within the otherwise reassuringly familiar formal framework. The storm interrupts the progression from the scherzo to the finale and links them together into a continuous stretch of music spanning the whole second half of the symphony. Its internal form, moreover, bears little resemblance to forms found elsewhere in the *Pastoral* or, for that matter, in the great majority of other Classical-period instrumental works.

Contrary to Tovey's claims, the storm does not fit comfortably within the formal traditions of the symphony. Together with the program it signals that the *Pastoral* inhabits two generic worlds, that of the symphony and that of the programmatic symphony as it was practiced, not by Berlioz or Liszt, but by Beethoven's contemporaries and predecessors. The *Pastoral* belongs wholly to neither genre: the program and storm distinguish it from symphonies, but the remaining movements distance it from programmatic symphonies as well. While these latter works abound in passages like the storm and in continuous movements like those concluding the *Pastoral*,

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(Beethoven: "Pastoral Symphony," 47–48) and Wolfram Steinbeck ("6. Symphonie F-Dur Pastorale op. 68," in *Beethoven: Interpretationen seiner Werke*, ed. Albrecht Riethmüller, Carl Dahlhaus, and Alexander L. Ringer, 2 vols. [Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1994], 1:512) interpret it as a kind of second scherzo.

34. That the *Pastoral* was meant to be understood generically as a symphony is also supported by the fact that both the autograph score and the first edition number it among Beethoven's other symphonies; see Hans Schmidt, "Die Beethovenhandschriften des Beethovenhauses in Bonn," *Beethoven-Jahrbuch* 7 (1969/70): 237–39; Ludwig van Beethoven: *Thematisches Verzeichnis von Gustav Nottebohm*, 62; and Liesbeth Weinhold, "Die Erst- und Frühdrucke von Beethovens Werken in den Musiksammlungen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und West-Berlins," in *Beiträge zur Beethoven-Bibliographie: Studien und Materialien zum Werkverzeichnis von Kinsky-Halm*, ed. Kurt Dorfmueller (Munich: Henle, 1978), 218.

35. There has been some debate as to whether the third movement of the *Pastoral* should be called a "scherzo," which term was never applied to the movement by Beethoven himself; see Alain Frogley, "Beethoven's Struggle for Simplicity in the Sketches for the Third Movement of the Pastoral Symphony," *Beethoven Forum* 4 (1995): 99–134, at 100n and 105–6n. The following discussion retains the term, primarily because—as will be argued below—the movement's programmatic effect depends on its being heard as a scherzo, albeit an unusual one.

they do not, in general, simultaneously retain so many hallmarks of symphonic tradition. The *Pastoral* mixes traditions freely, and the resulting contrasts and juxtapositions allow it to limn the relationships between time, morality, and—in the end—humanity in the pastoral idyll.

### Genre and subject

More than form links the *Pastoral* to other eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century programmatic symphonies. On the first page of his main sketchbook for the work, Beethoven wrote “characteristic symphony” (“Sinfonia caratteristica”),<sup>36</sup> a label whose qualifier (“characteristic”) he used to refer to other instrumental pieces with programmatic titles or associations, including his “Les Adieux” Sonata and the so-called *Leonore* Overture No. 1.<sup>37</sup> This term, as well as “musical painting” (“musikalische Malerei”), with which the critic Friedrich Mosengeil referred to the *Pastoral* in an 1810 review,<sup>38</sup> connects the symphony to programmatic music by other contemporary composers. Programmatic works of the six decades preceding the *Pastoral* were never labeled with an entirely consistent terminology, presumably because they were so few in number: among symphonies, only about 225 of the over 16,000 composed during this period were programmatic,<sup>39</sup> and musicians would have had little opportunity to

36. In the *Pastoral* Symphony sketchbook, fol. 2r. See Beethoven, *Ein Skizzenbuch zur Pastoralensymphonie* 2:5, and the first facsimile page at the end of the volume.

37. Beethoven referred to “Les Adieux” as “die große charakteristische Sonate” in a letter to Breitkopf and Härtel of 23 September 1810 (Sieghard Brandenburg, ed., *Ludwig van Beethoven: Briefwechsel Gesamtausgabe*, 8 vols. [Munich: Henle, 1996– ], 2:154). He wrote “Charakteristische Overture” in a first violin part for *Leonore* No. 1 (Gustav Nottebohm, *Beethoveniana* [Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1872], 60–61). See also Constantin Floros, *Beethovens Eroica und Prometheus-Musik* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1978), 116–19; and Jacob de Ruiter, *Der Charakterbegriff in der Musik: Studien zur deutschen Ästhetik der Instrumentalmusik 1740–1850*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 29 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1989), the latter of which offers a comprehensive account of the terms “character” and “characteristic” as they were used in connection with instrumental music in this period.

38. Friedrich Mosengeil, review in *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* 10 (1810); reprinted in Kunze, *Beethoven*, 125. While *Malerei* often had pejorative implications in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century music criticism, Mosengeil’s review and the other sources cited below use it simply as an indicator of genre.

39. The most comprehensive listing of symphonies from this period, Jan LaRue’s *Catalogue of Eighteenth-Century Symphonies*, vol. 1, *Thematic Identifier* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), includes 16,558 incipits. Will, “Programmatic Symphonies,” 21–37, summarizes the source research that resulted in the figure of 225 programmatic symphonies, which should be taken as approximate because additional works undoubtedly remain to be discovered in lesser-known collections. This total counts all orchestral works from the period 1750–1815 associated with descriptive texts, including works with brief titles (e.g., *La Chasse*) as well as those with more complex programs, works in which programmatic titles accompany one or more movements but not the entire work, and works that do not survive

settle on a universally accepted term for them. The great majority of musical sources for programmatic works do not even bear labels, such as "characteristic," that would designate them as belonging to a programmatic genre.<sup>40</sup> Of those that do,<sup>41</sup> however, and in contemporary critical writings as well,<sup>42</sup> versions and combinations of "characteristic" and "mu-

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but are known to have been written. It also includes (as does LaRue's catalogue) all works that the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries would have recognized as "symphonies," encompassing orchestral works of all shapes and sizes rather than just the three- and four-movement works that match modern conceptions of the symphony. On this point see Neal Zaslaw, "Mozart, Haydn, and the *Sinfonia da chiesa*," *Journal of Musicology* 1 (1982): 95–124, at 106–7.

40. Only two programmatic symphonies have such labels, Otto Karl Endmann von Kospoth's *Composizioni . . . sopra il Pater noster consistenti in sette sonate caratteristiche con un introduzione* (1794) and Pavel Vranický's *Grande Sinfonie caractéristique pour la paix avec la République françoise* (1797). Similarly, only about 15 percent (25/158) of the programmatic battle pieces from this period have generic titles; see Karin Schulin, *Musikalische Schlachtengemälde in der Zeit von 1756 bis 1815* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1986). Most programmatic works are titled only by subject combined with the terms *symphony* or *sonata*, just as Beethoven's work, once public, was entitled simply "Sinfonia pastorella" (on the title page of the first violin part used at the symphony's premiere; see Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana*, 378), "Pastoral-Sinfonie" (also in the first violin part used at the premiere as well as on the verso of the title page of the first edition; see *Ludwig van Beethoven: Thematisches Verzeichnis von Gustav Nottebohm*, 62), or "Sinfonie Pastorale" (on the recto of the title page of the first edition). I thank Dr. Sieghard Brandenburg, of the Beethovenhaus in Bonn, for confirming the disposition of the titles in these and other sources for the symphony.

41. In addition to the symphonies by Kospoth and Vranický listed in the previous note, sixteen contemporary battle works use some version or combination of "characteristic" and "musical painting" as their generic identifier; see Schulin, *Musikalische Schlachtengemälde*, 259–334, nos. 6, 19, 25, 28, 30, 35, 36, 52, 79, 80, 92, 95, 97, 101, 102, and 105. In addition, both musical and theoretical sources use "character piece" for keyboard works with titles indicating an emotion or emotions expressed by the music; see Ruiter, *Der Charakterbegriff*, 48–58.

42. An anonymous correspondent from Paris refers to "pictorial symphonies" ("malenden Simphonien") in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2 (1800): col. 748. Haydn's *Musica instrumentale sopra le sette ultime parole del nostro Redentore in croce* (*Instrumental Music on the Seven Last Words of our Redeemer on the Cross*) (1786 or 1787) were called "character pieces or, if one prefers, musical paintings" ("Charakterstücke, oder wenn man lieber will, musikalische Malereien") in the *Musikalische Realzeitung* (5 March 1788), 1. And Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf's symphonies on stories from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were named "characterized symphonies" ("charakterisierte Sinfonien") in Dittersdorf, *Lebensbeschreibung, seinem Sohne in die Feder diktiert* (1801), ed. Norbert Miller (Munich: Kösel, 1967), 221; and "characterized compositions" ("compositions caractérisées") in Johann Timotheus Hermes, *Analyse de XII. Métamorphoses tirées d'Ovide, & mises en musique par Mr. Charles-Ditters de Dittersdorf* (Breslau, 1786), reprinted in Carl Krebs, *Dittersdorffiana* (Berlin, 1900; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1972), 167. Daniel Gottlob Türk also used "characteristic symphonies" ("charakteristische Sinfonien") to describe opera overtures that suggested the nature of the following drama or that represented events preceding the rise of the curtain, in *Klavierschule* (Leipzig and Halle, 1789; reprint, Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1962), 392. See also Ruiter, *Der Charakterbegriff*, 113–16.

sical painting" far outnumber any alternative terms.<sup>43</sup> By choosing them to refer to the *Pastoral*, Beethoven and Mosengeil effectively placed it in the same generic category as other instrumental works with descriptive titles and programs.

The *Pastoral*'s subject matter links it to such works as well. Among programmatic symphonies, over a third—about eighty—deal in one way or another with pastoral subjects.<sup>44</sup> Not all have programs that, like Beethoven's, associate each movement with a different pastoral tableau; many have just the title "pastoral" and no further programmatic indications, while others incorporate single pastoral movements into works that depict, in one case, a day at Versailles, and in others, hunts and battles.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, symphonies and movements alike share with Beethoven's *Pastoral* a common vocabulary of what Leonard Ratner calls "topics,"<sup>46</sup> characteristic musical gestures that refer, in this case, to the pastoral: horn calls, drones, birdcalls, representations of running water, and melodies borrowed from or intended to sound like pastoral songs and carols.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, those

43. The most important alternatives to "characteristic" and "tone-painting" were, first, "program symphonies" ("Symphonies à programmes"), which Friedrich Rochlitz used in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2 (1800): cols. 747–48n (adding a comment that there was as yet no commonly agreed-upon German equivalent), and which Heinrich Christoph Koch adopted for the entry on programmatic symphonies in his *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt, 1802; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), 1384–85. Two additional terms appeared on battle works: "representation" ("Darstellung"; see Schulin, *Musikalische Schlachtengemälde*, 259–334, nos. 37, 42, 98, 99, and 100), and "historical" (nos. 29, 72, and 107). Carl Friedrich Cramer suggested in *Magazin der Musik* 2 (1786): 1309, the label "dramatic sonata" ("dramatische Sonate") for programmatic symphonies, but this term appears nowhere else.

44. Will, "Programmatic Symphonies," 56–64. While a survey remains to be done, pastoral and the oft-related subject of storm appear to have been equally popular in programmatic genres other than the symphony. Two works bear mentioning as examples relatively close in time to the *Pastoral* Symphony: Daniel Steibelt's Piano Concerto, Op. 33, *L'Orange* (1799), which ends with a pastoral rondo whose second episode depicts a storm; and Franz Jacob Freystädler's piano suite *Des Frühlings Morgen, Nachmittag, und Abend* (1791), which contains numerous bird imitations and pastoral horn calls. On the latter work see Heinz Wolfgang Hamann, "Zu Beethovens Pastoral-Sinfonie: Voraussetzungen eines Wiener Kleinmeisters aus dem Jahre 1791," *Musikforschung* 14 (1961): 55–60.

45. The first work is Carl Stamitz's *Le Jour variable* (1772). The hunting symphonies with pastoral episodes are François-Joseph Gossec, *Sinfonia di caccia* (ca. 1773) and Dittersdorf, *Actéon changé en cerf* (ca. 1782); the battles are Georg Druschetzky, *Sinfonia la parraggia* (ca. 1770s; no. C3 in the catalogue by Harrison Powley in *The Symphony, 1720–1840*, Barry S. Brook, editor-in-chief, 60 vols. plus 1 reference vol. [New York: Garland, 1979–86], ser. B, vol. 14), and Franz Christoph Neubauer, *La Bataille* (1789). The appendix to Will, "Programmatic Symphonies," gives the full programmatic texts (including alternate versions) for all of the works discussed in this article, along with incipits, dates, sources, movement titles, scorings, and references to thematic catalogues.

46. Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980), esp. 9–29.

47. On the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century vocabulary of pastoral topics see Wye Jamison Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: "Le nozze di Figaro" and "Don*

symphonies that include pastoral episodes in the context of larger narratives very often link them to storms. Commentaries on the *Pastoral* most frequently mention Justin Heinrich Knecht's *Le Portrait musical de la nature* (1785), for his program, like Beethoven's, calls for a storm to disrupt an idyllic calm that is thereafter restored.<sup>48</sup> Other works, however, have the same elements: Carl Stamitz's *Le Jour variable* (1772) begins with a pastoral idyll followed by a storm, and Louis Massonneau's *La Tempête et le calme* (1794), with a storm followed by an idyll. Storms also appear elsewhere as episodes in nonpastoral narratives and as finales in symphonies whose other movements lack programmatic indications (see Table 1).

### Reconsidering Beethoven's storm

With respect to form, the *Pastoral* most closely resembles other programmatic symphonies in its storm, which, by the same token, has less in common with contemporary nonprogrammatic instrumental music than any other part of the work.<sup>49</sup> Most obviously, it lacks any pattern of key relationships or large-scale repetitions that would liken it to a sonata form, a rondo, or another commonly encountered movement structure. A network of relationships connects the three *fortissimo* outbursts that serve as Beethoven's main points of articulation (mm. 21–40, 78–94, and 106–18): the first and third of these begin with similarly massive orchestral chords underscored by rumbling, superimposed quadruplet and quintuplet sixteenths (compare mm. 21–32 with 106–10, and see Ex. 1a); the first

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*Giovanni*" (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 43–45 and 49–55; Sandberger, "Pastoralsinfonie"; Hermann Jung, *Die Pastorale: Studien zur Geschichte eines musikalischen Topos* (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1980); and Will, "Programmatic Symphonies," 184–92.

48. François-Joseph Fétis noted the similarity between Knecht's and Beethoven's programs in "Deux symphonies pastorales," *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (28 October 1866): 337–38, and the work has since been mentioned in virtually every commentary on the *Pastoral*. Knecht's program may be read in the original French in Fétis's article as well as in Grove, *Beethoven and His Nine Symphonies*, 192; Sandberger, "Pastoralsinfonie," 191–92; Will, "Programmatic Symphonies," 506–7; and Heinz Werner Höhnen's modern edition of the work, in *The Symphony, 1720–1840*, ser. C, vol. 13. Höhnen (xix) aligns Beethoven's movement titles with an English translation of Knecht's by Grove from *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 2:66. Additional translations are in Will, "Programmatic Symphonies," 284; and Jones, *Beethoven: "Pastoral Symphony,"* 18–19.

49. A lack of attention to the storm's structure throughout much of its twentieth-century reception history may have contributed to critics' unwillingness to recognize its unconventionality. Tovey, for example, analyzes the first three movements of the *Pastoral* in considerable detail but passes over the storm with only a few remarks on its tone-paintings (*Essays in Musical Analysis* 1:46–55). In-depth discussions of its structure have appeared only recently, in Bockholdt, *VI. Symphonie*, 50–58; Jones, *Beethoven: "Pastoral Symphony,"* 73–76; and Carl Schachter, "The Triad as Place and Action," *Music Theory Spectrum* 17 (1995): 149–69, at 158–69.

Table 1 Symphonies with Storms

Croubelis, Simoni dall	Symphony in C, No. 7 (ca. 1780) <sup>a</sup>
Haydn, Joseph	Symphony in G, No. 8, <i>Le Soir</i> (1761) <sup>a</sup>
Holzbauer, Ignaz	Symphony in E $\flat$ , No. E $\flat$ 3 <sup>b</sup> (before 1769) <sup>a</sup>
Klöffler, Johann Friedrich	<i>Bataille à deux orchestres</i> (1777; his <i>Simphonia Porage o tempête</i> , No. 15, and <i>Simphonia tempête</i> , No. 16, <sup>c</sup> both prob. 1770s, each consist of three movements that are also used in the <i>Bataille</i> , including the same storm)
Knecht, Justin Heinrich	<i>Le Portrait musical de la nature</i> (1785)
Massonneau, Louis	<i>La Tempête et le calme</i> (1794)
Pugnani, Gaetano	<i>Werther</i> (before 1796)
Raimondi, Ignazio	<i>Les Aventures de Télémaque dans l'isle de Calypso</i> (1777)
Richter, Franz Xaver	<i>La tempesta del mare</i> (ca. 1744–52) <sup>a</sup>
Rosetti, Francesco Antonio	<i>Calypso et Télémaque</i> (?1791; lost) <sup>d</sup>
Ruge, Filippo	Symphony in G, No. 5 (1756) <sup>a</sup>
	<i>La nova tempesta</i> (1757) <sup>a</sup>
Stamitz, Carl	<i>Le Jour variable</i> or <i>La Promenade royale</i> (1772)
Vañhal, Jan Křtitel	Symphony in E $\flat$ , No. E $\flat$ 1 (before 1774) <sup>a</sup>
Vranický, Antonín	<i>Aphrodite</i> (1792)

**Note:** Unless otherwise indicated, all numbers identifying works in Tables 1–6 refer to the catalogues in *The Symphony, 1720–1840*, reference volume.

<sup>a</sup>These symphonies have storm finales but no other programmatic indications except in the case of Haydn's Symphony No. 8, which bears the work title *Le Soir*. In Ruge's *La nova tempesta* and Richter's *La tempesta del mare*, the title of the finale was adopted as a work title. *La tempesta del mare* was also attributed to Joseph Camerloher; on Richter's probable authorship see Suzanne Forsberg, "The Symphonies of Placidus von Camerloher (1718–1782) and Joseph Camerloher (1710–1743): An Investigation of Style and Authorship" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1990), 226–33.

<sup>b</sup>The number refers to the thematic catalogue in *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst, Folge 2: Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*, Jahrgang iii/1 (1902).

<sup>c</sup>The numbers refer to the catalogue in Ursula Götzte, *Johann Friedrich Klöffler* (diss., University of Münster, 1965).

<sup>d</sup>A detailed description of this work appeared in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2 (1800), cols. 748–49.

and second conclude with the same unison arpeggio figure in the strings (mm. 35–40 and 89–94, Ex. 1b); and the second and third incorporate a tremolo arpeggio figure (mm. 78–88 and 119–29, Ex. 1c). The passages preceding the *fortissimos* also share similarities: the first two emphasize the same suspenseful staccato motive (mm. 1–18 and 56–77; Ex. 1d), and the third refers back to a preliminary, subverted crescendo that preceded the second *fortissimo* (mm. 51–55 and 103–6).<sup>50</sup> None of these repetitions, however, sounds anything like a recapitulation or a reprise, chiefly because none coincides with any kind of tonal return. The harmony, rather than establishing a series of keys, modulates continuously after departing the

50. In both measures 51–55 and measures 103–6, the melodic gestures accent the second beat, the harmonic rhythm begins at one change per measure and then doubles at the peak of the crescendo, the harmonies shift from diminished to dominant sevenths through half-step descents in the bass, and the basses mark the chord changes with isolated punctuations.

Example 1 *Pastoral Symphony*, storm motives

(a) 21

Vc. *ff*

Cb. *ff*

(b) 35

Vn. I *sf*

(c) 78

Vn. I *ff sf*

(d) 3

Vn. II *pp*

(e) 33

Vn. I *sf sf*

initial F-minor tonic until it reaches the dominant plateau on which the passage ends (mm. 136–53).

The storm also poses a structural ambiguity in that it has neither the independence of a movement nor the dependence of a mere introduction. Clearly it cannot stand on its own. It needs the surrounding movements both to make sense of its opening  $D\flat$ , which follows directly on the last dominant of the scherzo (Ex. 2), and to resolve its own concluding dominant, which leads, through  $V/V$ , straight into the finale (Ex. 3). But if it could not, therefore, be extracted and performed separately — as could the scherzo and finale with only minor adjustments — the passage asserts a surprising degree of independence as well. First of all, its link to the scherzo notwithstanding, it establishes a tonal structure separate from that of the preceding movement. By the time the storm breaks in, the scherzo has caded so emphatically (Ex. 2, scherzo, mm. 255–57) that the deceptive  $D\flat$  seems to prevent only the scherzo's final dominant seventh from resolving; the overall tonal process of the movement already sounds finished. Furthermore, a few measures later the storm returns to a tonic chord in the same register and scoring as the dominant left hanging at the end of

Example 2 *Pastoral* Symphony, the end of the scherzo and the beginning of the storm

**Presto**  
235

The musical score consists of ten staves, each representing a different instrument or section of the orchestra. The instruments are: Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Bsn.), Horn (Hn.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.).

The score is marked **Presto** and begins at measure 235. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major). The dynamic markings are *ff* (fortissimo) and *sf* (sforzando). The first ending, marked *a 2*, occurs in measures 238-240.

The woodwinds (Fl., Ob., Cl., Bsn.) and Horns (Hn.) play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, starting with a *ff* dynamic in measure 235 and switching to *sf* in measure 238. The strings (Vn. I, Vn. II, Vla., Vc., Cb.) play a similar rhythmic pattern, also starting with *ff* and switching to *sf* in measure 238.







Example 2 continued

Gewitter, Sturm.

**Allegro**

Vn. I

Vn. II

Vc. & Cb.

*pp*

Vn. I

Vn. II

*pp*

Fl.

Ob.

Bsn.

*p*

Vn. I

Vn. II

Vla.

Vc. & Cb.

*pp*

*cresc.*

*p*

Vn. I

Vn. II

Vc. & Cb.

*p*

*p*



Example 2 continued

21

Fl. *ff*

Ob. *ff*

Cl. *ff*

Bsn. *ff*

Hn. *ff*

Trpt. *ff*  
a 2

Timp. *ff*  
*tr*

Vn. I *ff*

Vn. II *ff*

Vla. *ff*

Vc. *ff*

Cb. *ff*

Detailed description: This musical score page, labeled 'Example 2 continued', covers measures 21 and 22 of a section from Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony. The score is arranged in a standard orchestral format. The woodwind section (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, Horn, and Trumpet) and the brass section (Trumpet) are marked with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic. The Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, and Horn parts feature long, sustained notes with slurs. The Trumpet part includes a trill (*tr*) in measure 21. The percussion section (Timpani) is also marked *ff*. The string section (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass) is marked *ff*. The Violin I part has a *ff* dynamic. The Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass parts feature a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with slurs and accents. The Violoncello and Contrabass parts include a '5' marking, likely indicating a fingering or a specific articulation. The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor), and the time signature is 3/4.

Example 2 continued

23

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Trpt.

Timp. (tr)

Vn. I

Vn. II

Vla.

Vc. *s*

Cb. *s*

the scherzo (Ex. 2; compare the scherzo, m. 264, and storm, m. 21). This arrival concludes the last unfinished business of the scherzo, and all of the subsequent music of the storm is heard in relation to the newly established tonic of F minor.<sup>51</sup>

The storm cannot separate itself as decisively from the finale, for only that movement's return to F major can resolve the passage's final dominant. Nevertheless, its concluding measures still achieve some independence from what follows by implying resolutions other than tonal ones. The diminuendo and long *pianissimo* at the end suggest dramatic closure: as the final *fortissimo* (mm. 106–11) fades through pulsating *sforzati* (mm. 112–18) and diminishing tremolo (mm. 119–35), the storm seems to subside, and by the point at which only faint rumblings in the double basses remain (mm. 144–53; see Ex. 3), it seems to have dissipated entirely. As a programmatic episode, in other words, it seems to end *before* the finale begins.

Motivic and harmonic events create a similar impression. During the concluding *pianissimo*, the orchestra's transformation of a series of motives lends them a calmness or stability contrasting sharply with the agitation of their earlier appearances (compare Exx. 1 and 3). Over a stable dominant harmony, the violins repeat an upward-leaping arpeggio (Ex. 1e; Ex. 3, m. 140) heard earlier in the context of modulations (e.g., at mm. 33–34 and 51–55); the basses, similarly, reduce the low-register rumblings from the first *fortissimo* and elsewhere to a simple tremolo (Ex. 1a; Ex. 3, mm. 130ff.); and, most radically of all, the oboes turn the staccato motive from the first two *fortissimos* into a songlike legato (Ex. 1d; Ex. 3, mm. 146–53).<sup>52</sup>

The harmony, meanwhile, settles on a dominant that functions unexpectedly like a resolution. After the storm's initial outburst on F minor, the music proceeds to the dominant through tonicizations of both the subdominant and the dominant (Ex. 4a), and many of the remaining tonal events participate in unsuccessful attempts to repeat this motion.<sup>53</sup> In the two crescendos preceding the second *fortissimo* (Exx. 4b and 4c), and again

51. Schachter aptly calls this moment "the true tonal beginning" of the storm ("The Triad as Place and Action," 159; see also m. 21 in his exx. 9a and 9b). By concluding whatever remains of the scherzo's tonality, the F-minor chord in measure 21 also clearly distinguishes the storm from another passage to which it has been compared, the transition between the scherzo and the finale in Beethoven's Fifth Symphony (in Bernstein, *The Unanswered Question*, 186). The transition essentially prolongs the final dominant of the preceding scherzo until the finale arrives. Because the storm resolves the corresponding dominant, its own concluding dominant is heard not as a prolongation of the scherzo's final chord but as the dominant of the new, F-minor tonic.

52. Grove, in *Beethoven and His Nine Symphonies*, 219, was apparently the first of numerous commentators to note the derivation of measures 146–53 from Example 1d.

53. Cf. Schachter, who characterizes the bulk of the storm as an "extended dominant prolongation" because of its repeated returns to dominant-related chords, including V/V (m. 78) and vii<sup>7</sup>/i (mm. 95–103) as well as major and minor chords on the dominant itself (mm. 35, 39, 55; "The Triad as Place and Action," 161–65).

Example 3 Pastoral Symphony, the end of the storm and the beginning of the finale

130

Ob. *p* *più dim.*

Cl. *p* *più dim.*

Vn. I *p* *più dim.*

Vn. II *p* *più dim.*

Vla. *p* *più dim.*

Vc. *p* *più dim.*

Cb. *p* *più dim.*

*p* reminiscence of Ex. 1a *più dim.*

134

Ob. *pp* *f*

Cl. *pp* *f*

Timp. *f*

Vn. I *pp* *f*

Vn. II *pp* *f*

Vla. *pp* *f*

Vc. *pp* *f*

Cb. *pp* *f*

Example 3 continued

138

Timp. *f* Ex. le

Vn. I *p* *f* *p*

Vn. II *p* *f* *p*

Vla. *p* *f* *p*

Vc. *p* *f* *p*

Cb. *p* *f* *p dim.*

141

Timp. *dim.* *dim.*

Vn. I *dim.*

Vn. II *dim.*

Vla. *dim.*

Vc. *dim.*

Cb. *dim.*

144

Bsn. *pp*

Vn. I *pp*

Vn. II *pp*

Vla. *pp*

Vc. *pp*

Cb. *pp*

Example 3 continued

146  
transformation of Ex. 1d:

Ob. *dolce*

Bsn. *dolce*

Vn. I *dolce*

Vn. II *dolce*

Vla. *dolce*

Vc. *pp*

Cb. *pp*

150

Ob.

Cl. *pp*

Bsn.

Vn. I

Vn. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

Example 3 continued

Musical score for measures 153-155. The score includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Bassoon (Bsn.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major/D minor). The time signature is 3/4. Measure 153 starts with a first ending bracket. The flute part has a first ending marked '1.' and 'dolce'. The cello and double bass parts have a triplet of eighth notes in measure 154. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Hirtengesang. Frohe und dankbare Gefühle  
nach dem Sturm.

**Allegretto**

Musical score for measures 156-159. The score includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Bsn.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), and Viola (Vla.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major/D minor). The time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked 'Allegretto'. The flute part has a first ending marked '1.' and '7 7'. The clarinet part has a first ending marked 'dolce'. The viola part has a first ending marked 'pp'. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Example 3 continued

5

Cl. *p*

Bsn.

Hn. *p* *cresc.* *sf* *p*

Vn. I *pp*

Vn. II *sf* *p*

Vla. *cresc.* *sf* *p*

Vc. *pp* *cresc.* *sf* *p*

Detailed description: This musical score is for a symphonic movement, continuing from a previous page. It features seven staves: Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Bsn.), Horn (Hn.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Vla.), and Violoncello (Vc.). The music is in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat. The Clarinet part begins with a five-measure rest, followed by a melodic line starting in the fourth measure. The Bassoon part is mostly silent, with a few notes in the final measure. The Horn part plays a melodic line starting in the second measure, marked *p*, with a *cresc.* instruction and a *sf* accent in the fourth measure, ending with a *p* dynamic. The Violin I part is silent until the final measure, where it plays a *pp* dynamic. The Violin II part is silent until the final measure, where it plays a *p* dynamic. The Viola part plays a melodic line starting in the second measure, marked *cresc.*, with a *sf* accent in the fourth measure, ending with a *p* dynamic. The Violoncello part plays a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes, marked *pp*, with a *cresc.* instruction and a *sf* accent in the fourth measure, ending with a *p* dynamic.

**Example 4** *Pastoral* Symphony, storm: approaches to V

(a) mm. 21–35      (b) mm. 50–55      (c) mm. 55–80      (d) mm. 106–36

during the final *fortissimo* and following diminuendo (Ex. 4d), applied dominants lead first to the subdominant and then almost to the dominant, but in each case the penultimate V/V gives way to a minor V chord.<sup>54</sup> These deferrals become progressively more frustrating: in the second instance (Ex. 4c), a prolongation of V/V beyond what the harmonic rhythm predicts (mm. 72–79) serves to heighten expectations of the dominant just before they are again thwarted;<sup>55</sup> and in the final instance (Ex. 4d), the accompanying diminuendo signals the end of the storm and presumably of its harmonic process as well—but V/V again moves to C minor (m. 124) and must be reestablished before it can at last give way to the dominant (m. 136). This long-sought arrival consequently brings with it a sense of stability and finality that, like the *pianissimo* dynamic and the transformed motives, suggests that the storm achieves some resolution in its own concluding measures, independently of the finale. Only a cadence to the tonic would provide full closure, but the passage ends definitively enough that whether it is dependent or independent remains an open question.

### Form and subject in programmatic symphonies

In the years preceding and surrounding the *Pastoral*, passages like its storm and, particularly, “run-on” connections like those between its concluding movements were not found exclusively in programmatic symphonies. A dozen of Haydn’s post-1780 string quartets and piano trios, along with ten of Beethoven’s early- and middle-period piano sonatas and string quartets, have run-on or, what is in many ways a related phenomenon, “compound” movements that incorporate changes in tempo other than the familiar one from slow introduction to fast movement.<sup>56</sup> Both composers occasionally

54. The progressions in Examples 4b–d also share a series of preliminary steps; in all three cases, an initial C in the bass drops by tritone to F#, which in turn drops by half-step to the F that serves as the bass of V/iv. This highly characteristic motion—which, as Schachter notes, the violins forecast in their C–Gb–F motive at the very beginning (mm. 5–6; “The Triad as Place and Action,” 165–68)—provides a further link between the three passages. Schachter reads the progressions in my Examples 4c and 4d as leading toward G and F, respectively (his ex. 9, mm. 55–78 and 106–11); I hear them rather in the context of an overall effort to regain the dominant first reached in measure 35.

55. In measures 72–77, each stage of the progression (V/iv–iv–V/V) occupies two measures, leading one to expect the dominant at measure 78. Instead, V/V is tied over into the *fortissimo* (m. 78) and its resolution to the minor dominant (m. 79) overshadowed by the rising bass motion to V/VI (mm. 78–80). See also Bockholdt, *VI. Symphonie*, 55; and Schachter, “The Triad as Place and Action,” 165.

56. I use “run-on” and “compound” in the sense defined by James Webster in *Haydn’s “Farewell” Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 186–87. The Haydn works with such movements are listed in *ibid.*, 188 and 192. The Beethoven examples include the sonatas Opp. 13 (first movement), 27 nos. 1 and 2, 31 no. 2 (first movement), 53, 57, and 81a; and the quartets Opp. 18 no. 2 (second movement), 18 no. 6 (fourth movement), 59 nos. 1 and 3, 74, and 95.

use run-on and compound movements in symphonies as well;<sup>57</sup> most significantly, during the same period in which he composed the *Pastoral*, Beethoven linked the scherzo and finale of the Fifth Symphony, demonstrating that his interest in creating continuity extended, even in symphonies, beyond explicitly programmatic contexts. In addition, numerous composers connected movements and sections in dramatic music, often in situations that involved storms: there are well-known examples in Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1781), Mozart's *Idomeneo* (1781), Haydn's *Seasons* (1801),<sup>58</sup> and Beethoven's own ballet *Prometheus* (1800–1801). The composer may even have had this last work in mind while composing the *Pastoral* inasmuch as its storm sequence looks like a draft for the symphony's concluding movements: the beginning of the storm breaks off the final cadence of the ballet's overture, the end leads through a dominant directly into the first dance, and the form lacks a conventional key structure and pattern of repetition.<sup>59</sup>

Still, however much the *Pastoral* resembles such works, programmatic symphonies offer an even more apposite point of comparison. Not only do they use run-ons, compound movements, and unconventional forms for an analogous purpose—to convey a subject without the assistance of singing or staging—they do so with such consistency that the devices become conventions in their own right. This is especially true in those works that,

57. After 1780, such movements all but cease to appear in Haydn's and also Mozart's symphonies. Of the ten Haydn examples, only Symphony No. 79 in F (ca. 1782) is later; see Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony*, 191–94. Of the works that Neal Zaslaw includes in his *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), run-ons occur only before 1780 and then primarily in three-movement works whose structures are based on the Italian opera sinfonia: K. 74 in G (probably 1770), K. 126 + 161/63 = 141a in D (1772–74; = overture to *Il sogno di Scipione* plus new finale), K. 181/162b in D (1773), K. 184 = 166a = 161a in E $\flat$  (1773), K. 208 + 102 = 213c in C (1775–76; = overture and No. 1 from *Il rè pastore* plus new finale), and K. 318 in G (1779). The only examples not directly related to opera sinfonias are K. 213a in D (1775; = movements from the serenade K. 204), and the possibly authentic K. 95 in D (date unknown).

58. In *Iphigénie en Tauride*, see the overture; in *Idomeneo*, the act 1 chorus "Pietà! Numi, pietà!"; and in the *Seasons*, the chorus No. 17, "Ach, das Ungewitter naht!" Run-ons also connect storms and similar scenes in Cherubini's operas, which enjoyed great popularity in Vienna at the beginning of the nineteenth century and whose influence on Beethoven's middle-period music has been well documented (for a summary see Michael Broyles, *Beethoven: The Emergence and Evolution of Beethoven's Heroic Style* [New York: Excelsior, 1987], 119–26). See especially act 2, scene 6 of *Eliza* (1794) and the conclusion of *Lodoiska* (1791), the second of which has not a storm but an instrumental battle movement that leads directly into a multisectioned ensemble finale.

59. Two motivic ideas from the *Prometheus* storm also reappear in the *Pastoral*: descending tremolo arpeggios in the strings (compare mm. 28–46 with Ex. 1c) and a sixteenth-note "lightning" arpeggio (compare mm. 18–20 with Ex. 1e; see also Bockholdt, *VI. Symphonie*, 53).

rather than just convey a general affect<sup>60</sup> or depict a single event such as a storm, seek instead to represent a whole series of events or scenes such as those that make up Beethoven's program. Numbering about 20 percent of all programmatic symphonies written during this period (44 out of 225), and dating largely from 1780 onward, these works fall into two distinct groups. Eighteen belong to the special class of battle symphonies (see Table 2),<sup>61</sup> which have less in common with other programmatic symphonies than with the 150-odd contemporary battle pieces for keyboard and chamber ensemble. Programmatic symphonies on subjects other than battle tend to preserve some semblance of a three- or four-movement symphonic formal framework, even if they depart from it much more radically than does the *Pastoral*. Musical battles, by contrast, typically include a more or less ad hoc mixture of marches, military trumpet and drum signals, sections of varying length depicting the events in the battle, and complete movements setting scenes of lamentation or celebration.<sup>62</sup> This is not to say that they bear no relation to the *Pastoral*; their composers frequently use brief sections similar to Beethoven's storm in order to depict one or another event, and they also very often connect sections or movements with run-ons—as, for instance, in both the “Schlacht-Sturmmarsch” sequence in part 1 and the “Sieges-Symphonie” in part 2 of Beethoven's own *Wellingtons Sieg* (1813). However, the remaining twenty-six programmatic symphonies with programs comparable to the *Pastoral* more closely resemble it in that the majority have some basis in a three- or four-movement framework,<sup>63</sup> and all use at least some familiar movement forms drawn from nonprogrammatic instrumental genres (see Table 3).

Their departures from traditional forms also draw a number of direct parallels to the *Pastoral*. Seven of the symphonies have movements or sections that, like Beethoven's storm, avoid conventional key relationships or formal repetitions (Table 4). They all represent a storm, a hunt, or a battle (as an episode in a larger program rather than a subject in itself, as in battle symphonies), which are related subjects in that all three are depicted with the same musical topics found in Beethoven's storm: rapid scales and arpeggios, tremolo, sudden shifts in dynamics, syncopations, and dissonant,

60. As do most symphonies, for instance, that carry only a title like “pastoral” and no further programmatic indications.

61. Table 2 includes only works that represent the events of a battle, not those, usually called “Sinfonia militaris” or the equivalent, that simply emphasize military topics without trying to suggest any kind of plot.

62. See Schulin, *Musikalische Schlachtengemälde*, 89–134.

63. The only exceptions are Pugnani's *Werther* (a concert-length work in twenty-three movements), Kospoth's *Composizioni . . . sopra il Pater noster*, and Kospoth's probable model, Haydn's *Le sette ultime parole* (the last two works both have eight slow movements followed by a fast finale). Haydn's work demonstrates with particular vividness the flexibility of the term *symphony* in this period; its unusual cycle notwithstanding, both Koch (*Musikalisches Lexikon*, 1385) and the Parisian correspondent to the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (vol. 2 [1800], col. 749) classify it as a programmatic “symphony.”

Table 2 Battle Symphonies

Beethoven, Ludwig van	<i>Wellingtons Sieg oder Die Schlacht bei Vittoria</i> (1813)
Bixi, František Xaver	<i>La Bataille de Torgau</i> (ca. 1760)
Deviennes, François	<i>La Bataille de Gemmapp</i> (ca. 1794)
Druschetzky, Georg	<i>Sinfonia la pattaglia</i> , No. C3 (ca. 1770s; revised and expanded into No. C10, ca. 1780s)
	<i>Sinfonia la pattaglia</i> , No. C7 (ca. 1777; revised and expanded into No. C9, ca. 1790s)
	<i>Sinfonia la pattaglia</i> , No. C13 (ca. 1790s)
Hauff, Ferdinand	<i>Grand Bataille</i> (ca. 1810)
Jadin, Louis Emanuel	<i>La Grande Bataille d'Austerlitz</i> (1806)
Klöffler, Johann Friedrich	<i>Bataille à deux orchestres</i> (1777; his two works entitled <i>Sinfonia militaire</i> , Nos. 10 and 11, both prob. 1770s, consist of movements that are also used in the <i>Bataille</i> )
Neubauer, Franz Christoph	<i>La Bataille</i> (1789)
Raimondi, Ignazio	<i>The Battle</i> (?1780)
Reichardt, Johann Friedrich	<i>Overtura di Vittoria 1814 und Schlacht Symphonie</i> (1814)
Volder, Pierre Jean de	<i>La Bataille d'Jena</i> (1806)
Winter, Peter von	<i>Schlacht-Sinfonie</i> (1813; incl. chorus) <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Strictly speaking, Winter's symphony does not belong with the other works discussed in this article, all of which are purely instrumental. It is included because of the close similarities between its central section, during which the orchestra alone (without the voices) depicts the battle, and the other works in Table 2.

chromatic harmonies. In form, none of these passages unfolds exactly as Beethoven's does. Antonín and Pavel Vranický both establish a series of key areas, so that their scenes seem more stable than Beethoven's, even though the order of keys is highly unusual.<sup>64</sup> Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, on the other hand, eschews all thematic and motivic repetition as well as any semblance of a key structure to create sections that sound quite radically "unstructured."<sup>65</sup> All but one of the passages are like Beethoven's storm, however, in that they are adjoined to formally independent movements; moreover, all but two lack tonal closure.

Thirteen symphonies also have at least one run-on or compound structure, generally in similar programmatic contexts to those found in the *Pastoral* (Table 5). Stamitz's *Le Jour variable*, Massonneau's *La Tempête et le calme*, and Knecht's *Le Portrait musical de la nature* provide the most obvious parallels; in all three works, storms are connected directly to pastoral movements or sections. The move from one scene to the other involves a tonal shift similar to Beethoven's as well: in Massonneau, a storm in C

64. For the music of Antonín Vranický's storm and Pavel Vranický's battle, as well as more detailed analysis of each passage, see Will, "Programmatic Symphonies," 293–329.

65. Dittersdorf, *Ausgewählte Orchesterwerke*, ed. Joseph Liebeskind (Berlin, 1899–1904; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1971) includes all six surviving Ovid symphonies. This edition should be used in conjunction with Hermes, *Analyse de XII. Métamorphoses tirées d'Ovide*, which gives the Ovidian inscriptions for each movement (Liebeskind provides only some); see Will, "Programmatic Symphonies," 126n.

**Table 3** Symphonies with Programs Comparable to the *Pastoral* Symphony (Not Including Battle Symphonies)

Brunetti, Gaetano	<i>Il maniatico</i> (1780)
Dittersdorf, Carl Ditters von	<i>Les Quatres Âges du monde</i> (ca. 1782)
	<i>La Chute de Phaéton</i> (ca. 1782)
	<i>Actéon changé en cerf</i> (ca. 1782)
	<i>Andromède sauvée par Persée</i> (ca. 1782)
	<i>Phinée avec ses amis changés en rochers</i> (ca. 1782)
	<i>Les Paysans changés en grenouilles</i> (ca. 1782)
	<i>Jason qui enlève la Toison d'or</i> (ca. 1782; lost) <sup>a</sup>
	<i>Le Siège de Mégare</i> (ca. 1782; lost)
	<i>Hercule changé en dieu</i> (ca. 1782; lost)
	<i>Orphée et Euridice</i> (ca. 1782; lost)
	<i>Midas élu pour juge entre Pan et Apollon</i> (ca. 1782; lost)
	<i>Ajax et Ulysse qui disputent les armes d'Achille</i> (ca. 1782; lost)
	Gossec, François-Joseph
Haydn, Joseph	Symphony in C, No. 60, <i>Il distratto</i> (before 1774)
	<i>Musica instrumentale sopra le sette ultime parole del nostro Redentore in croce</i> (1786 or 1787)
Knecht, Justin Heinrich	<i>Le Portrait musical de la nature</i> (1785)
Kospoth, Otto Karl Endmann von	<i>Auf den Tod des Herzogs von Braunschweig</i> (1785; lost) <sup>b</sup>
	<i>Composizioni . . . sopra il Pater noster consistenti in sette sonate caratteristiche con un introduzione</i> (1794)
Massonneau, Louis	<i>La Tempête et le calme</i> (1794)
Pugnani, Gaetano	<i>Werther</i> (before 1796)
Raimondi, Ignazio	<i>Les Aventures de Télémaque dans l'isle de Calypso</i> (1777)
Rosetti, Francesco Antonio	<i>Calypso et Télémaque</i> (?1791; lost)
Stamitz, Carl	<i>Le Jour variable</i> or <i>La Promenade royale</i> (1772)
Vranický, Antonín	<i>Aphrodite</i> (1792)
Vranický, Pavel	<i>Grande Sinfonie caratteristica pour la paix avec la République françoise</i> (1797)

<sup>a</sup>Johann Timotheus Hermes's *Analyse de XII. Métamorphoses tirées d'Ovide* gives the programs for all six of the Dittersdorf symphonies whose musical sources have been lost.

<sup>b</sup>Knecht described this work in the *Musicalische Realzeitung* (24 February 1790), cols. 59–60.

minor leads to a pastoral siciliano in C major, much as Beethoven's F-minor storm leads to the F-major finale, while in Stamitz and Knecht, pastoral music in the tonic gives way to storms in a dominant that is contextualized as a large-scale dissonance. Antonín Vranický's *Aphrodite* is even more like the *Pastoral* (Ex. 5): its storm erupts between representations of "calm seas" that precede and a "celebration" that follows Aphrodite's emergence from the waves, very much as Beethoven's storm breaks in between opening movements devoted to a pastoral idyll and a finale depicting a scene of thanksgiving. Vranický also sets his storm in the tonic minor and uses a form like that of Beethoven's storm, creating a contrast with the surrounding, conventionally structured and major-key sections that parallels the contrast between Beethoven's storm and the surrounding scherzo and fi-

**Table 4** Movement and Section Forms Resembling the *Pastoral* Symphony Storm

Composer	Symphony	Movement	Program
Beethoven	<i>Pastoral</i> Symphony (1808)	iv	storm
Dittersdorf	<i>Les Quatres Âges du monde</i> (ca. 1782)	iv*	battle
	<i>La Chute de Phaëton</i> (ca. 1782)	iv*	chariot ride
	<i>Actéon changé en cerf</i> (ca. 1782)	iv	hunt
	<i>Andromède sauvée par Persée</i> (ca. 1782)	iv*	battle
	<i>Phinée avec ses amis changés en rochers</i> (ca. 1782)	ii	battle
			iv*
A. Vranický	<i>Aphrodite</i> (1792)	i*	storm
P. Vranický	<i>Grande Sinfonie caractéristique . . .</i> (1797)	iii*	battle

**Note:** Examples marked with an asterisk are sections of compound movements.

nale. Pavel Vranický's *Grande Sinfonie caractéristique*, Haydn's *Le sette ultime parole*, and several of Dittersdorf's symphonies on stories from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* all likewise contain run-on passages that link moments of relative calm to scenes of disruption such as battles or, at the end of Haydn's work, the earthquake said to have followed Christ's death.<sup>66</sup>

### Transforming the programmatic

Early audiences of the *Pastoral*, both in Vienna and elsewhere, would certainly have heard or known at least some of these works, and it seems likely that Beethoven would have as well. On 2 April 1798, he played his Quintet Op. 16 on a Viennese Tonkünstler Societät concert at which Haydn directed his 1796 arrangement of *Le sette ultime parole* for orchestra and chorus;<sup>67</sup> the younger composer probably also knew the instrumental version of this work, which had achieved some reknown.<sup>68</sup> Orchestral parts for, and, in some cases, keyboard or chamber ensemble arrangements of, the

66. Haydn's agitated earthquake movement is linked by an *attacca* to a serene slow movement that expresses Christ's acceptance of death ("Into your hands, Lord, I commend my spirit" ["In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum"]). Kospoth similarly links two movements setting the concluding lines of the *Pater noster*, creating a progression from a somber Largo in D minor ("Deliver us from evil" ["Sed libera nos a malo"]) to a joyous Allegro in D major ("Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever" ["Quia tuum est regnum et potentia et gloria in saecula saeculorum"]) that recalls the examples discussed above, even though it does not involve a storm or other disruption.

67. Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven* 1:204.

68. Music for the orchestral version, and for Haydn's arrangements for string quartet and keyboard, was widely disseminated; see the *Kritischer Bericht* by Hubert Unverricht in *Joseph Haydn: Werke* (Munich: Henle, 1958–), ser. 4, pp. 7–21. The work was also the subject of considerable discussion in contemporary music periodicals; see Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* 2:615–18; and Will, "Programmatic Symphonies," 133–40.

**Table 5** Run-On and Compound Structures

Composer	Symphony	No. of Run-on		Compound movements
		mvts.	mvts.	
Beecke, Franz Ignaz von	<i>Sinfonia di caccia</i> * (ca. 1786)	4	ii–iii	i: ABA'; fast exposition and recapitulation frame slow middle section
Beethoven, Ludwig van Brunetti, Gaetano	<i>Pastorale sinfonie</i> * (1787)	3	i–iii	i: ABA'; slow sections frame fast sonata form
	<i>Pastoral Symphony</i> (1808)	5	iii–v	
	<i>Il maniacico</i> (1780)	4	i–ii	iv: ABA'; fast exposition and coda frame slow middle section
Dittersdorf, Carl Ditters von	<i>Les Quatres Âges du monde</i> (ca. 1782)	4		iv: free-form fast section followed by binary-form dance
	<i>La Chute de Phaéton</i> (ca. 1782)	4		iv: fast followed by slow section; both free forms
	<i>Andromède sauvée par Persée</i> (ca. 1782)	4		iv: free-form fast section followed by minuet-trio
	<i>Phinée avec ses amis changés en rochers</i> (ca. 1782)	4	i–ii	iv: free-form fast section followed by minuet (without trio)
	<i>Les Paysans changés en grenouilles</i> (ca. 1782)	4	ii–iii	iv: prelude-fugue-prelude-coda, all continuous
Haydn, Joseph	<i>Le Matin</i> * (1761)	4		ii: slow sections frame double-concerto mvt. for violin/cello
	<i>Le Midi</i> * (1761)	4		ii: recitative followed by sonata form
	Symphony in F# Minor, No. 45, "Farewell" <sup>a</sup> (1772)	5	iv–v	
	<i>Le sette ultime parole</i> (1786 or 1787)	9	viii–ix	
Knecht, Justin Heinrich	<i>Le Portrait musical de la nature</i> (1785)	3	ii–iii	i: sonata form interrupted by two binary-form dances in different keys, meters, and tempos ii: see Example 7 iii: slow theme and variations with a fast, binary-form chorale inserted within Variation 1
Kospoth, Otto Karl Endmann von	<i>Composizioni . . . sopra il Pater noster</i> (1794)	9	i–ii, viii–ix	

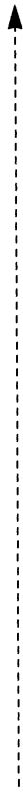
Kozeluch, Leopold	<i>L'Irresolu*</i>	4		i: fast sonata form followed by recitative iv: dancelike sections interspersed with recitative
Massonneau, Louis	<i>La Tempête et le calme</i> (1794)	3	i–ii	
Pichl, Václav	<i>Diana*</i> (prob. before 1770)	3		i: long slow section (not an introduction) followed by fast sonata form
Romberg, Bernhard	<i>Trauer-Symphonie*</i> (1810)	2		i: long slow section (not an introduction) followed by fast sonata form ii: 5 run-on sections, slow-fast-fast-slow-slow, none following any conventional movement form
Stamitz, Carl	<i>Le Jour variable</i> or <i>La Promenade royale</i> (1772)	4	i–ii, iii–iv	
Vranický, Antonín	<i>Aphrodite</i> (1792)	3		i: see Example 5 ii: slow sonata form followed by two binary-form dances iii: quasi-binary slow section followed by fast sonata form
Vranický, Pavel	<i>Grande Sinfonie caractéristique . . .</i> (1797)	4		i: sonata form with binary-form marches inserted into exposition and development iii: two binary-form marches followed by free-form battle iv: slow binary form followed by fast sonata form

**Note:** For the sake of completeness, I have included not only symphonies with programs comparable to that of the *Pastoral* Symphony (i.e., works listed in Table 3), but also a few additional works that have only programmatic titles. These are indicated by an asterisk following the work title.

<sup>a</sup>While the title for this symphony did not originate with Haydn, the programmatic anecdote accompanying it is authentic and the work is obviously relevant here.

**Example 5** Antonín Vranický, *Aphrodite* (1792), first movement

(all sections are continuous)



tempo:	<i>adagio</i>	<i>allegro con fuoco</i>	<i>poco adagio</i>	<i>allegro</i>
form:	binary		ternary	sonata
program:	calm seas	storm	celebration of Aphrodite's appearance	continuing celebration
measure:	1	40	134	170
key:	C major	C minor	C major	C major

symphonies by Dittersdorf, Massonneau, Knecht, and Pavel Vranický all circulated widely; and the Dittersdorf works retained enough of a reputation to warrant mention by E. T. A. Hoffmann in his 1810 review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.<sup>69</sup> Circumstantial evidence also connects Beethoven with Knecht's *Portrait*, which Heinrich Philipp Boßler published in the same year that he issued Beethoven's piano sonatas WoO 47, 1785, and which both he and Johann Traeg listed alongside music by Beethoven in their catalogues.<sup>70</sup> And finally, Beethoven may have encountered even Antonín Vranický's *Aphrodite*, which did not enjoy the wide circulation of the other works. The two Vranickýs were leading figures in Viennese musical life around the turn of the century: Pavel directed the court theater orchestras, and Antonín served as a member and, from 1797, as Kappellmeister of the musical establishment of Beethoven's future patron Prince Joseph Franz Maximilian Lobkowitz.<sup>71</sup> Both men knew Beethoven personally, and Antonín composed *Aphrodite* for Lobkowitz's wedding in 1792, the year of Beethoven's arrival in Vienna.<sup>72</sup> Many of the same programmatic symphonies that most closely resemble the *Pastoral*, therefore, probably helped to determine what Beethoven and his audiences generally expected of such works, including their forms. This may explain why the *Pastoral*'s first reviewers never felt obliged to justify the storm or the run-ons, as have twentieth-century commentators, or even to characterize them as unconventional.<sup>73</sup> They may well have already encountered similar passages in other programmatic works.

What also becomes clear from a comparison of the *Pastoral* with contemporary programmatic symphonies, however, is the degree to which its forms in fact diverge from theirs. When setting out to represent a series of scenes or events, composers like Dittersdorf and the Vranickýs tended to leave behind not only the movement forms most typically found in Classical-period symphonies but also, even more so, established norms regarding the number, tempo, and order of movements (Table 6).<sup>74</sup>

69. Hoffmann criticizes Dittersdorf for representing concrete events rather than the "realm of the infinite" that he heard in Beethoven's music; nevertheless, he clearly knew or knew of the Ovid symphonies and imagined that his readers would as well. See the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 12 (1810), col. 630; reprinted in Kunze, *Beethoven*, 100; translated by Martyn Clarke in E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Musical Writings: "Kreisleriana," "The Poet and the Composer," Music Criticism*, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 236–37.

70. Höhnen, in *The Symphony, 1720–1840*, ser. C, vol. 13, p. xviii.

71. Milan Poštolka, "Anton Wranitzky" and "Paul Wranitzky," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 20:538–40.

72. Eva Hennigová-Dubová, in *The Symphony, 1720–1840*, ser. B, vol. 12, p. xxxiv.

73. See Kunze, *Beethoven*, 115–29, which includes reviews of and reports on the *Pastoral* through 1830.

74. It should be noted that three of the movement structures in Table 6 were created to accommodate special circumstances: Joseph Martin Kraus wrote the four slow movements of

Dittersdorf begins three of his six surviving Ovid symphonies with movements in the order slow-fast rather than fast-slow; in two of those works, he replaces the minuet with a second slow movement, and in no less than five he concludes with a multisectioned compound movement. Others go further: the symphonies of both Antonín Vranický and Knecht, for instance, exhibit only the faintest outlines of three-movement symphonic patterns. And still other composers recapitulate music from one movement of a work in the course of another, an extraordinarily rare practice in non-programmatic symphonies.<sup>75</sup>

Beethoven, by contrast, does not reorder movements, replace single-tempo with compound movements, bring back movements that have already concluded, or eliminate any of the typical movement types of the four-part symphony. Instead, he maintains the outward conventions of the symphonic framework except at the juncture between the scherzo and the finale. Of his predecessors, only Dittersdorf and Haydn had attempted anything similar. In two of the more regular of the former's Ovid symphonies (*Actéon changé en cerf* and *La Chute de Phaéton*), and in the latter's *Le Matin* (1761), *Le Midi* (1761), and "Farewell" Symphony (1772), run-ons, extra movements, compound movements, and the like occur only in one place within symphonies that are otherwise unexceptional (at least as regards the order and number of movements).<sup>76</sup> These works are unusual, however: as a rule, narrative or semi-narrative programs like Beethoven's led his contemporaries much further afield from symphonic forms. The *Pastoral*, then, departs as much from the conventions for setting complex programs as it does from the formal practices of the contemporary symphony.

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his *Symphonie funèbre* (1792) to accompany Gustav III's funeral services (see Bertil H. van Boer, Jr., *Dramatic Cohesion in the Music of Joseph Martin Kraus: From Sacred Music to Symphonic Form* [Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1989], 361–65), while Haydn designed the six movements of his *Il distratto* (before 1774) to provide an overture and entr'actes for a five-act play (Rudolph Angermüller, "Haydn's 'Der Zerstreute' in Salzburg [1776]," *Haydn Studien* 4 [1976–80]: 85–93), and the nine movements of *Le sette ultime parole* to fit a special Lenten service (Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* 2:616). Kospoth's nine-movement cycle was probably derived from Haydn.

75. I know of only two nonprogrammatic examples, Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and Haydn's Symphony No. 46 in B (1772). Programmatic symphonies with similar recapitulations include Brunetti's *Il maniatico*, Knecht's *Portrait*, Kraus's *Symphonie funèbre*, Pavel Vranický's *Grande Sinfonie caractéristique*, Leopold Kozeluch's *L'Irresolu* (date unknown), and Bernhard Romberg's *Trauer-Sinfonie* (1810). Luigi Boccherini uses a similar recapitulation in a 1771 symphony whose finale is based on the Furies scene from Gluck's *Don Juan* and which in some sources carries the title "La casa del diavolo."

76. The Haydn works exemplify his general tendency, in instrumental music with programmatic implications, to use unconventional structures sparingly; see Will, "Programmatic Symphonies," 404–20. On the movement cycle of the "Farewell" see Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony*, esp. 13–16.

**Table 6** Unusual Movement Orders

Composer	Symphony	Movements					
		i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi
Beethoven, Ludwig van	<i>Pastoral</i> Symphony (1808)	F	S	Sch-	F-	F	
Brunetti, Gaetano	<i>Il maniacico</i> (1780)	int-S-	F	F	F-S-F		
Dittersdorf, Carl Ditters von	<i>Les Quatres Âges du monde</i> (ca. 1782)	S	F	M	F-S		
	<i>Andromède sauvée par Persée</i> (ca. 1782)	S	F	S	F-M		
	<i>Phinée avec ses amis changés en rochers</i> (ca. 1782)	S-	F	S	F-M		
Haydn, Joseph	“Farewell” Symphony (1772)	F	S	M	F-	S	
	<i>Il distratto</i> (before 1774)	int-F	S	M	F	S	F
Knecht, Justin Heinrich	<i>Le Portrait musical de la nature</i> (1785)	F-S-F-S-F	S-F-S-	S-F-S			
Kraus, Joseph Martin	<i>Symphonie funèbre</i> (1792)	S	S	S	S		
Romberg, Bernhard	<i>Trauer-Symphonie</i> (1810)	S-F	S-F-F-S-S				
Stamitz, Carl	<i>Le Jour variable</i> or <i>La Promenade royale</i> (1772)	S-	F	S-	F		
Vranický, Antonín	<i>Aphrodite</i> (1792)	S-F-S-F	S-F	S-F			
Vranický, Pavel	<i>Grande Sinfonie caractéristique . . .</i> (1797)	F	S	March- Battle	S-F		
Haydn, Joseph	<i>Le sette ultime parole</i> (1786 or 1787)	9 mvts.: S S S S S S S S-F					
Kospoth, Otto Karl Endmann von	<i>Composizioni . . . sopra il Pater noster</i> (1794)	9 mvts.: S-S S S S S S S-F					

**Note:** int = slow introduction; F = fast; S = slow; M = minuet-trio; Sch = scherzo. Multiple letters for a single movement indicate a compound structure; hyphens indicate run-on movements or sections.

### Form and time

Situated midway between two traditions, the *Pastoral* recalls recently discussed instances of generic mixture such as Chopin's G-minor Nocturne, which incorporates mazurka and chorale elements, or Verdi's "Addio, del passato," which mixes "grand aria" and "prosaic" song.<sup>77</sup> Beethoven uses different genres, of course, but as others have suggested about the Chopin and Verdi examples, he seems to exploit the work's mixture of generic associations in order to convey meaning. The *Pastoral's* tone-paintings and musical topics serve to represent the brookside idyll, the storm, and the other scenes described in its program. Its participation in multiple genres, however, helps represent something the program does not describe: the relationship *between* the scenes—and in particular, their unfolding in time.

The forms of the work in effect divide it into two halves, a "symphonic" half consisting of the first and second movements, in which run-ons and other programmatic devices play no role, and a "programmatic" half consisting of the scherzo, storm, and finale. In each half, time seems to run differently. The run-ons between the scherzo, storm, and finale link the country dance, the storm, and the thanksgiving after the storm into a single unbroken narrative. Beethoven reinforces their connectedness by calling the finale "Glad and Thankful Feelings after the Storm" ("Frohe und dankbare Gefühle nach dem Sturm"), which ensures that the storm and finale will be understood as successive scenes. In the first two movements, by contrast, neither the music nor the program indicates whether the scenes they represent happen in succession, with a pause in between, or at different times altogether. As independent, tonally closed movements, surrounded by silence, they could just as well stand for widely separated moments as consecutive ones. Nor do their titles settle the question. That of the first movement, "Awakening of Happy Feelings on Arrival in the Countryside" ("Erwachen heiterer Empfindungen bei der Ankunft auf dem Lande"), does suggest a beginning; whatever else happens in the countryside, it must presumably follow the arrival there. But how long after, and in what order? The title of the second movement, "Scene by the Brook" ("Scene am Bach"), and for that matter that of the scherzo, "Merry Gathering of Country People" ("Lustiges Zusammensein der Landleute"), do not specify when they take place in relationship either to the first movement or to one another. The subtitle of the symphony, "Memory of Country Life" ("Erinnerung an das Landleben"), creates still more ambiguity; if the whole story is a memory, then the progression from first to second move-

77. Jeffrey Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 3–29 (a revised version of idem, "The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin's Nocturne in G Minor," *19th-Century Music* 11 [1988]: 238–61); and James A. Hepokoski, "Genre and Content in Mid-century Verdi: 'Addio, del passato' (*La Traviata*, Act III)," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1 (1989): 249–76.

ment, or from second movement to concluding sequence, may represent the composer drifting from memory to memory rather than a series of contiguous events.

As the discrete, disconnected scenes of the symphony's first half give way to the dramatic continuity of the second, the rate at which time passes seems also to change. Numerous commentators have noted that the first two movements unfold deliberately rather than driving toward their conclusions in the manner of so many other products of Beethoven's middle period.<sup>78</sup> The first movement lingers over its opening theme, repeating both the theme and its constituent motives many times before finally moving to the transition (mm. 1–53); the second movement likewise delivers the expansive principal ideas of its first and second groups twice before going on (mm. 1–6/7–12, and 33–40/41–48). Harmonies change slowly: most strikingly, the first movement begins with three measures of drone on the tonic, continues with four more after a brief pause on the dominant (mm. 5–8), then expands the drone to epic proportions both in the repetition of the main theme (mm. 29–42) and in the long blocks of B $\flat$ , D, G, and E chords in the development (mm. 151–220). And in neither movement does Beethoven establish the kind of powerful tonic-dominant polarity that propels others of his contemporary instrumental works seemingly headlong toward their final cadences. Instead, he moderates the dominant's drive for resolution through frequent use of the subdominant, even at normally tense moments such as the approach to the recapitulation in the first movement (mm. 275–78).

The following two movements could hardly differ more. The storm races through the most adventurous harmonic progressions and sharp dynamic contrasts in the entire symphony in a far shorter time than is taken up by either of the first two movements: it has only 155 measures in 4/4 time, marked *allegro*, as opposed to the first movement's 512 (with repeat, 650) measures in 2/4 time, marked *allegro ma non troppo*, or the second movement's 139 long measures in 12/8 time, marked *andante molto mosso*. And the scherzo already anticipates the storm's frenetic pace, in part through its own deviations from formal expectations. Its first section begins like a rounded binary form (see Ex. 6): although the first, sixteen-measure unit cadences on VI $\sharp$  rather than V or I, the passage is repeated and,<sup>79</sup> after a brief excursion to the dominant (a'), the opening measures return and lead to a cadential theme in the tonic (a"). Where one expects

78. Bockholdt, *VI. Symphonie*, 13–41; Jones, *Beethoven: "Pastoral Symphony,"* 54–67; Steinbeck, "6. Symphonie," 506–9; Philip Gossett, "Beethoven's Sixth Symphony: Sketches for the First Movement," this *Journal* 27 (1974): 248–84, at 253; Broyles, *Beethoven*, 198–204; and Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, 153–54.

79. There is ample precedent for Beethoven's writing out the repeat rather than using a sign, for instance in the scherzos of the Symphonies Nos. 3 and 7, and in both the scherzos and trios of the Symphonies Nos. 4 and 5.

**Example 6** *Pastoral* Symphony, scherzo

	3/4		3/4		2/4		3/4		
meter:	3/4		3/4		2/4		3/4		
section:	A (Scherzo)		B (Trio I)		C (Trio II)		A' (Coda)		
phrase:	a	a'	a''	c	d	c'	e	c''	
mm:	• 1-16 17-32	33-52	53-86	87-106 107-22	123-32	133-64	165-72 173-80	181-88 189-204 •	205-21 222-34 235-64
harmony:	I-VI#		VI#-V	I	V	I	I	V	I-V

a repeat of the second half of this binary form, however, it instead proceeds directly into the trio (cdc'); the trio then also behaves like a rounded binary until the end of *its* second half, where once again the expected repeat is forsworn in favor of a new section (ee'e"). Evidently a second trio, and in duple rather than triple meter, this new section ends on the dominant without tonal closure. All three sections are then played again, after which a compressed version of the first leads to a final tonic cadence.

Commentators have tended to downplay the idiosyncrasy of this structure, much as they have that of the storm.<sup>80</sup> Admittedly, the da capo of the trios along with the scherzo recalls Beethoven's characteristic twist on ABA dance movements, in which he repeats both the main movement and the trio to create a five-part form, ABABA'.<sup>81</sup> Nevertheless, the repetitions in the *Pastoral* result in the unprecedented order of ABCABCA',<sup>82</sup> and, more importantly, the parts of the movement lack the independence typical of Classical-period dances: the first section runs into the second with no double bar and virtually no pause; the first two sections end too abruptly, without the tonal closure that a repetition of their second halves would provide; and the third section makes no pretence at closure at all but simply leads directly back into the scherzo.<sup>83</sup> Each section comes in too soon, it seems, creating a sense of haste heightened by an acceleration to *presto* in the movement's final measures (mm. 235–64).

The symphony seems to slow again in the finale, which begins with a threefold repetition of the opening theme and proceeds with similar deliberation throughout. This leisureliness, as much as the movement's major harmonies and repeated pastoral horn calls, signals a restoration of the world of the first two movements.

Time undergoes similar transformations in Knecht's *Le Portrait musical de la nature*, which also falls into two halves (Ex. 7). First comes a long sonata-form movement representing a natural paradise, into which Knecht interpolates two binary forms that introduce, respectively, a piping

80. See, however, Frogley, "Beethoven's Struggle for Simplicity," which not only emphasizes the differences between the movement's formal design and those found in Beethoven's earlier scherzos, but also shows that the scherzo-two trio structure is present throughout the sketches for the movement. Tovey called the movement "a very typical Beethoven scherzo," locating the beginning of the trio at measure 91 and offering no explanation of how the 2/4 section fit into the form (*Essays in Musical Analysis* 1:45 and 52–54; cf. Frogley, 106n).

81. In the symphonies whose scherzos follow this pattern—Nos. 4, 7, and (at least in the early stages of its history) 5—Beethoven also shortens the final repetition of the main movement as he does in the *Pastoral* Symphony. On No. 5 see Sieghard Brandenburg, "Once Again: On the Question of the Repeat of the Scherzo and Trio in Beethoven's Fifth Symphony," in *Beethoven Essays*, ed. Lockwood and Benjamin, 146–98; and Clive Brown, *A New Appraisal of the Sources of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony* (Wiesbaden, Leipzig, and Paris: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1996), 59–67.

82. Cf. Frogley, "Beethoven's Struggle for Simplicity," 106.

83. On the continuity of the three sections, and particularly on the role of the first trio in achieving that continuity, see *ibid.*, 115–33.

**Example 7** Justin Heinrich Knecht, *Le Portrait musical de la nature* (1785)

(movements ii–iii are continuous)

movement:	i	ii	-----> iii		
tempo:	<i>allegretto</i>	<i>tempo medemo</i>	<i>allegro</i>	<i>tempo medemo</i>	<i>andantino</i>
program:	idyll	storm approaches	storm	storm recedes	idyll restored hymn: nature praises heaven
measure:	1	321	411	637	723
key:	G major	G major	D major	G major	G major

shepherd and a singing shepherdess. Then follows a series of continuous sections and movements depicting the approach, arrival, and departure of a storm as well as a concluding "hymn" of thanksgiving. The two halves contrast less sharply with one another than Beethoven's, for Knecht, rather than opposing symphonic forms in the first half to programmatic ones in the second, uses forms typical of programmatic symphonies in both. As in the *Pastoral*, however, the first half represents a single scene in a single independent movement, while the second links several scenes into a continuous progression. Moreover, Knecht's music also creates the sensation of an acceleration and deceleration of time. The first movement advances slowly through the successive sections of its sonata form, and the interpolations delay things still more by momentarily slowing the tempo from an already moderate *allegretto* to *andante* and *un poco adagio*. The ensuing storm unfolds much more quickly,<sup>84</sup> while the hymn, like Beethoven's finale, restores something resembling the pace of the first movement.

### Idyllic time versus historical time

While neither Knecht's nor Beethoven's program mentions time, the way in which time seems to pass more quickly or more slowly, or continuously or discontinuously, contributes as much to the composers' representations of pastoral life as their references to shepherd's horns, storms, and feelings of happiness or gratefulness do. Time plays a crucial role in pastoral contexts. Mikhail Bakhtin writes of "the special relationship that time has to space in the [literary] idyll: an organic fastening-down, a grafting of life and its events to a place . . . where the fathers and grandfathers lived and where one's children and their children will live."<sup>85</sup> Living perpetually with no change in circumstances, the characters of the idyll do not experience time in the normal, linear sense: "This unity of place in the life of generations weakens and renders less distinct all the temporal boundaries between individual lives and between various phases of one and the same life."<sup>86</sup> If time enters the idyll at all, it does so only in the form of such renewable cycles as are represented by the generations of the family, the seasons, or the hours of the day. Too much linear time forces the landscape and its inhabitants to change, at which point the idyll ceases to function as a retreat from the outside world.

Both the *Pastoral* and the *Portrait* have moments in which time seems to pass, not just slowly, but also in cycles. The finales provide the most

84. Claus Bockmaier analyzes Knecht's storm movement in *Entfesselte Natur in der Musik des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1992), 267–91.

85. Mikhail Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel," translated by Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 225.

86. *Ibid.*

obvious examples; Beethoven writes a rondo and Knecht a theme and variations, forms that return repeatedly to their starting points and thus suggest only temporary or gradual change. Even the sonata forms of the opening movements seem cyclic, however, inasmuch as both frequently repeat their themes and motives and also recapitulate their expositions with relatively few alterations.

But the two symphonies also suggest quickly moving and linear time: the two storms and Beethoven's scherzo seem literally to rush by, and the second half of each work depicts a one-directional, noncyclical series of scenes. In this respect, both works participate in an important eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century tradition of juxtaposing the "timelessness" of the idyll with the "historicity" of the real world.<sup>87</sup> Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* (1796/97) and Wordsworth's "Michael" (1800) provide two particularly good examples from contemporary pastoral literature.<sup>88</sup> In the first, history, in the guise of war refugees, fantastically accelerates the heretofore idyllic pace of Hermann's life with his parents; having fallen in love with a refugee, he must marry her on the very same day or lose her forever. And while the betrothal restores a measure of equilibrium, Dorothea's arrival will permanently change the relationships within Hermann's family. In "Michael," the shock of real time comes when the fortunes of a city-dwelling nephew collapse and Michael, a farmer living in pastoral reclusion, is held liable. Again, events speed out of control; having decided to make good the debt by sending his son to work in the city, Michael becomes obsessed with haste: "let us send him forth / Tomorrow, or the next day, or tonight: / —If he could go, the Boy should go tonight."<sup>89</sup> But haste shatters the cycle of generations on the farm, for the son falls prey to urban vice and flees overseas rather than return home to face his parents.

Needless to say, the *Pastoral* and the *Portrait* tell comparatively abstract stories. Even if one thinks of them as portraying an individual in nature, like Beethoven in the nineteenth-century drawings mentioned above, the protagonist still experiences a relatively generic set of events: an idyll, a dance, a storm, a thanksgiving. What the symphonies lack in narrative speci-

87. Temporal juxtapositions were the inevitable result of a new interest in "realistic" idylls, populated not by mythical shepherds but by real human characters who involved themselves in historical events. On the origins and effects of pastoral realism see Renate Böschstein, *Idylle* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1968), 68–78; and Renato Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Ideal* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 31–34.

88. Bakhtin offers an equally relevant but, to most modern readers, less well known example, the 1811 story "Unverhofftes Wiedersehen" ("Unhoped-for Reunion") by Johann Peter Hebel ("Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel," 228). A woman loses her fiancé to a mining accident but remains unalterably in love until, fifty years later, she gets the chance to bid a proper farewell when the fiancé's perfectly preserved body is exhumed from an icy cavern. Hebel explicitly contrasts the timelessness of her love with the real time of history by using a litany of world events to describe her years of waiting.

89. William Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads*, ed. Michael Mason (London and New York: Longman, 1992), 351, lines 286–88.

ficity, however, they more than make up for in the immediacy with which they suggest temporal transformations. Prose and poetry can describe time quickening or slowing down, and they can also, to some extent, use language and formal proportions to emphasize mimetically a temporal shift. But they can hardly match music's unique capacity to control the perception of time. Works like the *Pastoral* and the *Portrait*, their abstraction notwithstanding, provided the period's most vivid representations of the uneasy relationship between idyllic and historical time.

### The storm as theophany

Beethoven's juxtaposition of programmatic and symphonic forms in the *Pastoral* may also have influenced the semantic connotations of the storm. Because the first, second, and final movements of the work are so manifestly symphonic, at least as regards tempo, form, and movement order, and because the scherzo departs only partially from symphonic practice, they serve to contextualize the storm as a generic deviation. They suggest a parallel between its programmatic meaning and its formal function—as the storm disrupts the idyll, so the music representing it disrupts the genre—that in turn imbues the scene with considerable force. In the world of the *Pastoral*, it would appear, the stability of the idyll depends on the observance of symphonic convention, as witnessed in varying degrees by the movements other than the storm. The storm's break with convention, accordingly, seems not merely to disturb the idyll but to challenge the very premises on which it rests.<sup>90</sup>

The early reviewer Michael Gotthard Fischer described the storm as being “filled with great and sublime feeling.”<sup>91</sup> To judge from contemporary discussions of the sublime in music, there is much about the storm that could have moved him to such a statement, beginning with its brevity, a quality thought crucial to successful evocations of the sublime.<sup>92</sup> Its harmonic language and overall dramatic structure, furthermore, could hardly correspond more closely to the following description from an 1805 essay by Christian Friedrich Michaelis:

90. Cf. Hepokoski, who argues that in Verdi, “structural conventions stand for the artificial, operatic world in which the characters move and act.” Departures from convention signal a challenge to, or abandonment of, “the axioms underpinning that world” (“Genre and Content in Mid-century Verdi,” 256).

91. “Erfüllt mit grossen und erhabenen Empfindungen” (Kunze, *Beethoven*, 124). Although it has been variously attributed to Amadeus Wendt, E. T. A. Hoffmann, and Friedrich Rochlitz, a comment by Gottfried Christoph Härtel on one of Hoffmann's letters to the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* establishes Fischer's authorship of this review. See Hans von Müller and Friedrich Schnapp, eds., *E. T. A. Hoffmanns Briefwechsel*, 3 vols. (Munich: Winkler, 1967–69), 1:292n; and Peter Schnaus, *E. T. A. Hoffmann als Beethoven-Rezensent der Allgemeinen musikalischen Zeitung* (Munich and Salzburg: Katzbichler, 1977), 21n.

92. See Elaine R. Sisman, *Mozart: The “Jupiter” Symphony No. 41 in C Major, K. 551*, *Cambridge Music Handbook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 13–18.

The composer also expresses sublimity through the use of the *marvelous*. This is achieved by the use of unconventional, surprising, powerfully startling, or striking harmonic or rhythmic progressions. If, for instance, the established tonality suddenly veers in an unexpected direction, if a chord is resolved quite differently than the rules would lead one to expect, or if the longed-for calm is delayed by a series of stormy passages, then astonishment and awe result and in this mood the spirit is profoundly moved and sublime ideas are stimulated or sustained.<sup>93</sup>

And finally, the storm may have invoked the sublime by virtue of its departure from the conventions governing the rest of the symphony. Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century writers regularly associate sublimity with phenomena external to an established frame of reference. Michaelis writes that “sublime notes, figuration and harmonies stimulate the imagination, which must exert itself and expand *beyond its normal bounds* to grasp, integrate, and recall them.”<sup>94</sup> Speaking of all the arts, Johann Georg Sulzer says similarly that “the term sublime is generally applied to whatever in its way is much greater and more powerful *than might have been expected*.”<sup>95</sup> In the context of the *Pastoral*, Beethoven’s storm has not only an unexpected form but also unprecedentedly irregular rhythms and

93. Translation adapted from Peter le Huray and James Day, eds., *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 289. “Der Componist bedient sich auch des *Wunderbaren* zum erhabenen Ausdruck. Dies entspringt aus dem Ungewohnten, Befremdenden, mächtig Ueberraschenden, oder Frappanten in der harmonischen und rhythmischen Fortschreitung. Wenn nämlich der herrschende Ton plötzlich eine unvermuthete Wendung nimmt, ein Akkord sich ganz anders auflöset, als nach der Regel sich erwarten ließ, oder wenn die gehoffte Beruhigung nicht eintritt, sondern von manchen stürmischen Bewegungen noch aufgehalten wird, so entsteht Verwunderung und Staunen, eine Stimmung, die den Geist tief bewegt, und erhabene Ideen in ihm weckt oder unterhält” (Christian Friedrich Michaelis, “Einige Bemerkungen über das Erhabene der Musik,” *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung*, ed. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, vol. 1 [1805]: 180). Michaelis’s essay concludes by discussing the symphonies of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. The symphony as a genre was also connected with the sublime by the composer and critic Johann Abraham Peter Schulz in Johann Georg Sulzer’s *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, 2d expanded ed., 4 vols. (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1792–99), 4:478. Comments on the musical sublime by Michaelis, Schulz, and other contemporaries are discussed in Sisman, *Mozart: The “Jupiter” Symphony*; Dahlhaus, “E. T. A. Hoffmanns Beethoven-Kritik und die Ästhetik des Erhabenen,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 38 (1981): 80–92, reprinted in Dahlhaus, *Klassische und romantische Musikästhetik* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1988), 98–111; and Judith L. Schwartz, “Periodicity and Passion in the First Movement of Haydn’s ‘Farewell’ Symphony,” in *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue*, ed. Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner (Madison: A-R Editions, 1990), 293–338, esp. 319–31.

94. Translation from Le Huray and Day, *Music and Aesthetics*, 290; italics mine. “Die erhabenen Töne, Figuren und Akkorde sind [der Imagination] angemessen; sie muß sich anstrengen und ungewöhnlich erweitern, um sie festzuhalten, zusammenzufassen und wieder zurückzurufen” (Michaelis, “Einige Bemerkungen,” 180).

95. Translation from Le Huray and Day, *Music and Aesthetics*, 138; italics mine. “Es scheint, daß man in den Werken des Geschmacks überhaupt dasjenige Erhabene nenne, was in seiner Art weit grösser und stärker ist, als wir es erwartet hätten” (Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie* 2:97).

phrases as well as previously unheard or rarely heard harmonies: the preceding movements entirely avoid diminished seventh chords and even, to a remarkable extent, minor tonalities, both very prominent in the storm. It also has a fuller scoring than the rest of the symphony; piccolo, trombones, and timpani enter for the first time during the storm, so that its *fortissimos* are literally “much greater and more powerful” than any heard before.<sup>96</sup>

Another of the *Pastoral*'s early reviewers, Friedrich Mosengeil, went a step beyond Fischer and associated the storm with the sublime event of a theophany. “Great and wondrous is the Lord of Nature!” he cries during his description of the passage, as if its music spoke with the voice of God.<sup>97</sup> This seemingly extravagant interpretation in fact had deep roots both in his own culture and in Western culture generally. God appears in or as a storm in both the Old and New Testaments: Moses, for instance, receives the Ten Commandments in a cloud that thunders and flashes with lightning and fire, and in Revelations John the Divine describes thunder and lightning as emanating from God's throne.<sup>98</sup> Numerous eighteenth-century writers used similar imagery specifically in pastoral contexts, most famously perhaps Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock in his ode “Das Landleben” (“Country Life,” 1759), later revised as “Die Frühlingsfeier” (“Celebration of Spring,” 1771). After celebrating God as the creator of nature, Klopstock then calls on his pastoral characters to recognize Him in a storm. The exalted tone of the passage suggests a precedent for Mosengeil:

Seht ihr den neuen Zeugen des Nahen, den fliegenden Strahl?  
Höret ihr hoch in der Wolke den Donner des Herrn?  
Er ruft: Jehova! Jehova!  
Und der geschmetterte Wald dampft! (93–96)

(Do you see the sign of His approach, the fleeting lightning? Do you hear high in the clouds the thunder of the Lord? He calls: Jehovah! Jehovah! And the shattered woods smoke!)<sup>99</sup>

Klopstock's ode gained particular fame through Goethe's reference to it in *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*, 1773); having themselves watched a thunderstorm cross an idyllic landscape, Werther and Lotte think spontaneously of “Die Frühlingsfeier.”<sup>100</sup> And readers would have encountered the same topos in Christoph Christian Sturm's oft-reprinted and translated *Betrachtungen über die Werke Gottes im Reiche*

96. On the symphony's orchestration and distribution of diminished and minor harmonies, see Bockholdt, *VI. Symphonie*, 50–52; and Jones, *Beethoven: “Pastoral Symphony,”* 49, 52–53, and 73.

97. “Groß und wunderbar ist der Herr der Natur!” (Kunze, *Beethoven*, 127).

98. Deuteronomy 5.22, Exodus 19 and 20, Revelations 4.5. See also Psalm 18 and John 12.28–29, in both of which God speaks through thunder.

99. Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Karl August Schleiden (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1962), 92.

100. See Werther's letter of 16 June 1771.

*der Natur* (*Reflections on the Works of God in the Realm of Nature*, 1772), a series of short meditations, one for each day of the year, in which Sturm reads every aspect of nature as a sign for God or for his beneficence. He mentions storms frequently, and God himself invariably either appears in or controls them.<sup>101</sup>

### The idyll redeemed

In Sturm's view, storms provide the means for God not only to water the earth and rid the air of vapors but also to frighten sinners, a frequently encountered theme within the complex of associations between God and storms. In *The Seasons* (1748), for instance, James Thomson says in connection with a destructive summer thunderstorm, "Guilt hears appalled, with deeply troubled thought," the implication of which is that the sinner recognizes God's wrath in the storm.<sup>102</sup> In Haydn's *Seasons* (1800), whose text Haydn's librettist Baron Gottfried van Swieten based on Thomson, the storm provokes the closely related idea that the morally righteous will be shielded from its destructive power; following the storm, the chorus calls the survivors to a repose they have earned through their "pure hearts, healthy bodies, and day's work."<sup>103</sup> And in Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny's "Picturesque and Poetic Analysis" of the first movement of Haydn's Symphony No. 103, the peasants whom he imagines populating the movement interpret the drumroll at the beginning of its slow introduction as God's thunder, which immediately prompts them to pray for redemption. The danger seemingly past, they tease one another in the main movement for having been scared, but return to prayer after the drumroll recurs in the recapitulation. Having learned their lesson at last, they cease in the concluding measures to torment one another and instead celebrate together the end of the storm.<sup>104</sup>

101. See especially Sturm's discussions of summer thunderstorms in the entries for 26 June, 8 July, 11 July, and 19 August. While Sturm's book is unquestionably relevant to the reception of the *Pastoral*, it would appear that Beethoven himself encountered it only after completing the symphony; his personal copy, which survives with passages marked in his hand, is of an 1811 Reutlingen edition (see Eveline Bartlitz, ed., *Die Beethoven-Sammlung in der Musikabteilung der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek* [Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 1970], 208–9). Schindler possessed Beethoven's copy after the composer's death and wrote repeatedly of Beethoven's fondness for Sturm; see his *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, esp. 151–52.

102. James Thomson, *The Seasons*, "Summer," line 1169; quoted from *The Complete Poetical Works of James Thomson*, ed. J. Logie Robertson (London: Oxford University Press, 1908), 95.

103. "Mädchen, Bursche, Weiber, kommt! unser wartet süßer Schlaf, wie reines Herz, gesunder Leib und Tagesarbeit ihn gewährt" (Haydn, *Die Jahreszeiten*, No. 18, "Die düstren Wolken trennen sich").

104. Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny, *Cours complet d'harmonie et de composition, d'après une théorie nouvelle et générale de la musique*, 3 vols. (Paris: Momigny, 1803–6), 2:600–606;

Events in the finale support the idea that the storm in the *Pastoral* might carry similar connotations. Mosengeil, the same critic who read the storm as a theophany, heard in the following movement "a joy which is distinguished from that felt in the first three movements by added sentiments of religious thanksgiving."<sup>105</sup> He seems to have sensed a quality of the movement that was not made explicit in the published program of the symphony. Beethoven, in his sketches for the finale, made the note "Expression of thanks, O Father, we thank you" ("Ausdrucks des Danks o Herr wir danken dir"),<sup>106</sup> and in both the autograph score and the parts used at the first performance, he titled the movement "Shepherd's Hymn. Grateful Feelings Combined with Thanks to God after the Storm" ("Hirtengesang. Wohlthätige mit Dank an die Gottheit verbundene Gefühle nach dem Sturm").<sup>107</sup> Sometime during preparations for the first edition of 1809, this title was replaced by the shorter and grammatically simpler "Shepherd's Hymn. Glad and Thankful Feelings after the Storm,"<sup>108</sup> but the original version and the comment in the sketches clearly show that Beethoven himself imbued the finale with sacred meaning.

Two aspects of the movement's music have religious connotations. First, as other writers have noted, Beethoven in certain respects treats the principal theme as if it were a church hymn: it always occurs twice or three times in succession, as if accommodating a series of verses, and it appears in a striking passage toward the end of the movement in a scoring that recalls the texture of a chorale (Ex. 8).<sup>109</sup> Second, arpeggiated horn calls like those that open the movement and form the basis for the principal theme have a long lineage in religious pastoral music (Ex. 3). They appear

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translated in Ian Bent, ed., *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2:137–40.

105. "Die Tiefe und Zartheit, womit der Künstler in diesem letzten Satze eine Freude, die sich von der in den drei ersten Sätzen empfundenen, durch die beigemischten Gefühle des religiösen Dankes unterscheidet, auszudrücken gewußt hat, ist unbeschreiblich" (Kunze, *Beethoven*, 128). A. B. Marx wrote of the movement: "Natur und Menschen bringen dem Herrn, der im Wetter segnend vorüberzog, das Opfer ihres Danks" (*Ludwig van Beethoven* 2:109).

106. Landsberg 10, p. 164; Beethoven, *Ein Skizzenbuch zur Pastoralensymphonie* 1:17.

107. Hans Schmidt, "Die Beethovenhandschriften des Beethovenhauses in Bonn," 238; Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana*, 378.

108. The shorter title is entered as a correction to the original in the 1808 printer's exemplar for the work (Sieghard Brandenburg, "Die Stichvorlage zur Erstausgabe von Beethovens Pastoralensymphonie op. 68: Eine neu aufgefundene Primärquelle," in *Festschrift Rudolf Elvers zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Ernst Hertrich and Hans Schneider [Tutzing: Schneider, 1985], 49–61, at 57). Grove translates "Hirtengesang" as "Shepherd's Hymn," which better reflects Beethoven's original conception of the movement than the now-standard "Shepherd's Song" (*Beethoven and His Nine Symphonies*, 220).

109. Cf. Kirby, "Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony," 617–19; and Jander, "Beethoven's 'Scene by the Brook,'" 549–50. Jones discusses the passage given in my Example 8 in connection with the "O Herr wir danken dir" comment from Beethoven's sketches (*Beethoven: 'Pastoral Symphony,'* 38–39).

Example 8 *Pastoral* Symphony, finale, mm. 237–44

237

Vn. I  
*pp sotto voce* *cresc.* *p*

Vn. II  
*pp sotto voce* *cresc.* *p*

Vla.  
*pp sotto voce* *cresc.* *p*

Vc.  
*pp sotto voce* *cresc.* *p*

with particular frequency in eighteenth-century pastoral Christmas pieces, where they evoke the shepherd horns heard at the scene of the Nativity,<sup>110</sup> but they can also be found in “Der muntre Hirt” from Haydn’s *Seasons* (No. 10; see esp. mm. 5–8), where the context is not Christmas but a more general celebration of God in nature. Beginning a sequence of summer scenes that will lead eventually to the storm, Haydn’s shepherd goes out with his flock to greet the sunrise.<sup>111</sup>

Beethoven’s shepherds likewise greet the return of the sun, or at least of calm, after a passage of darkness as profound as night itself. Moreover, if one accepts that both the storm and the finale have sacred overtones, then the horn calls in the latter can be heard to initiate the last episode in a narrative not unlike that which Momigny invented for the first movement of Haydn’s *Symphony No. 103*. The *Pastoral*’s first two movements suggest a beautiful and emotionally untroubled countryside; the music or the

110. For discussion as well as numerous examples, see Mark Germer, “The Austro-Bohemian Pastorella and Pastoral Mass to c. 1780” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1989). Briefer discussions of these important pastoral genres are also available in Bruce C. MacIntyre, “Johann Baptist Vanhal and the Pastoral Mass Tradition,” in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 112–32; and Geoffrey Chew, “The Austrian Pastorella and the *stylus rusticanus*: Comic and Pastoral Elements in Austrian Music, 1750–1800,” in *ibid.*, 133–93. For examples of shepherd horn calls from pastoral symphonies and keyboard works, see Will, “Programmatic Symphonies,” 186–88; and Jung, *Die Pastorale*, 164. Alexander Hyatt-King claimed that Beethoven’s theme “is obviously taken from [a Swiss herding tune known as] the Rigi Ranz” (“Mountains, Music, and Musicians,” *Musical Quarterly* 31 [1945]: 395–419, at 403). Jones, however, is surely correct in saying that “given the wide distribution of such themes and the propensity of art music to invent themes in this mode when appropriate . . . it is likely that the resemblance is generic rather than particular” (*Beethoven: “Pastoral Symphony,”* 77).

111. Jones also notes the similarities between this passage and the opening of the *Pastoral* finale, as well as the importance of pastoral in church music of this period generally (*Beethoven: “Pastoral Symphony,”* 12–16).

associated images may inspire religious thoughts inasmuch as writers like Klopstock and Sturm saw God everywhere in nature, but they do not make them explicit. The scherzo then populates the countryside with decidedly profane inhabitants, *Landleute* so frantic in their reveling that they cannot finish one dance properly before beginning another. The storm, like the drumroll in Momigny's story, reminds them of the wrath of God and frightens them into prayer—or, put more positively, it reveals the sublime magnitude of God, after which the pastoral horn calls the *Landleute* to prayer.

Knecht's *Portrait* also concludes with a hymn, and the work as a whole enacts the same basic scenario as the *Pastoral* or Momigny's version of the Haydn movement. A storm dramatizes the power of God over life and landscape, after which He receives thanks both for creating life and landscape and for withholding more severe destruction. The differences between Knecht's and Momigny's plots, however, and especially between Knecht's and Beethoven's, throw a final and revealing light on the *Pastoral*. Rudolph Bockholdt points out that the *Portrait*, according to its program at least, tells a story more abstract than human.<sup>112</sup> The only characters are the shepherd and shepherdess of the first movement, who disappear thereafter, leaving only a personified Nature to sing the hymn of thanks: "Transported by joy, Nature raises her voice to heaven and gives the Creator the most lively thanks through sweet and pleasant songs" ("La Nature transportée de la joie élève sa voix vers le ciel et rend au créateur les plus vives graces par des chants doux et agréables").<sup>113</sup> In both Momigny's and Beethoven's stories, by contrast, the characters remain through the end and it is they, not an anthropomorphized landscape, who give thanks. Furthermore, due to a simple but important difference between Beethoven's and Knecht's symphonies, the former's storm seems to effect a more profound transformation than the latter's. Following the storm in the *Portrait*, Knecht recapitulates part of his idyllic first movement, suggesting that everything has reverted to the way it was before the storm (Ex. 7, m. 687). After the storm in the *Pastoral*, by contrast, Beethoven restores the mood, topics, and unhurried pace of the first two movements, but he does not literally repeat any of their music. Knecht's storm seems to pass through, leaving no permanent mark, while Beethoven's ensures that nothing will ever be as it was before.

112. Bockholdt, *VI. Symphonie*, 66–69. He also contrasts Knecht's use of "Nature" in his program to Beethoven's "Land" ("Landleben," "Landleute"). The latter term suggests a countryside separate from another sphere of human life, the city; as Bockholdt points out, the critic Fischer heard the beginning of Beethoven's first movement as a journey "from the city to the country" ("von der Stadt nach dem Lande") (Kunze, *Beethoven*, 119). Knecht's "nature," by contrast, populated only by the conventional shepherd and shepherdess, suggests the traditional pastoral retreat, cut off from the world of man altogether.

113. Sources for Knecht's text and additional translations are cited in note 48 above.

The religiosity of the two finales takes on a different meaning as a result. Knecht's sounds like an independent idea, a reaction that takes hold after God has restored the idyll to its original state. Beethoven's sounds like a new element in the idyll itself. It is as if his pastoral inhabitants have recognized that their existence depends on God's grace, and have thus tried to achieve something like the harmony between Momigny's peasants at the end of his story, or the "pure hearts" of Haydn's and Van Swieten's peasants in the *Seasons*. To ward off further storms, and to regain and preserve their pastoral innocence, they transform their natural paradise into a moral one.

### A human *Pastoral* Symphony

This reading of the *Pastoral*, as a progression from idyll through destruction to moral redemption, triggers some unexpected associations. First, it recalls the familiar narrative of humankind's fall and return to grace. Rather than simply continue the Christianized celebration of nature found in Haydn's *Creation*, in other words, the *Pastoral* seems to finish the story, to guide its pastoral innocents through the Fall to a new paradise rather than leave them content in Eden as the *Creation* had. And this journey through tribulation to paradise suggests a second, equally familiar narrative as well: the story of a hero's triumph over adversity, a paradigmatic representation of which has traditionally been found in the "heroic" instrumental works that Beethoven composed in the years surrounding the *Pastoral*. This second association poses problems, however, for in fact no one has ever heard the *Pastoral* as heroic, and for good reason. Those elements of Beethoven's middle-period style that its first, second, and final movements abjure are precisely those that typify the heroic style: most importantly, dynamic tonal motion and the inexorable drive toward long-term goals. The comparatively static and nonteleological music of the *Pastoral*, combined with a program worded in such a way as never to introduce an individual protagonist, have caused great difficulty for commentators who would read the symphony as portraying the kind of active hero attributed to the *Eroica* Symphony and related works. Even those who would see Beethoven as the work's protagonist envision him not as an *Eroica*-style doer of deeds but as a sensitive observer of the sort one associates with travelogues.<sup>114</sup>

114. Even Friedrich Mosengeil, who came closest to reading the *Pastoral* in heroic terms, could not sustain his interpretation to the end of the piece. He transforms Beethoven from country traveler into hero in the storm, where he imagines that "the spirit of a blessed mortal, aware of his divine origins, stands firm and ruling amidst the wild currents of powerful tones" ("der Geist eines begünstigten Sterblichen, sich seiner göttlichen Herkunft bewußt, mitten in den wilden Strömen mächtiger Töne fest und lenkend steht"; Kunze, *Beethoven*, 127). Having won his battle with the forces of music/nature, however, this hero promptly disappears; not he, but only "worthy shepherds" ("die wackeren Hirten") celebrate the return of pastoral

The *Pastoral's* failure to suggest a heroic narrative is significant in and of itself, however, for it casts some further light on the symphony's twentieth-century reception. Scott Burnham argues that Beethoven's heroic-style works have acquired the cultural prestige they enjoy primarily by allowing listeners to construct compelling images of the self. They offer protagonists with whom one can identify and through whom one can feel proactive, triumphant, and whole, for the "heroes" of these works bring their adventures to a seemingly successful conclusion within the space of the movement or piece.<sup>115</sup> The *Pastoral* affords no comparable opportunity for self-affirmation. It presents only collections of characters, peasants and shepherds—or, if in fact God enters the story through the storm, a subject whose actions one cannot experience vicariously. And even if one identifies with an imaginary "Beethoven-in-nature," this character still does not undergo the trials of the usual Beethovenian hero. The scherzo and storm certainly threaten the idyll and, by extension, whomever is thought to inhabit it, and they do so with music that has all the tonal dynamism, affective intensity, and forward propulsion of the heroic style itself. Nevertheless, this music occupies but a small proportion of the work compared to, say, the corresponding music in the first movement of the *Eroica*, where the "hero's tribulations" fill all but the very last measures of a gigantic sonata form. The storm sounds so different from the rest of the symphony, moreover, so much like an intrusion from another genre, that it gives the impression of posing a purely external obstacle: it would be difficult to conceive of the storm as the sort of spiritual crisis that, along with worldly challenges, heroes typically have to overcome. By heroic standards, consequently, the *Pastoral* sounds unrealistic and even slightly impersonal. It devotes so little time to crisis, and the crisis it does present belongs so clearly to the natural rather than the emotional world, that it never suggests the specifically psychological drama, so often heard in heroic-style works, that has led commentators to attribute a uniquely "human element" to Beethoven's music.<sup>116</sup>

For modernist critics, this perceived distance between the *Pastoral* and human experience may have provided as powerful a motivation for proving the work's "normality" as did its tone-paintings or association with program music. By emphasizing the self-sufficiency and coherence of its forms,

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calm. Taming the storm evidently reveals Beethoven to be the semidivine protector of the idyll, a role he cannot fill without relinquishing his residency there.

115. Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, esp. 29–65 and 142–53.

116. The term *human element* (*das Menschliche*) comes from a 1922 essay on Beethoven by Ferruccio Busoni, cited and discussed in Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Zur Geschichte der Beethoven-Rezeption: Beethoven 1970* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1972), 8–9; and in Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, xiii. Over the course of their studies, Eggebrecht and Burnham discuss numerous additional manifestations of the belief that Beethoven's music is uniquely human.

or the complexity of its motivic development, Tovey and others imbued the *Pastoral* with qualities that were by then inextricably associated with works like the *Eroica* and Fifth Symphonies.<sup>117</sup> At the same time, by pronouncing the irrelevance of its program, they freed listeners to associate the music with subjects different from and—potentially at least—more psychologically dramatic than the experience of nature. Other twentieth-century interpreters, however, while also sensing a lack of human drama in the piece, have chosen to amplify rather than to compensate for it. The *Pastoral* Symphony episode in Disney's *Fantasia* (1940), for instance, shares a striking similarity with early nineteenth-century readings of the work in that, during the storm, Jove appears in a cloud and hurls down thunderbolts. The entire sequence, however, takes place in an explicitly unrealistic Arcadia populated by centaurs rather than people, and even the storm is presented as merely an amusing diversion for Jove. In André Gide's *La Symphonie pastorale* (1918), Beethoven's music is likewise taken to represent a world of pure fantasy, albeit a dangerous one. A well-intentioned but naive clergyman uses the *Pastoral*, along with carefully selected passages from the Bible, to inculcate a young blind woman with an idealized view of human relations. Again the symphony acquires religious connotations, this time prelapsarian, in that it is taken to depict "not the world as it was, but as it could have been, as it could be without evil and without sin."<sup>118</sup> This perfect world leads to tragedy, however, when the young woman undergoes an operation that restores her sight. She cannot accept the gulf between reality and her *Pastoral*-inspired imaginings and shortly thereafter commits suicide.

To dismiss these interpretations as misreadings would ignore the very different and complex motivations behind them. But the *Pastoral*'s failure to tell a heroic story need not be taken to mean that it tells no human story at all. Like the pastoral writings of Klopstock or Goethe, it dramatizes fundamentally human concerns about morality and about the effect of time's passage on the paradises, real or imagined, that people value. To recognize that the symphony addresses such concerns serves to illuminate the work, but also—perhaps more importantly—it urges us to reconsider the very notion of the "human element" in Beethoven's music. Not all humans are heroes, and the *Pastoral* Symphony reminds us that Beethoven, too, told more than just heroic stories. The vision of humanity in his music is broader than any one kind of experience can encompass.

117. Burnham shows that many of the nineteenth and twentieth century's most influential criteria for interpreting and evaluating instrumental music had their origins in analyses of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and other heroic-style works by A. B. Marx, Schenker, and other theorists (*Beethoven Hero*, 66–111).

118. "Non point le monde tel qu'il était, mais bien tel qu'il aurait pu être, qu'il pourrait être sans le mal et sans le péché" (André Gide, *La Symphonie pastorale*, ed. Claude Martin [Paris: Lettres modernes, 1970], 46).

**Abstract**

While Beethoven's *Pastoral* Symphony exhibits the underlying four-movement framework and other familiar hallmarks of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century symphonies, in other respects it more closely resembles programmatic symphonies of the same period, particularly in the continuity between its concluding movements and the unusual structure of its storm. Its mixture of symphonic and programmatic practices serves to dramatize the effects of time on pastoral idylls and the role of morality therein. The work can be interpreted as a confrontation with these fundamentally human issues rather than—as many twentieth-century commentators have assumed—the representation of a mythical or prelapsarian paradise.

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<sup>32</sup> **Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony as a "Sinfonia caratteristica"**

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<sup>32</sup> **The Prophetic Conversation in Beethoven's "Scene by the Brook"**

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<sup>39</sup> **Mozart, Haydn and the Sinfonia da Chiesa**

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<sup>49</sup> **The Triad as Place and Action**

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<sup>51</sup> **The Triad as Place and Action**

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<sup>53</sup> **The Triad as Place and Action**

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**NOTE:** *The reference numbering from the original has been maintained in this citation list.*

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<sup>54</sup> **The Triad as Place and Action**

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<sup>55</sup> **The Triad as Place and Action**

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<sup>77</sup> **The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin's Nocturne in G Minor**

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<sup>78</sup> **Beethoven's Sixth Symphony: Sketches for the First Movement**

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<sup>109</sup> **Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony as a "Sinfonia caratteristica"**

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