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Aspen discussion

Parts 1 and 2

1: Beethoven's Three Styles: Essential Framework or Musicological Chimera?

In an influential study titled *Beethoven et ses Trois Styles* (1852), Wilhelm von Lenz maintained that "like Raphael and Rubens, Beethoven has a first, a second, and a third manner, all three perfectly characterized."[1] Lenz was among the first to base his ternary periodization of Beethoven's oeuvre systematically on stylistic concerns. However, his was by no means the first attempt at such a periodization. Previous efforts, including one published in Vienna as early as 1818 (nine years *before* Beethoven's death), implicitly drew on conventional models of artistic development, such as the progression from "apprentice" to "journeyman" to "master" that dates back to the craft guilds of the medieval period. Such models have retained their significance into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, even as the concept of Beethoven's three styles has been elaborated and debated.

The main features of the three styles as we know them are recognizable as early as 1837, in François-Joseph Fétis's *Biographie universelle des musiciens*. According to Fétis, Beethoven's first period was characterized by a reverence for and progressive mastery of the style of Mozart. The second period, lasting "about ten years," was characterized by stylistic independence, and the third period had elements of "mysticism" and formal innovation but also a loss of "spontaneity" and occasional bouts of "incoherence." Fétis viewed the second period—not the third—as the most representative of Beethoven's mastery, and his account is striking for the emphasis it places on the *Eroica* as a benchmark of style:

[1] Wilhelm von Lenz, *Beethoven et ses trois styles*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1852–3), vol. 1, 66.

> But it is particularly in the third (*heroic*) symphony, opus 55, that the genius of the artist manifests itself in the absolute character of the creation. There, all trace of earlier forms vanishes; the composer is himself; his individuality arises majestically; his oeuvre becomes the model of a period in art history.[2]

Many later critics have agreed that the *Eroica* signals a sea change in Beethoven's style, viewing its expanded dimensions, radical formal innovations, and psychological or dramatic resonance as evidence of a new compositional paradigm. This has in turn been linked with the idea of a "new path" or "wholly new style" of which Beethoven himself spoke around 1802.

Like Fétis, contemporaries of Beethoven such as E. T. A. Hoffmann and A. B. Marx held "middle-period" works like the *Eroica* and Fifth Symphonies in high esteem. By contrast, Beethoven's "late" works were not fully embraced until well after his death. Initially written off as the products of deafness or madness, these works came to higher recognition in the era of Richard Wagner and Franz Liszt. Since that time, many have considered Beethoven's most supreme and transcendent works to be those of his late period, viewing the music of his earlier periods as in some sense preparatory.

The three-period model perhaps serves best in thinking about the string quartets, which were composed in three clusters. Many have observed an almost palpable sense of evolution from the six "early" quartets of Op. 18 (composed 1798–1800), which bear a strong kinship to the quartets of Mozart and Haydn, to the five "middle" quartets (1806–1810), all of which push

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[2] François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1837), vol. 2, 110.

compositional and aesthetic boundaries, to the "late" quartets (1825–1826), which redefined the genre in terms of complexity and expressive depth. But the hegemonic quality of the three-period model, even here, can paper over important nuances. The String Quartet in F Major, Op. 135, for instance, inhabits a somewhat different world from the other "late" quartets. As K. M. Knittel has shown, it has long been viewed as a retrogressive work because it adheres more closely to classical norms and procedures.[3]

The Fourth Symphony (1806) presents a similar problem. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, critics championed the heroic ethos of struggle and transcendence that characterizes many of the compositions of the middle period (not least of all the *Eroica*). But the Fourth Symphony does not conform easily to this paradigm, and rather than reject the paradigm, critics have often described the work as a stylistic regression, or simply ignored it. As early as 1830, A. B. Marx maintained that this symphony belongs "in the same sphere with Mozart's, Spohr's, and other symphonies in which the composer has not yet risen to a heightened awareness, to a specific idea," arguing that one must "unconditionally recognize a higher meaning" in Beethoven's mature odd-numbered symphonies (3, 5, 7, 9) and the programmatic *Pastoral.*[4] By 1857, Alexandre Oulibicheff had labeled the Fourth Symphony the "bête noire" of Beethoven criticism, noting that his contemporaries viewed it as a Homeric nod. For Joseph Kerman, writing in the authoritative context of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, neither the Fourth nor the Eighth Symphony celebrates Beethoven's "symphonic

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[3] See K. M. Knittel, "'Late', Last, and Least: On Being Beethoven's Quartet in F Major, Op. 135," *Music and Letters* 87, no. 1 (2006): 16–51.

[4] Review of March 20, 1830 (*Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 7: 92), reproduced and translated in Wayne Senner and William Meredith, eds., Robin Wallace, trans. and ed., *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions by His German Contemporaries*, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), vol. 2, 66–7.

ideal," the unprecedented fusion of technical and expressive mastery that he considers "probably Beethoven's greatest single achievement."[5] As I've argued elsewhere, the Fourth Symphony owes much indeed to the symphonic tradition of Haydn and Mozart, but it also stands in a complex relationship both to this tradition and to the so-called heroic style.[6] More generally, as scholars such as Elaine Sisman, Lewis Lockwood, Nicholas Cook, Nicholas Mathew, and Nancy November have stressed, the heroic paradigm, particularly in its narrowly construed sense, falls short of reflecting the breadth and heterogeneity of the middle period. To equate "middle" with "heroic" is to elide a multiplicity of styles and impulses.

The three-period model and its associated constructions have come under scrutiny in recent years. Some reasons for this include 1) the tendency to collapse Beethoven's Bonn years and early Vienna years into a single period, 2) the tendency to undervalue or dismiss Beethoven's early music by virtue of its being "early," 3) the tendency to elevate the music of the canonically "heroic" and "late" Beethoven at the expense of "other" works understood as not being in the mainstream of Beethoven's development, 4) the desire to broach alternative and/or more integrative models of Beethoven's life, career, and compositional development. Giorgio Pestelli and Stephen Rumph, for instance, have advocated for the year 1809 (rather than 1802) as the start of Beethoven's second creative period. This model has several advantages in that it registers major changes in Beethoven's life and music circa 1809 which the traditional ternary model papers over, such as the signing of the "annuity contract" (guaranteeing Beethoven income as long as he remained in Vienna), the political upheaval of the second French

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[5] Joseph Kerman et al., "Beethoven, Ludwig van," in *Grove Music Online (Oxford Music Online)*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40026pg14 (accessed September 29, 2017).
[6] Mark Ferraguto, *Beethoven 1806* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), chapters 1 and 4.

occupation, the death of Haydn, and the turns toward antiquarianism and lyricism in Beethoven's music. Lewis Lockwood has posited the concept of three "maturities," a designation that avoids the teleological thrust of the "early–middle–late" formulation. Nancy November has also advanced an alternate model, advocating for a "theatrical epoch" spanning roughly 1800–1 (*The Creatures of Prometheus*, Op. 41) through 1815 (*Leonore Prohaska*, WoO 96) and marked by "intensifications" in 1804–6 (*Leonore*/*Fidelio*, Op. 72) and 1809–10 (*Egmont*, Op. 84).

To what extent is the threefold periodization early—middle—late (whatever its precise boundaries or designations) an accurate or helpful reflection of Beethoven's stylistic development? To what extent is it a chimera, an illusory schema that tells us more about our desire to impose order and meaning than it does about Beethoven's personal trajectory? Is there an optimal version of this schema for thinking about Beethoven's output or career? Lastly, what is the role of biography in framing narratives about style, and to what extent should major life events or crises (such as the onset of deafness, described by Beethoven in 1802) be taken into account in thinking about his musical development?

2: Beethoven's Three Styles in Microcosm

One method of interrogating the idea of the three styles is to compare works of a similar character composed at different moments in Beethoven's career. As mentioned earlier, the quartets make an especially compelling argument for the notion of early, middle, and late styles. Let us consider how Beethoven handles the complex matter of endings in individual quartets composed in 1798-99, 1806, and 1825-26.

i. An "early-period" ending: String Quartet in B-flat Major, Op. 18, no. 6, finale (*La Malinconia*)

Angus Watson, author of *Beethoven's Chamber Music in Context*, writes the following about the finale of Op. 18, no. 6 (composed circa 1798-99):

> Beethoven had typhus in 1796 and suffered from bouts of severe depression ("melancholy") from time to time thereafter, so he knew only too well what it is like to experience feelings of total despair. In *La Malinconia* he expressed those feelings in awesome, almost clinical detail, anticipating the psychological and spiritual insights of his later years.[7]

We may or may not agree with Watson's contention that Beethoven was expressing his private feelings in this movement—perhaps he was reflecting on generalized emotions or affects, or

[7] Angus Watson, *Beethoven's Chamber Music in Context* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 102.

even adapting the genre of the character piece (often associated with keyboard composers like Couperin and Rameau) to the string quartet.

Nevertheless, his use of the title "La Malinconia" (Melancholy) indicates that the movement is based on a program or extramusical idea. Indeed, the movement leverages the idea of the "characteristic" or "programmatic" in service of a dialectical finale based on opposing emotional or psychological states. The slow introduction, with its languid turn figures, chromatic wanderings, and unsettling pangs of emotion, represents the melancholic sufferer. The dance-like Allegretto that follows suggests a turn toward cheerful sanguinity. As in the first movement of the *Pathétique* sonata (another characteristic work), the slow introduction makes a surprising return, here threatening the *lieto fine* that Beethoven seemed to have promised us. Although the sanguine melody eventually prevails, its final, breathless statement in the Prestissimo might be heard alternately as a decisive banishment of melancholy, or as a last, nervous attempt to keep it at bay.

Watson draws a thread from this early quartet to the late style, almost certainly thinking of the sublime slow movement of Op. 132, which Beethoven titled "Holy Song of Thanks to the Godhead, from a Convalescent, in the Lydian mode." In this movement, composed after Beethoven's recovery from severe illness, a devout, chorale-like song of thanks in F Lydian alternates with vigorous music in D major, marked by Beethoven "feeling new strength." It is instructive to consider how Beethoven projects a similar sense of alternating emotional or psychological states in this "late" work, but using completely different musical means (and with vastly different—and immensely more profound—results). This is not in any way to diminish the "Malinconia" finale, which is a wonderfully inventive movement and an effective ending for the Op. 18 quartets, but simply to emphasize the degree to which Beethoven's ability to express an

abstract idea—contrasting emotions or spiritual conditions—deepened over the years. Let us hear two short excerpts from the "Malinconia" finale, the opening of the wistful and melancholy slow introduction (mm. 1-20) and the opening of the sanguine Allegretto (mm. 1-16).

ii. A "middle-period" ending: String Quartet in F Major, Op. 59, no. 1, finale

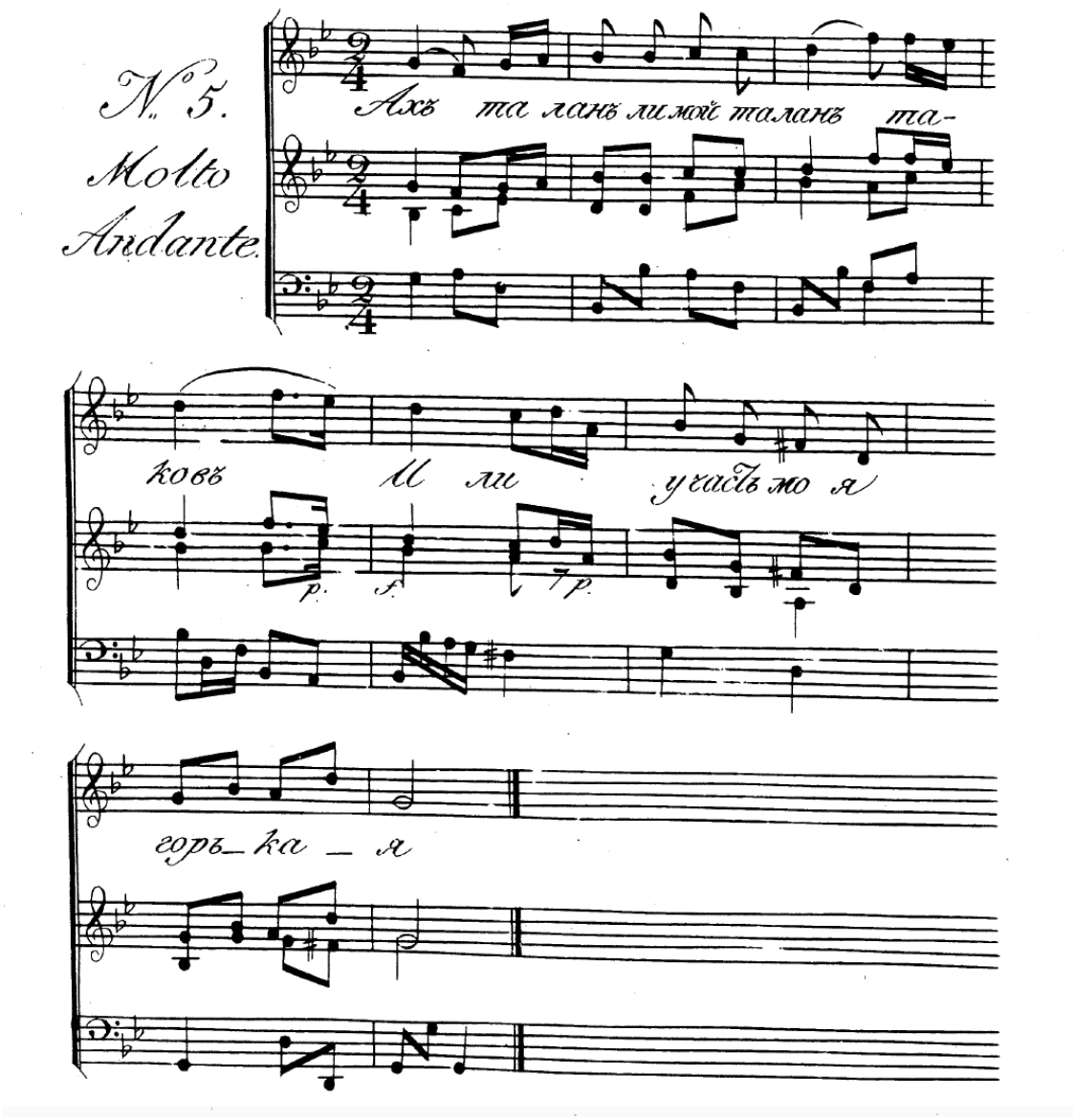
The finale of Op. 59, no. 1 shows Beethoven engaging in a different ending strategy, also familiar from much eighteenth-century music: basing a movement on a pre-existing tune. As in the case of the *Eroica*, the finale of which is based on a contredanse from his popular ballet *The Creatures of Prometheus*, he appears to have begun with the end in mind and to have designed the rest of the work to lead up to it. In this case, the melody is a Russian folksong drawn from a collection edited by Nikolai Lvov and Ivan Prach, first published in 1790 (see Example 1 below).

Beethoven's finale has been sharply criticized in modern times for its apparent mistreatment of the Russian melody. Richard Taruskin has particularly pointed to the fact that while the original folksong is a lament, Beethoven has transformed it into the theme of a brisk Allegro while also subjecting it to ostentatious "Germanic" contrapuntal treatments such as canon and fugato. In my view, these transformations represent Beethoven's wilful adaptation of the popular Russian tune to the "highbrow" idiom of the quartet.[8] Treating the theme contrapuntally was a means of celebrating it, and Beethoven surely intended his sophisticated essay on the Russian melody as a gracious gesture toward the dedicatee of these quartets, Count Andrey Razumovsky. Razumovsky, the Russian ambassador in Vienna, was a generous patron of

[8] Ferraguto, *Beethoven 1806*, 70ff.

Beethoven's, an accomplished amateur violinist, and a connoisseur of the quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.

The adaptation of folksongs—whatever their origin or nationality—to the context of European art music necessarily implied changes to the source material. Indeed, the measure of a successful folksong adaptation—from the point of view of its European (or Europeanized) consumers—had less to do with the preservation of the song's original character than with the degree to which it was artfully reworked into the new context. Beethoven reworks his borrowed melody with aplomb. In the coda, for instance, he takes two segments of the Russian tune, reverses them, and recombines them to form a fugal subject. The brief fugato ushers in a final reharmonized statement of the complete Russian tune, played serenely in the first violin's highest possible register. Beethoven thus "elevates" the Russian tune in two senses. If the "Malinconia" is a study in opposing emotional or psychological states, the finale of Op. 59, no. 1 shows that opposites—low and high, popular and learned, Russian and European—can be combined with spectacular results. Let us have a listen to the entire coda now, beginning with the fugato section based on the Russian theme and concluding with its high-register apotheosis in the first violin (mm. 266-end).



Example 1: “Ah, Whether It’s My Luck, Such Luck” (Akh! talan li moi, talan takoi), in the Lvov-Pratsch Collection (LPC), 1806

Ah, whether it’s my luck, such luck,
or my bitter destiny.

iii. Two "late-period" endings: the original and substitute finales of the String Quartet in B-flat Major, Op. 130

The String Quartet in B-flat Major, Op. 130, has the distinction among the quartets of being the only work with "two viable finales, each a plausible ending […]"[9] The original finale for this unique six-movement work is the colossal *Grand Fugue*, a 741-measure tour-de-force described by an early reviewer as being "incomprehensible, like Chinese."[10] This finale is both intellectually and technically imposing, and it is no surprise that early performers and audiences struggled with it, despite appreciating the quartet's earlier movements. At the suggestion of the publisher Artaria, Beethoven agreed to write a more accessible finale for Op. 130 and to publish the *Grand Fugue* as a standalone work (Op. 133).

There has been debate about which is the "correct" finale for Op. 130, with compelling arguments on both sides. Nowadays, one hears the quartet performed both ways. Some ensembles even choose to perform Op. 130 as a seven-movement work with two finales or to perform the entire quartet twice in a single concert, once with each finale. Some questions that might be posed about these two finales:

- Given that Op. 130 is a "cyclic" work (one in which the movements relate to each other in various, often subtle, ways) does one finale complete the cycle in a more convincing way than the other?

[9] Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life* (New York: Norton, 2003), 459.
[10] Quoted in Lockwood, 460.

- Which finale better suits the quartet's overall design, the mammoth *Grand Fugue* (a movement that dwarfs the earlier ones) or the more compact substitute finale (a movement that is more equitably balanced with them)?

- Is it important, as in Beethoven's original intention, for Op. 130 to conclude with a fugue? What implications does this closing gesture toward the music of Handel and Bach have with regard to the quartet as a whole, and does one lose something without the fugue as a culmination or summation of the whole?

In considering the matter of Beethoven's alternative endings, Maynard Solomon suggests that "For the masters of the Classical style in its floodtide—including the young Beethoven—all happy endings were more or less alike; for late-period Beethoven, all happy endings are dissimilar, because they are uncertain renderings of an impermanent felicity, elaborating novel solutions to the problem of the ending."[11] As the "Malinconia" illustrates, Beethoven was already elaborating novel solutions to this problem from the beginning, but Solomon's point is well-taken, insofar as the late-period endings are almost always harder won, psychologically more diversified, and generically more ambiguous. The two finales of Op. 130, in this regard, represent a crystallization of Beethoven's tendency, already apparent in Op. 18 and Op. 59, to consider the problem of ending from a seemingly inexhaustible number of vantage points. I will conclude with a brief excerpt of the *Grand Fugue* (mm. 30-79); keep in mind, as you listen, that this difficult, enigmatic movement lasts roughly fifteen minutes in performance.

[11] Maynard Solomon, *Late Beethoven: Music, Thought, Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 218-19.

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Part 3

I. Beethoven's sketches as sources of insight into his works

II. The Emergence of the "Eroica" Symphony

I

Beethoven left to posterity a mass of sketches, drafts, composing scores, and other material that give us deep insight into the compositional evolution of a vast number of his works. From 1798 to 1826, the last year of his creative life, he regularly used desk and pocket sketchbooks, of which a total of seventy are still extant. In his later years he could look back upon the long arc of his own creative history, as a mass of sketchbooks stood upon a shelf.

Though only a small number of them are as yet fully available in reliable modern editions, we know their contents from many studies that have proliferated since they were first described by Gustav Nottebohm in the 19th century. After Beethoven's death in 1827 many sketchbooks went to collectors, and some were scattered, dismembered or otherwise maltreated by various owners. It was as late as 1985 that an Anglo-American team of scholars–-Douglas Johnson, Alan Tyson, and Robert Winter-–produced a comprehensive inventory and brilliant reconstruction of all the known sketchbooks and related manuscript leaves, creating a basic reference tool.[1]

What kinds of insights do the sketchbooks give us? To start with, they are like artistic diaries for every year of Beethoven's productive life. They show us how he built up his compositions from his initial musical ideas, writing segments of music that range from short

[1] The Beethoven Sketchbooks: History, Reconstruction, Inventory (Berkeley, 1985).

passages to lengthy continuity drafts for long sections of instrumental or vocal works. They also contain innumerable ideas for works that did not come to completion, along with musical fragments, verbal comments and other jottings.

In the sketchbooks, with some exceptions, we see Beethoven normally writing down his flow of musical thought on single staves, making visible his basic material in compressed linear form. But that Beethoven was thinking more comprehensively as he worked in his sketchbooks, is startlingly clear from a little-known verbal entry in a sketchbook of 1810 that contains material for his F-minor quartet Op. 95 and other major works of that year. In the course of work on this quartet Beethoven writes this memo to himself (of course in German): "Get used to sketching all the voices as they appear in my mind." Now it is the case that "sketching all the voices" was generally more characteristic for his work on string quartets than for other genres, though it is by no means consistent. But in general, for multi–voice compositions for ensembles or for orchestra, it would have been physically impossible for him to create scores within a small sketchbook and maintain the book as an entity. Still, this entry confirms our intuition that the single-stave sketches we see in so many of the sketchbooks can indeed be seen as concentrated representations of the larger and more complex musical ideas that would have been burgeoning in Beethoven's mind as he wrote.

From his sketches for a given work the typical next step would have been to a composing score, with all the voices displayed; then to a finished autograph manuscript. Then the autograph would go to a copyist who would prepare a copy for the publisher, and which Beethoven would often correct if he could. We possess a great many autograph manuscripts of Beethoven's works, from his early-middle period onward, and most of them display changes and corrections, sometimes on a grand scale. For the nine symphonies we lack autographs for Nos. 1,

2, and 3, but we do have all his autograph manuscripts for the symphonies Nos. 4 through 9. Most of the late-stage changes in these and other autographs have yet to be carefully and systematically studied, a major task for future Beethoven research. All of this material directly reflects the relentless self-criticism that was characteristic of his artistic life.

II

We turn now to a brief discussion of our main example, the "Eroica" Symphony. Composed in 1803-04, but only published in 1806, it is by common consent a basic landmark in Beethoven's artistic career and in the whole history of Western music. Everyone knows that he originally planned to dedicate the work to Napoleon Bonaparte, who had risen to power as First Consul, the undisputed leader of post-revolutionary France. But as we know from contemporary testimony, when Napoleon crowned himself Emperor in 1804, Beethoven was enraged, tore off the title page of the main copy of his new symphony, and denounced Napoleon as a tyrant who "will trample on all the rights of man!"

When it was published in 1806, the symphony bore the title"Heroic Symphony ...composed to celebrate the memory of a great man." In my view this "great man" is no longer Napoleon or any individual, but an ideal, mythic figure, whose heroism "is represented by the power and weight of this symphony, and whose death is commemorated in its Funeral March as second movement."[2]

A remarkable fact about the "Eroica" is that, unlike any other Beethoven symphony, its origins go back to two earlier and fully finished composition-–his"Prometheus" ballet of 1800-1801, and more directly to its successor, his "Fifteen Variations and Fugue" for piano in Eb

[2]L. Lockwood, Beethoven's Symphonies: An Artistic Vision (Norton, 2015), 55.

Major of 1802, based on the theme and bass of the finale of the ballet. This large and imposing keyboard work is the direct antecedent of the finale of the "Eroica," which is a freely developed movement based on the same musical material. The piano variations open with an introduction that states and develops the "Basso del Tema" (the "Bass of the Theme"), which then goes through four stages of presentation, rising in register, before the "Tema" (the "Theme") sails in, setting the stage for a magnificent set of elaborations that culminate in the final Fugue.

The "Eroica" finale, after a whirling opening flourish, presents the same "Basso del Tema" in successive statements, now three times, after which the "Tema" arrives to fill out the opening section. Then the movement develops freely in ways that fulfill and complete the vast symphonic structure that had come before in the first three movements.

The preceding three movements of the "Eroica" unleash a degree of power and expressivity hitherto unknown in the symphonic tradition. The immense first movement conveys a sense of large-scale musical drama, with its enormous Development section, its breath-taking preparation for the return of the main theme at the Recapitulation, and its wonderful coda. The slow movement, the lengthy Funeral March for the presumed hero, unfolds in great passages of pathos and expressivity in C minor, then brings a degree of consolation in the C major section that follows. And the dynamic Scherzo, rising from its rapid pianissimo opening to its dynamic principal themes, gives way to the Trio, in which three French horns declare what might have sounded to contemporaries like stylized calls to battle, but, as George Grove once put it, "if ever horns talked like flesh and blood, and in their own human accents, they do it here."[3]

Then the finale brings its special qualities, directly reflecting the fact that the ballet had

[3]Beetrhoven and his Nine Symphonies (London, 1896; Dover repring, 76.

been about the Titan Prometheus, who brought clay figures to life as human beings, and gave them art, science, and civilization. It completes the concept of the work as an expression of the "heroic, in all its forms and in the widest sense of the word.

We will listen to the openings of the four movements, with the beginning of the Piano Variations Op. 35 heard before the symphony's finale.

Listening Examples:

First movement, opening, mm. 1-37

Second movement, opening, mm.1-6

Third Movement: opening, mm. 1-28

Piano Variations, Op. 35, mm. 1-33 (first and second sections only)

Fourth movement, mm. 1-43

After finishing the Op. 35 piano variations in 1802, Beethoven laid out his first plan for what became this symphony in a sketchbook (the "Wielhorsky" sketchbook, now in Moscow). They show his early intention to have a slow introduction in duple meter; then a first movement in 3/4 with a main theme that is actually similar in contour to the opening of the same "Bass of the Theme" he had used in the keyboard work. Then comes a C-major lyrical Adagio in 6/8 that, amazingly, resembles the eventual slow movement theme of his last quartet, Op. 135.
It is followed by sketches for a "Menuetto Serioso" as third movement. There is no sign of a finale sketch in this early plan, presumably because he had predetermined that the finale was to be derived from the "Prometheus" Variations, just as it continued to be in the final version of this great symphony.

The next main stage of composition of the "Eroica" in final form came in the "Eroica

Sketchbook" (formerly in Berlin, now in Krakow) in which the basic thematic material of all four movements is worked out, with many revisions, almost always on single staves, through the entire first part of this enormous sketchbook. Just to note a basic change — the original lyrical slow movement in C major is now replaced by the Funeral March in C minor, a decisive alteration that must have accompanied his vision that should not just be a third symphony but a "heroic" work that breaks new ground. The "Eroica" sketchbook also contains important sketches for other works of 1803-04, including the "Waldstein" Sonata. It also includes Beethoven's initial ideas for movements of what later became the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies, along with early ideas for the opera Leonore, plus other compositions.[4]

In a valuable book on the heroic ideal in Beethoven, Scott Burnham writes about the reception accorded this great work by 19th-century writers, including Nietzsche and Wagner:

> "With this one work, Beethoven is said to liberate music from the stays of eighteenth-century convention, singlehandedly bringing music into a new age by giving it a transcendent voice equal to Western man's most cherished values."[5]

In closing, I will just offer the personal view that in the present condition of life and culture—deeply beset by threatening conditions here and across the world, among them the current pandemic and oncoming climate change– our ability to sustain the values that Burnham describes, through deep involvement in high art music of this caliber, has never seemed more vital.

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[4]The full contents in facsimile and transcription, with commentary, are available in Beethoven's "Eroica" Sketchbook: A Critical Edition, ed. by Lewis Lockwood and Alan Gosman, 2 vols., (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013

[5]Scott Burnham, Beethoven Hero (Princeton, 1995), xvi.