

Beethoven Poet: Hector Berlioz's "A Critical Study of Beethoven's Nine Symphonies"  
at the Crossroads of French Romanticism

by

Allison Star

M. Mus., Dominican University of San Rafael, California, 1991

M. A., The University of Victoria, 2002

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of  
Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the School of Music

Allison Star, 2011  
(c)The University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This dissertation may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopying or by other means, without the permission of the author.

Beethoven Poet: Hector Berlioz's "A Critical Study of Beethoven's Nine Symphonies"  
at the Crossroads of French Romanticism

by

Allison Star  
M. Mus., Dominican University of San Rafael, California, 1991  
M. A., The University of Victoria, 2002

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Michelle Fillion, Supervisor (School of Music)

Dr. Susan Lewis Hammond, Academic Unit Member (School of Music)

Dr. Jonathan Goldman, Academic Unit Member (School of Music)

Dr. Hélène Cazes, U.Vic Non-unit Member (Department of French)

### **Supervisory Committee**

Dr. Michelle Fillion, Supervisor (School of Music)

Dr. Susan Lewis Hammond, Academic Unit Member (School of Music)

Dr. Jonathan Goldman, Academic Unit Member (School of Music)

Dr. H el ene Cazes, U.Vic Non-unit Member (Department of French)

### **Abstract**

In attempts to take a step towards illustrating Berlioz’s musical aesthetic, my dissertation explores his “Critical Study” as his manifesto of the new poetic in music, which uses Beethoven’s symphonies as models. First published in 1844, his “Critical Study” is a collection of individual essays on each of Beethoven’s nine symphonies – the most widely known version of these essays originally published in the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* in 1837-8. This collection of essays derives from a reworking of Berlioz’s earliest articles on Beethoven (1829-37), notably his reviews of a new concert series at the *Soci t  des concerts du Conservatoire* that premiered Beethoven’s symphonies in Paris. Almost ten years in the making, Berlioz’s “Critical Study” represents the pinnacle of his writings on Beethoven. Here he promotes Beethoven’s “romantic” symphonies as models of “poetic” forms, within the context of emerging French literary Romanticism. I examined some of the key components in Beethoven’s music that most occupy Berlioz as critic and, in turn, how Berlioz as composer develops these key components in his own contribution to the symphonic genre – his *Rom o et Juliette* (1839), composed at the peak of his Beethoven study. Ultimately, I hope to have demonstrated that the subtle mixture of

the musical, the poetic, the critical-pedagogical, and the cultural that intersect in Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* exemplifies the same aesthetic of the poetic that he promotes in Beethoven's symphonies.

## Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
Tables.....	vii
Table of Musical Examples.....	viii
Table of Figures.....	ix
Introduction.....	1
Chapter I: The Genesis of Berlioz’s “A Critical Study of Beethoven’s Nine Symphonies”.....	23
Beethoven in France, 1800-28.....	24
Berlioz’s Early Encounters with Beethoven.....	34
Berlioz’s Early Critical Writings on Beethoven, 1829-30.....	36
The July Monarchy: Flamboyant Romanticism in the Press.....	51
Berlioz’s Second Stage: The Reviews of The <i>Société des concerts du Conservatoire</i> (1833-6) .....	54
Dissemination of Berlioz’s Reviews of the <i>Concerts du Conservatoire</i> , 1834-5.....	57
Berlioz’s Third Stage of Critical Writings on Beethoven, 1837-8.....	65
Chapter II: Berlioz as <i>critique savant</i> : Beethoven’s Compositional Techniques and the Aesthetic of the Symphony.....	70
Beethoven the Traditionalist: The First, Second, Fourth, and Eighth Symphonies.....	92

The <i>Eroica</i> Symphony and Antique Beauty.....	110
The Fifth and Seventh Symphonies .....	116
The Modern Pittoresque Sixth Symphony.....	131
The Ninth Symphony in D minor, Op. 125, “Choral” (1824).....	141
 Chapter III: Berlioz as <i>Critique poétique</i> of Beethoven: Narrative, Image, and Imagination.....	 155
Beethoven’s Music as Meaning: Metaphor, Narrative, and Poetic Idea.....	157
French Romantic Literary Precedents of the <i>Poétique</i> .....	162
Berlioz’s Literary Narrative: Poetic Style and Meaning.....	168
Beethoven’s Poetic Idea and Narrative Style: Berlioz’s Essays as Thematic Groups.....	169
Beethoven Traditional Symphonies: The First, Second, Fourth, and Eighth Symphonies.....	172
Beethoven as Poet of Antique Beauty: The <i>Eroica</i> and the Traditions of Virgil.....	185
Beethoven as Poet of High Drama: The Fifth and Seventh Symphonies and Shakespeare.....	195
Beethoven Poet of Modern Symphonic “Poems”: The Sixth and Ninth Symphonies.....	211
 Chapter IV: Beethoven’s Influence on Berlioz’s <i>Roméo et Juliette</i> .....	 238
Genesis: Berlioz and Shakespeare.....	244
The Voices.....	253
The Voice of the Orchestra.....	261

Berlioz's Mode of Melody.....	264
Roméo's theme.....	270
<i>Roméo seul – Tristesse – Concert et Bal. Grande Fête chez Capulet.....</i>	<i>272</i>
<i>Scène d'amour: Nuit sereine – Le Jardin de Capulet silencieux et désert.....</i>	<i>281</i>
<i>Roméo au tombeau des Capulets.....</i>	<i>298</i>
Conclusion.....	312
Bibliography.....	327

## Tables

## Chapter I

Table I: Berlioz's Early Articles on Beethoven, <i>Le Correspondant</i> (1829-30).....	46
Table II: Early Reviews of Conservatory Concerts (1833-4) .....	55
Table III: Dissemination of Berlioz's Reviews of <i>Concerts du Conservatoire</i> (1834-5).....	58
Table IV: Berlioz's Conservatory Reviews for the <i>Revue et gazette musicale de Paris</i> (1836).....	60
Table V: Berlioz's articles for <i>Revue et gazette musicale de Paris</i> on Beethoven (1837-8).....	61
Table VI: Berlioz's Essays on Beethoven's Nine Symphonies in the <i>RGM</i> (1837-8).....	66

## Chapter II

Table I: Beethoven's Symphony No. 9, Finale: Berlioz's Concept of "Bridge".....	144
Table II: Beethoven's Symphony No. 9, Finale: Joy Theme as "various transformations".....	148

## Chapter IV

Table I: Comparison of Shakespeare's play and Berlioz's symphony.....	250
Table II: Comparison of Beethoven's and Berlioz's "Bridge".....	266
Table III: No. 2 <i>Roméo seul – Tristesse – Concert et Bal</i> .....	273
Table IV: Beethoven's <i>Adagio</i> , Ninth Symphony and Berlioz's <i>Scène d'amour</i> .....	284
Table V: No. 6 <i>Roméo au tombeau des Capulets</i> .....	298

## Table of Musical Examples

## Chapter II: Musical Examples of passages in Beethoven's Symphonies

Example 1: Symphony No. 4, <i>Allegro vivace</i> , mm. 269-77.....	100
Example 2: Symphony No. 4, <i>Adagio</i> , mm. 50-4.....	104
Example 3: Symphony No. 3, <i>Allegro con brio</i> , mm. 25-35.....	112
Example 4: Symphony No. 3, <i>Allegro con brio</i> , mm. 31-9.....	114
Example 5: Symphony No. 5, Finale: <i>Allegro molto</i> , mm. 1-5.....	119
Example 6: Symphony No. 5, Finale: <i>Allegro molto</i> , mm. 216-227.....	120
Example 7: Symphony No. 7, <i>Poco sostenuto-Vivace</i> , mm. 53-62.....	127
Example 8: Symphony No. 6, <i>Scene by the brook</i> , mm. 129-33.....	136

Chapter IV: Musical Examples of passages in Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette*

Example 1: Roméo's theme, Prologue, mm. 91-8.....	275
Example 2: No. 2, <i>Roméo seul</i> mm. 1-22.....	277
Example 3: Convergence of Love Theme	
a. Roméo's theme (B1, A Major), mm. 146-155.....	293
b. Juliette's fragment ( A 3, f #), mm. 246-55 .....	293
c. Composite love theme, m. 274 .....	294
Example 4: <i>Largo: Invocation at L'istesso tempo</i> , mm: 76-89.....	300

## Table of Figures

## Chapter III

Figure 1: Peter Paul Rubens, <i>St. George and the Dragon</i> .....	189
Figure 2: Eugène Delacroix, <i>Perseus and Andromeda</i> .....	190
Figure 3: Nicolas Poussin, <i>The Grapes of the Promised Land</i> .....	217
Figure 4 : Michelangelo, Drawing of the <i>Libyan Sibyl</i> .....	219
Figure 5: Anonymous, <i>Beethoven Composing the Pastoral by a Brook</i> .....	225

## Siglium

- AM* *The Art of Music and Other Essays (À Travers chants)*. Translated and edited by Elizabeth Csicsery-Ronay. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- ATC* *À Travers chants: études musicales, adorations, boutades et critiques par Hector Berlioz*. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, Libraires Éditeurs, 1862.
- Corr.* *Correspondance générale de Hector Berlioz*. Vol. I: 1803-32. Edited by Pierre Citron. Paris: Flammarion, 1972.
- CS* *A Critical Study of Beethoven's Nine Symphonies*. Translated by Edwin Evans. Introduction by D. Kern Holoman. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000.
- Gt* *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes*. Edited by Peter Bloom. Kassel, New York: Bärenreiter, 2003.
- M* *Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*. Translated by Rachel Holmes and Eleanor Holmes. Edited by Ernest Newman. New York: Tudor Publishing, 1932.
- NBE* *Hector Berlioz: New Edition of the Complete Works*. Hugh Macdonald, general editor. Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter, 1969-2006.
- OT* *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: a translation and commentary*. Translation and commentary by Hugh Macdonald. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- RGM* *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*. Edited by Maurice Schlesinger. Paris: Schlesinger, 1831-40.
- TI* Berlioz, Hector & Richard Strauss. *Treatise on Instrumentation*. Translated by Theodore Front (New York: Dover, 1991).
- VM* "Étude critique des symphonies de Beethoven." In *Voyage musical en Allemagne et en Italie. Études sur Beethoven, Gluck et Weber. Mélanges et nouvelles par Hector Berlioz*. Volume I.. Paris: Jules Labitte, Libraire Éditeur, 1844. Reprinted in the original French in London by Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1970.

# Beethoven Poet: Hector Berlioz's "A Critical Study of Beethoven's Nine Symphonies" at the Crossroads of French Romanticism

## Introduction

The reception history of music highlights the responses of particular cultural communities and the ideology governing the function of music within society. My project contributes to the growing discipline of the reception of the symphonies of both Beethoven and Berlioz and the ideology of French romanticism. To this end, I illustrate that Hector Berlioz's "Étude critique des symphonies de Beethoven" is a significant document of both Beethoven and Berlioz reception. First published in 1844, his "Critical Study" is a collection of individual essays on each of Beethoven's nine symphonies that derives from a reworking of his earliest articles on Beethoven (1829-38), notably his reviews of a new concert series at the *Société des concerts du Conservatoire* that premiered Beethoven's symphonies in Paris.<sup>1</sup> Berlioz's "Critical Study" represents the pinnacle of his interest in, enthusiasm for, and exploration of Beethoven's music. My research aims to contribute to current trends in Beethoven reception and the history of music journalism, by illustrating how his "Critical Study" advocates an aesthetic concept of Beethoven as poet that coexisted with the well known trope of the "Beethoven hero" in German critical

---

<sup>1</sup> Without wishing to mislead the reader, I state these titles exactly as they appear in publication; however, please note that all extant English translations of Berlioz's "Critical Study" add the word "Nine." H. Berlioz, "Étude critique des symphonies de Beethoven," *Voyage musical en Allemagne et en Italie: Études sur Beethoven, Gluck et Weber: Mélanges et nouvelles* (Paris: Jules Labitte, Libraire-Editeur, no. 3, Quai Voltaire, 1844, vol. I. and II; reprint London: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1970, 263-355.

tradition, within the context of the French Romantic literary movement and the new aesthetic of the *poétique romantique*.<sup>2</sup> Berlioz promotes the “poetic” in a new form of journalism that intertwines musical discussion by a *critique savant* (musically educated critic), with a literary narrative that promotes *la critique poétique* (poetic criticism) that allows him to explain how Beethoven unfolds each of his symphonies as a coherent poetic idea. My analysis illustrates Berlioz’s establishment of a “science” or methodology by which to evaluate how specific compositional procedures are combined to create poetic elements of style and expression; and how his vivid use of literary imagery conveys the aesthetic effects of these musical-poetic elements. Finally, my study demonstrates the reciprocal influence of Berlioz’s understanding of Beethoven’s poetic music on his own artistic ideals as a critic, and on his own novel compositional contributions to the symphonic genre.

The remarkable meeting of these two musicians through music journalism was made possible by a surge in Parisian musical activity in the 1830s. Berlioz began to establish himself as a composer and journalist at this time, when Paris was the most populous city in Europe and France was experiencing a vibrant musical and literary resurgence. The early nineteenth century was the dawn of the French press, and the establishment of French Romanticism paralleled the development of music journalism and an increase in the number of journals and literary publications that dealt with musical life either in part or exclusively. *La presse musicale* gave extensive attention to musical activities in the 1830s through specialist music journals, *feuilletons* (a title given to articles and/or short serialized stories) in daily newspapers, and musical articles in literary, theatrical, and political journals, satirical reviews, and *magazines de*

---

<sup>2</sup> Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

*mode*, in addition to engravings and lithographs.<sup>3</sup> Specialized music reviews appeared in the most popular arts journals, such as the *Revue musicale*, *Le Ménestrel*, *L'Art musical*, *La France musicale*, and the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, in direct response to social demands for information, instruction, and entertainment. The opposing social, political, and aesthetic values of traditionalists and liberals that clashed during this volatile era were epitomized by the polemics in the press over the debut of Beethoven's symphonies in Paris. Berlioz entered this scene as a new breed of composer-critic who represented French Romantic ideals.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> H. Robert Cohen, "The Nineteenth-Century French Press and the Music Historian: Archival Sources and Bibliographic Resources," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 7 (1983): 136-42; Frédéric Georges Lamotte, "Berlioz et la presse," *Hector Berlioz: Regards sur un dauphinois fantastique. Actes du colloque de 16,17,18 octobre 2003* (Grenoble – la Côte -Saint-André), ed. Alban Ramaut (Saint-Étienne: l'Association Nationale Hector Berlioz, 2006), 73-94.

<sup>4</sup> French Romanticism, like German and English Romanticism, is both rooted in the German *Sturm und Drang* and sparked by the ideals of the French Revolution. Pleasure replaced classicism's "edifying austerities." In 1823, Stendhal stated: "Romanticism is the art of presenting to people the literary works which, in the actual state of their habits and beliefs, are likely to give them the greatest possible pleasure. Classicism, on the contrary, presents them with the literature that gave the greatest pleasure to their great-grandfathers." Yet French Romanticism is distinguished by its more flamboyant expression, especially in the 1830s, following a brief break between the picturesque of the eighteenth century and the aftermath of the defeat of Waterloo in 1818. The French Romantic movement is generally described as an "amorphous entity," perceived as modes of behaviours that are basically political in origin and directly identified in images and art forms that explore expressions of intimate personal reactions to unresolved dilemmas, notably the subconscious, eschatology, madness, the fantastic, taboo, nostalgia, terror, pantheism. The characteristics of French Romanticism, as they pertain to Berlioz, will be refined and developed throughout this project. On the topic of French Romanticism, see: Anita Brookner, *Romanticism and Its Discontents* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2000); Richard Holmes, *The Age of Wonder: The Romantic Generation and the Discovery of the Beauty and Terror of Science* (London: Harper Press, 2009); Frank Kermode, *The Romantic Image* (London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2002). On the topic of Berlioz and Romanticism, see: Catherine Massip and Cécile Reynaud, editors, *Berlioz: La voix du romantisme* (Paris: Fayard, 2003); Scott Masson, "Romanticism," *The Oxford Handbook of English Literature and Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Alban Ramaut, *Hector Berlioz: compositeur romantique français* (Paris: Actes Sud, 1993).

## Berlioz's Early Journalistic Career, 1823 to 1838

Between 1823 and 1838, while struggling with his compositional career, Berlioz contributed music critiques to over fifteen different journals that included the liberal arts journal *Le Corsaire* and the Catholic-based *Le Correspondant*; the *Revue Européenne*, established by Abbé Lamennais; and *Le Rénovateur*, a political and frequently censored daily journal. He also briefly served as Paris correspondent for the *Berliner Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, with A. B. Marx as editor. In addition, he maintained two full-time positions as music journalist. His widest readership was grasped by the *Journal des débats* (his part-time position since 1835 became full-time in 1838-63), a daily paper that balanced serious political discussion with entertaining *feuilletons* along a column at the bottom of the page. His second full-time position was for the specialist arts journal *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (1834-63). His critiques for these journals covered topics on general music history, composers' biographies, and reviews of concerts featuring instrumental and chamber music concerts, religious music, and opera reviews. Berlioz was a prolific journalist, and Gérard Condé comments that it takes longer to read through Berlioz's nine-hundred odd articles than it does to listen to his complete musical works.<sup>5</sup> In light of this, it is no wonder that he was considered by his contemporaries as a journalist who wrote on music, rather than as a composer who wrote about his art.<sup>6</sup> He became a journalist mostly out of financial necessity, and he often begrudged his time away from composition. Berlioz's love for his art, however, motivated his early critical goals and his defence of Beethoven as a Romantic

---

<sup>5</sup> Gérard Condé, "Berlioz as Composer-Critic," *Berlioz: Scenes from the Life and Work*, ed. Peter Bloom (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 89-100.

<sup>6</sup> Condé, 89-100.

composer. He established his reputation as a journalist with his didactic critiques on Beethoven's symphonies (1834-38), which were a response to an increased interest in the new instrumental series at the *Société des concerts du Conservatoire* that featured the symphonic and chamber music of Beethoven. These reviews illustrate his objective to educate both himself and his readers in his discovery and exploration of the ephemeral and sublime musical effects of Beethoven's symphonic music. In effect, he captured a wide readership with his honest enthusiasm and his piquant literary style, which exemplified the emerging aesthetics of the contemporary Young Romantic movement, a group of progressive young artists also known as *la jeune France*.

Many leading literary figures of *la jeune France*, including Victor Hugo, George Sand, Alfred de Musset, Alfred de Vigny, Honoré de Balzac, Alexandre Dumas, Franz Liszt, and even briefly Richard Wagner, contributed numerous articles, stories, or *feuilletons* on a variety of subjects including music, with Beethoven as the most frequent musical topic. The fascination with music was part of a socio-political movement that stemmed from the beliefs of Saint-Simonism, a controversial political movement which encompassed the ideas of the Great Revolution through a form of socialism that advocated an organization of society based on the moral leadership of humanitarian artists.<sup>7</sup> This movement was manifest in various artistic guises that focussed on the importance of music, which lent an intellectual respectability to the political operation. Saint-Simonism found expression in the socialist-political views of writers such as

---

<sup>7</sup> Saint-Simonism developed from the teachings and beliefs of Henri, Comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), as detailed in his book *Nouveau Christianisme* (1825); Ralph P. Locke, *Music, Musicians, and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

Vigny and Sand, the social-historical concerns of music critics François Fétis and Joseph d'Ortigue, and the artistic-moral ideals of musicians Liszt and Berlioz. For the Young Romantics, including Berlioz, Beethoven epitomized the Saint-Simonist ideal of a peaceful political-social leader, benefactor of the arts, prophet for the common man, and instigator of humanitarianism.

The Romantic image of Beethoven as “poet” was part of the campaign to advocate true art over prosaic commercialism. In 1825, Berlioz seized the forum given to him by the press to defend Gluck and Spontini against the attacks of Rossinists in articles for *Le Correspondant*. By 1828, he also championed Weber. In 1829, he began his promotion of Beethoven, which he vigorously continued for almost ten years, until he finally consolidated and edited this material into his individual essays on each of Beethoven’s nine symphonies, first published in the *Gazette* in 1837-8. These essays provided him with source material for his numerous subsequent writings on Beethoven until 1862. Importantly, they were later published – with minor additions – as his “Étude critique des symphonies de Beethoven” in *Voyage musical en Allemagne et en Italie* (1844), which he republished in his famous book *A Travers chants* (1862).<sup>8</sup> The long and complicated genesis and lineage of his “Critical Study” is reviewed in Chapter I, where I examine Berlioz’s earliest articles on Beethoven, identified by D. Kern Holoman’s catalogue

---

<sup>8</sup> Hector Berlioz, *A Travers chants* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1862), 15-59. Changes to the original *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* essays include the expansion of his discussion of the *Eroica* Symphony with an introductory excerpt from his article of April 9, 1837 (C 245), and a concluding section taken from his article of January 28, 1838 (C 295); similarly, in his essay on “Symphony No. 6 – The Pastoral” he begins with an added section taken from the second article of February 4, 1838 (C 296) and concludes with a newly written section presenting a dialogue on the topic of reception.

system, which I have compiled into six Tables.<sup>9</sup> There, I will argue for three stages in Berlioz's writings on Beethoven that culminated in his "Critical Study."

#### Review of Important Primary and Secondary Sources

Today Berlioz scholarship is very active, notably represented in North America by the "new Berliozians," such as scholars Peter Bloom, David Cairns, D. Kern Holoman, Ian Kemp, Hugh Macdonald, Julian Rushton, Katherine Kolb Reeve, and Stephen Rodgers. Many of these scholars have contributed to *Berlioz Studies*, edited by Peter Bloom (1992). Recent research includes several completed editorial and music-historical studies, notably *The New Berlioz Edition*, and the important essay collections, *Berlioz: Past, Present, Future* (2003) and *Berlioz: Scenes from the Life and Work* (2008).<sup>10</sup> However, analytical study of Berlioz's complex music is limited in North American scholarship. In part, this stems from Berlioz himself, who attributes poetic license to his terminology and conveys a flexible concept of genre. His reception of Beethoven ultimately reflects his own true nature as poet, a romantic with goals to create art that speaks both of deep subjectivity and to a diversity of audience perspectives. In

---

<sup>9</sup> These Tables are compiled from my studies of microfilm copies of RGM: Maurice Schlesinger, ed., *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, set 1, vol. 1-17 (Paris: Schlesinger, 1834-50); and *Hector Berlioz: Critique musicale 1823-1863* (Paris: Buchet/Chastel), vol 1: 1823-1834, ed. H. Robert Cohen and Yves Gérard (1996); vol. 2: 1835-1836, ed. Marie-Hélène Courdroy-Saghaï and Anne Bongrain (1998); vol. 3: 1837- 1838, (2001); vol. 4: 1839-1841 (2003); vol. 5: 1842-1844 (2004); D. Kern Holoman, "Feuilletons," in "Catalogue of Prose Works," *Catalogue of the Works of Hector Berlioz* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987).

<sup>10</sup> Hector Berlioz, *New Edition of the Complete Works*, 26 vols., gen ed. Hugh Macdonald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969-2006); Peter Bloom, ed., *Berlioz: Past, Present, Future: Bicentenary Essays* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003); Peter Bloom, ed., *Berlioz: Scenes from the Life and Work*, edited by Peter Bloom, 138-60. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008.

turn, his romantic aversion to strict definitions of terminology or the use of formal symphonic paradigms has steeped Berlioz research in a diversity of responses, each with its own set of terminology and analytical perspectives.<sup>11</sup> What generally emerges is an inherent duality in Berlioz research, largely represented by debates between programmaticist, who propose a structuralist exegesis that stresses formal literal correlations between text and music, and formalists, who propose an intertextual hypothesis based on purely musical developments considered apart from the literary narrative. Both approaches provide a viable means to understand a particular facet of Berlioz's complex music. However, to support my exploration of Berlioz's symphony as a musical-literary fusion to effect metaphorical expression, I draw on the overview provided by Macdonald's *Berlioz*, Rushton's *Berlioz: Roméo et Juliette* (1994), and the insightful new methodology of Stephen Rodgers's *Form, Program, and Metaphor in the Music*

---

<sup>11</sup>A full discussion of the diversity in Berlioz analysis is beyond the current scope of this project; however, I will illustrate some of this variety in Chapters II and IV. For example, I indicate the variety of terminology and its meaning in terms of what I refer to as Berlioz's thematic transformations, variously termed "strophic variation," "strophic elaboration" or *répétition variée*. In turn, each analyst of Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* proposes his own unique understanding of his melodic structure. See: Bartoli, "Forme symphonique," Pierre Citron and Cécile Reynaud, eds., *Dictionnaire Berlioz* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 199-201; Ian Kemp, "Romeo and Juliet and *Roméo et Juliette*," *Berlioz Studies*, 64-8; Vera Micznik, "Of Ways of Telling: Intertextuality and Historical Evidence in Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette*," *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 24/1 (Summer 2000): 22-3; 39-40. Without wishing to confuse these issues further, I offer my own terminology as a reflection of Berlioz's aesthetic of the poetic in music and in the context of French Romanticism. By this move, I attempt to offer an inclusive perspective by use of two terms that convey Berlioz's aesthetic of the poetic in music, reflective of Hugo's notion of the new poetry as drama: 1) "mixed modes of expression" refers to Berlioz's value of exaggerated mixture of expressions and styles; and 2) the "dramatic-lyric" refers to new forms, largely that integrate vocal idioms with dramatic symphonic elements. Determining Berlioz's aesthetic of the poetic from my study of his "Critical Study" aims to reveal his French Romantic perspectives on the concept of symphony. The diversity of theories that surround Berlioz's music illustrates the success of his goals to create the poetic in music as a combination of elements – his return to and deviation from traditional elements, the interlocking of the mimetic with the indefinite, and the mixture of instrumental and vocal idioms – to create kaleidoscopic expressions of universality and subjectivity. And so, in learning what interests Berlioz in Beethoven's music, I attempt to reveal clues about Berlioz himself.

of Berlioz (2009).<sup>12</sup>

In France, Berlioz scholarship is most notably represented by two editorial studies, the *Correspondance générale*, and *Hector Berlioz: Critique Musicale 1823-1863*.<sup>13</sup> Three collections of essays are also important to my research: *Hector Berlioz: Regards sur un dauphinois fantastique* (2003), *Hector Berlioz* (2003), and *Berlioz: Homme de lettres* (2006).<sup>14</sup> These collections cover a range of biographical, historical, and literary-focussed contributors that are foundational to my discussion of Berlioz's literary interests and aesthetical pursuits. Recent French research on the history of music journalism includes Emmanuel Reibel's book, *L'Écriture de la critique musicale au temps de Berlioz* (2005).<sup>15</sup> My study also draws on the vibrant discussion of Berlioz's literary interests, notably represented by a collection of essays in *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France: l'époque de Berlioz: écrivains et artistes* (2004).<sup>16</sup> Analysis of Berlioz's music is limited, though I draw primarily on the writings of Jacques Chailley and the

---

<sup>12</sup> Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Julian Rushton, *Berlioz: Roméo et Juliette* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Stephen Rodgers, *Form, Program, and Metaphor in the Music of Berlioz* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> *Correspondance générale*, 8 vols., gen. ed. Pierre Citron (Paris: Flammarion, 1972-2003); *Hector Berlioz: Critique musicale 1823-1863* (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1996-2004), vol. 1-5.

<sup>14</sup> Alban Ramaut, editor, *Hector Berlioz: Regards sur un dauphinois fantastique*; Christian Wasseline and Pierre-René, editors, *Hector Berlioz* (Paris: Éditions de L'Herne, 2003); Peter Bloom, editor, *Berlioz: Homme de lettres* (Dijon: Éditions du Whisper, 2006).

<sup>15</sup> Emmanuel Reibel, *L'Écriture de la critique musicale au temps de Berlioz* (Paris: Librairie Honoré de Champion, 2005).

<sup>16</sup> For example, Beatrice Didier, "Berlioz and Faust," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France: l'époque de Berlioz: écrivains et artistes* (Juillet-Sept. 2004): 561-73.

recent theoretical methodology of Jean-Pierre Bartoli.<sup>17</sup>

Berlioz's earliest articles on Beethoven (1829-38), on which the "Critical Study" is based, are important to my research as indicators of his developing aesthetic ideas and critical goals in response to historical, cultural, and societal changes. An additional important primary source for study of these articles includes microfilm copies of the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*. My review of these sources illustrates that Berlioz's began his journalistic career with a concept of Beethoven as "poet" who composed "romantic" music. I illustrate this by centring my discussion around one of his earliest articles titled "Aperçu sur la musique classique et la musique romantique" (*Le Correspondant*, October 22, 1830), in which he quotes directly from the Preface to Victor Hugo's set of poems *Les Orientales* (1829) to support his promotion of Beethoven's artistic originality. His Romantic defence of Beethoven continued over the next decade, largely in his articles that represent his assignments as full-time music critic for the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, one of France's leading arts journals.

Berlioz's Romantic image of Beethoven as poet was supported by a coterie at the *Gazette*, who contributed numerous *feuilletons* (articles, stories, or on a variety of subjects that typically included the topics of music) that either mentioned Beethoven or focussed on a musician-protagonist that resembled Berlioz's image of Beethoven as poet.<sup>18</sup> These stories represent

---

<sup>17</sup> Jacques Chailley, "Berlioz, *Roméo et Juliette*. Scène d'amour," *Florilège d'analyses musicales* (Paris: Leduc, 1984), reprint of article in *Revue de musicologie* 63 (1975): 115-122; Jean-Pierre Bartoli, "Beethoven, Shakespeare, and Berlioz's Scène d'amour," translated and edited by Peter Bloom, *Berlioz: Scenes from the Life and Work* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 138-162.

<sup>18</sup> Prime examples are Jules Janin's "Le Dîner de Beethoven" (RGM, Jan. 19, 1834), Alexandre Dumas's "*La Juive*" (RGM, Apr. 26-May 3, 1835), Honoré de Balzac's "Gambara" (RGM, July 23 - Aug. 20, 1837), Richard Wagner's "Une visite à Beethoven" (RGM, Nov. 19 - Dec. 3, 1840) and George Sand's "*Carl*" (RGM, January 1, 8, 15 1843).

France's most popular literary genre of the era, the *conte fantastique*, which was a fantastical adventure that typically mixed reality with gothic horror, superstition, and folklore. In the 1830s, *la jeune France* developed this genre into an entertaining allegory with political undertones that featured the topic of music, creating a new subgenre – the musical fantastic.<sup>19</sup> The Young Romantic view of music and the musician in this new literary subgenre compares with Berlioz's concept of Beethoven's symphonies as "poems" and Beethoven as poet. Furthermore, correlations exist between the new Romantic literary ideals of the *poétique* – as a musical-literary fusion – and Berlioz's praise of the poetic in Beethoven's music.<sup>20</sup>

By 1837, all of Beethoven's symphonies had been performed in Paris, and audiences were familiar with Beethoven's Romantic image in the press. Berlioz addresses this audience in his essays on Beethoven's nine symphonies (*Gazette*, 1837-38), which were preceded by his introductory article "De la musique en général" (C273). This collection of essays reappeared in

---

<sup>19</sup> Beethoven in the French Romantic *conte fantastique* was discussed in my paper, "The Romantic Image of Beethoven: *Contes fantastiques* in *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 1834-1840," presented at the 16<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Pacific Northwest Chapter of the Graduate Students Conference, hosted by the University of Victoria, B. C. (2004) and at the Annual Pacific Northwest American Musicological Society, Reed College, Portland, Oregon (2005).

<sup>20</sup> The French Romantic literary concept of the *poétique* is developed throughout this project, notably in Chapter III. In regards to Berlioz's musical aesthetic, his use of the term *poétique* largely reflects Victor Hugo's literary advocacy of the new drama as mixed modes of poetry, which will be discussed in Chapter I. As we will see, Hugo's literary aesthetic underlines Berlioz's musical value of the poetic in Beethoven's symphonies. To Berlioz, the poetic represents a new style in music, which is represented by Beethoven's modern symphonies. At the core of my discussion, I illustrate that Berlioz's critiques of Beethoven's music allows him to discuss ways to hear and write about music in terms of metaphor. In this regard, he promotes music as a process that unfolds by an original personal narrative of mixed modes of expression that stimulates the imagination, creates multi-sensory experiences, and communicates a central poetic idea. Ultimately, Berlioz's exploration and discovery of Beethoven's music provides him with inspiration and the compositional means to effect the metaphorical in his own music.

several other journals, notably France's leading daily newspaper, the prestigious *Journal des débats*, which in 1838 gave Berlioz a full-time position as music critic. He held this post until 1863; it allowed him to become one of the most widely published and distinguished music critics in France. Berlioz also gained attention in Germany when his essays were reprinted in Robert Schumann's journal, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (1840-41).<sup>21</sup>

Berlioz continued to draw from these essays as source material for subsequent publications to 1862.<sup>22</sup> In 1844, he published his Beethoven essays, with minor additions and revisions, in book form as "Étude critique des symphonies de Beethoven" in *Voyage musical en Allemagne et en Italie: Études sur Beethoven, Gluck et Weber: mélanges et nouvelles par Hector Berlioz*.<sup>23</sup> His "Étude critique" ("Critical Study") was then reprinted in his famous book, as *A Travers chants: Études musicales, adorations, boutades et critiques par Hector Berlioz* (1862), which remains in print.<sup>24</sup>

My analysis integrates cross-references of Berlioz's "Critical Study" with his additional critical writings on Beethoven. Here I refer to his personal recollections of his early experiences with Beethoven's music recorded in his *Mémoires* and *Correspondance*, and with the

---

<sup>21</sup> See Leon Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1967), 3-18.

<sup>22</sup> My independent observations correspond with those of Katherine Ellis in her book *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris, 1834-1880* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 104-5.

<sup>23</sup> Hector Berlioz, "Étude critique des symphonies de Beethoven," *Voyage musical en Allemagne et en Italie*, vol. I, 263-355.

<sup>24</sup> Hector Berlioz, *A Travers chants*, 15-59. As we will see in Chapter III, a few minor additions were made to extend poetic descriptions (as in Beethoven's Fourth Symphony) or to address issues of reception (as in the Ninth Symphony).

pedagogical discussions in his *Grand traité d'instrumentation*.<sup>25</sup> His *Traité* provides a significant source of information on the extent of Berlioz's musical interest in Beethoven's symphonies, since, like the "Critical Study," it originated as a series of individually published essays in the *Gazette* in the 1830s. Notably, Berlioz's *Traité* reveals his interest in particular orchestral techniques that he highlights in his "Critical Study." The following discussion of my methodology and chapter outlines explains the broader goals and procedures of my project.

### Methodology and Chapter Outline

My research addresses Berlioz's literary methods and the aesthetic and didactic objectives that advocate his new Romantic image of Beethoven as poet. His study of Beethoven's music allows him to promote a new mode of listening, writing about, and creating the metaphorical in music. As such, I hope to illustrate that Berlioz's "Critical Study" is his own artistic manifesto. Establishing Berlioz's musical aesthetic is crucial to explaining the nature and stature of his critical writings on Beethoven's nine symphonies in the context of his career as both composer and critic, and to exploring the wider significance of Berlioz's critiques in nineteenth-century Beethoven reception. The terrain of this study also extends, however, into the French history of music journalism, French concert culture, and the aesthetics of the French Romantic literary

---

<sup>25</sup> *Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. Rachel Holmes and Eleanor Holmes (New York: Tudor Publishing, 1932); Hector Berlioz, *Mémoires*, ed. Pierre Citron (Paris: Flammarion, 1991); *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes*, ed. Peter Bloom (Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 2003); Hector Berlioz and Richard Strauss, *Treatise on Instrumentation*, trans. Theodore Front (New York: Dover, 1991); *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary*, trans. Hugh Macdonald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Hector Berlioz, *Les Années romantiques, 1819-1842: Correspondance* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1903); *Correspondance générale*, 8 vols. (1972-2003).

movement. The contextualization of Berlioz's criticisms on Beethoven's symphonies thus involves an interdisciplinary study that draws on research perspectives and methods from various fields within the discipline of musicology – including music analysis, music history, print culture, and reception theory – as well as from the disciplines of history, cultural studies, sociology, literary criticism, and the aesthetics of French Romanticism.

To this end, I address three central issues that motivate my study: 1) to establish Berlioz's "Critical Study" as the pinnacle of his almost decade-long study of Beethoven; 2) to explore how Berlioz's "Critical Study" illustrates his creation of a double musical-literary form of music criticism to promote his new musical aesthetic of the poetic in music, using Beethoven's symphonies as models; and, 3) to examine the reciprocal influence of Berlioz's persistent study of Beethoven on his own compositional output to the symphonic genre in this decade.

To address the first issue, I contextualize Berlioz's "Critical Study" within his complete writings on Beethoven, and within the larger context of the history of French music journalism and the aesthetics of French Romanticism. To this end, in Chapter I: "The Genesis of Berlioz's 'A Critical Study of Beethoven's Nine Symphonies'," I begin with an historical overview of the early nineteenth-century French press and the rise of French music criticism, in the context of the musical life and politics of the time. I also survey the reception of German music, particularly of Beethoven, in France prior to 1830. This discussion situates Berlioz in his unique position as a composer-critic, and, moreover, will situate his "Critical Study" in the context of his earlier writings on Beethoven.

Chapter I draws on secondary sources that represent four groups in English, French, and German scholarship. The first group documents French history, notably represented by Philip

Mansel's *Paris Between Empires, 1814-1852*, which provides an overview of the boom in print culture in the 1830s.<sup>26</sup> A second group discusses the history of French music criticism, and includes Dorothy Hagan's *French Musical Criticism between the Revolutions* and Beate Angelika Kraus's *Beethoven-Rezeption in Frankreich: Von ihren Anfängen bis zum Untergang des Second Empire*.<sup>27</sup> A third group documents French musical life in Paris, well represented in Jean Mongrédien's *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism, 1789-1830* and D. Kern Holoman's *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*.<sup>28</sup> A fourth group provides an overview of Berlioz's critical style in the history of French music criticism: Katherine Ellis's book, *Music criticism in nineteenth-century France: La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, 1834-80*, situates Berlioz's reviews as part of a Romantic editorial philosophy at the *Gazette*; Gérard Condé's "Berlioz as Composer-Critic" and Julie Aucagne's "Berlioz critique de Beethoven" provide substantial overviews of Berlioz's critical output on Beethoven; Gérard Streletski's "Berlioz et la société de son temps" situates Berlioz as an artist among his contemporaries; and Kerry Murphy provides an overview of journalistic trends preceding Berlioz in his book *Hector Berlioz and the Development of French Music Criticism*.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Philip Mansel, *Paris Between Empires, 1814-1852* (London: John Murray Publishers, 2001).

<sup>27</sup> Beate Angelika Kraus, *Beethoven-Rezeption in Frankreich: Von ihren Anfängen bis zum Untergang des Second Empire* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2001).

<sup>28</sup> Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism, 1789-1830* (Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1996); D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

<sup>29</sup> Julie Aucagne, "Berlioz critique de Beethoven," *Berlioz homme de lettres*, 75-90; Guillaume Bordry, "Je ne suis pas un homme de lettres": Berlioz, écrivain paradoxical," *Hector Berlioz: Regards sur un dauphinois fantastique*, 95-108; Gérard Condé, "Berlioz as Composer-Critic," *Berlioz: Scenes from the Life and Work*, 89-100; Elizabeth Csicsery-Ronay, "À travers le champ critique," *Hector Berlioz* (Paris: Éditions de L'Herne, 2003): 64-68; Katherine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century*

My own contribution to these fields includes a discussion of the complicated genesis of Berlioz's "Critical Study." Current primary sources do not publish, index, or categorize these articles by topic or by journal. Therefore, I have categorized an extensive list of his Beethoven articles representing three stages of his writings on Beethoven: early biographical essays with Romantic declarations; coverage of concerts at the *Société des concerts du Conservatoire*; and his individual essays on each of Beethoven's symphonies. This chapter establishes Berlioz's "Critical Study" as the culmination of his early articles (1825-1838) and the pinnacle of his views on Beethoven. It also illustrates Berlioz's invention of an interdisciplinary essay that interweaves technical musical analysis with flamboyantly poetic prose. Berlioz's mixture of his musical knowledge with a vivacious literary style makes his music criticisms unique. Important to my discussion, I illustrate the significant impact of Victor Hugo's controversial aesthetic of the new poetry as drama on Berlioz's reception of Beethoven.

The second major issue in this dissertation explores Berlioz's invention of a new type of musical criticism as a double musical-literary narrative that intertwines technical musical discussion with the use of imagery, in order to establish the poetic in Beethoven's symphonies; it also demonstrates how his evaluation of Beethoven's music reveals his own artistic aesthetic. This requires a two-part exploration that unravels Berlioz's musical-literary narrative. In Chapter II, "Berlioz as *critique savant*: Beethoven's Compositional Techniques and Berlioz's Aesthetic of the Symphony," I determine how he specifically identifies the "new poetry" in his

---

*France: La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris, 1834-80* ; Kerry Murphy, *Hector Berlioz and the Development of French Music Criticism* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms Inc., 1988); Gérard Streletski, "Berlioz et la société de son temps," *Hector Berlioz: Regards sur un Dauphinois fantastique*, 29-52.

musical discussion of compositional techniques in Beethoven's symphonies. Next, in Chapter III, "Berlioz as *Critique poétique* of Beethoven: Narrative, Image, and Imagination," I explore how Berlioz reinforces his objective evaluations through imagery that conveys how these techniques combine to create poetic elements of style and expression. Importantly, Berlioz's use of imagery establishes his new musical aesthetic of the "poetic" by conveying that modern music expresses a dramatic "impression," rather than a direct "transcription" of musical ideas and sentiments. This aspect of Berlioz's writings music is well supported in the most recent Berlioz scholarship.<sup>30</sup> My point of departure in these chapters illustrates the importance of imagery in both Berlioz's musical discussion and his literary narrative to convey music as a metaphorical experience created by a symbiotic relationship between musical form and the expression of its poetic ideas.

Chapter II determines Berlioz's establishment of a musical methodology based on "nine modes of action," by which he identifies the specific compositional process of Beethoven's symphonies that create the poetic, as a loosening of classical traditions to incorporate originality, ultimately to effect unprecedented heights of expression.<sup>31</sup> Here Berlioz's "Critical Study"

---

<sup>30</sup> Jacques Barzun, "The Music in the Music of Berlioz," *Berlioz: Scenes from the Life and Work*, 11-25; Emmanuel Reibel, *L'Écriture de la critique musicale au temps de Berlioz* (Paris: Librairie Honoré de Champion, 2005); Chris Rauseo, "Berlioz et la réunion des arts: Rhétorique et esthétique dans la critique musicale, 1830-1841," *Berlioz: Homme de lettres*, 49-59; Stephen Rodgers, *Form, Program, and Metaphor in the Music of Berlioz*.

<sup>31</sup> This discussion cross-references with Berlioz's statements on Beethoven in his *Memoirs* and his *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* (1843). As a subtext, I connect Berlioz's methodology to some modern views: William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995); Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*; Thomas Sipe, *Beethoven: Eroica Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); David Wyn Jones, *Beethoven: Pastoral Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Michael Tusa, "Noch einmal: Form and Content in the Finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," *Beethoven Forum* 7 (1999): 113-37; and Nicholas Cook, *Beethoven: Symphony No. 9* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

illustrates a double purpose. As music critic, Berlioz's discussion of the individual modes of action are his means to discuss music in terms of the poetic, as metaphorical expression. As composer, his methodology allows him to study both the inner technical components of Beethoven's music and the process of their unfolding poetic form. Five of these modes are purely technical devices: melody, rhythm, dynamics (*le degré d'intensité des sons*), harmony and modulation. A second group of modes deal with orchestral colour: the multiplicity of sounds (*la multiplicité des sons*), or the texture created by a large group of performers; and instrumentation, which, he states, is a relatively new mode that assigns each instrument a "part to play" and "paints" orchestral colour by combinations of timbre and tone. Two remaining modes address a dual purpose, similar to Hugo's notion of theatrical perspective: one mode concerns social issues, largely from the perspective of the audience – *le point de départ des sons* (the point of origin of sounds), or staging; and the other aesthetic – "expression," which reflects both the intended subjectivity of the composer and the universal expression of human experience, as diverse combinations of "feelings" or "passions." In Beethoven's symphonies, Berlioz reveals that his chief aesthetic criteria for expression largely fall into five categories: originality, as novel technical innovations and expressive effects; "mixed modes" of expression, largely as a musical process that unfolds by the combination of complementary opposites to create expressions of the sensual and the sublime; the "dramatic-lyric" forms, largely as the melding of the (dramatic) instrumental form of the symphony with vocal (lyrical) idioms; melody treated as thematic transformation, a type of melodic alteration (by fragmentation, expansion, recombination, or repetition, enhanced with alterations to supporting modes, notably orchestration) as the primary element that creates new unprecedented expressions and forms; and how these elements

ultimately combine to express a “poetic idea” (*l'idée poétique*) as a central metaphorical expression or the intrinsic value. Ultimately, these categories reflect the new revolutionary spirit of the age, epitomized by the Romantic image of the artist as poet.

In Chapter III, I explore how Berlioz uses imagery, poetic impressions and dramatic expressions to convey music as metaphor by describing his experiences of Beethoven’s musical process in terms of a musical narrative. In order to interpret Berlioz’s imagery critically, I draw on interdisciplinary methodologies such as literary critical perspectives, hermeneutics, narrative theory, and the study of metaphor and imagery, tempered with perspectives from the fields of history of art and literature and the philosophy of aesthetics. Part of this discussion explores the multiple meanings of Berlioz’s poetic terminology: he describes Beethoven as *poète*; he describes his poetic style; and he refers to his symphonies as *poèmes* in the context of French Romanticism. To this end, I illustrate that Berlioz’s imagery reveals what he perceives each symphony to mean, and that his experience of that meaning is expressed in ways that resemble the experience of poetry. Through that imagery, we can see that Berlioz considers each of Beethoven’s symphonies a unique expression. They fall, however, into a thematic group, like collections of poems that are linked by a central metaphor – its poetic idea.

To situate Berlioz’s imagery in the context of Romanticism, I largely refer to Anita Brookner’s *Romanticism and Its Discontents* and selected readings in *Berlioz: La voix du romantisme* and *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France: l'époque de Berlioz*.<sup>32</sup> Berlioz’s

---

<sup>32</sup> Anita Brookner, *Romanticism and Its Discontents*; other sources for this discussion include Joseph-Marc Bailbé, “L’Époque de Berlioz, un moment du Romantisme,” *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France: L’Époque de Berlioz: Écrivains et artistes*: 515-26; Massip and Reynaud, editors, *Berlioz: La voix du romantisme*; Alban Ramaut, *Hector Berlioz: compositeur romantique français* (Paris: Actes Sud, 1993).

romantic vocabulary reflects French Romantic ideology, his own thoughts and ideas and his character, which I illustrate by drawing on the evaluative methods of Joseph-Marc Bailbé, in *Berlioz artiste et écrivain dans les “Mémoires.”*<sup>33</sup> To explore Berlioz’s use of analogy – to Virgil, Homer, Goethe, and Shakespeare, for examples – I draw from French Romantic literary sources, notably Victor Hugo’s Prefaces to his plays *Cromwell* (1827) and *Hernani* (1830), and historical literary reception.<sup>34</sup> A third category of sources allows me to compare Berlioz’s metaphorical descriptions of music with trends in French Romantic literature that particularly describe Beethoven’s music, notably George Sand’s *Sketches and Hints* (1833), her “Essai sur la symphonie pastorale de Beethoven” (1833), and her *Lettres d’un voyageur* (1838).<sup>35</sup>

Berlioz’s study of Beethoven’s symphonies set him on his own path to mastery of the symphonic genre. Finally, the third issue that I address is how the experience of Beethoven’s

---

<sup>33</sup> Joseph-Marc Bailbé, *Berlioz: artiste et écrivain dans les “Mémoires”* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1979).

<sup>34</sup> Victor Hugo, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Paul Ollendorff, 1904-1952); Hugo, *Théâtre complet*, ed. J. J. Thierry and Josette Méléze (Paris: Gallimard, 1963); Hugo, *Cromwell* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1968); important secondary sources include: Joseph-Marc Bailbé, “L’Époque de Berlioz, un moment du Romantisme,” *Revue d’histoire littéraire de la France*:515-26; A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy: Lectures on Hamlet, Othello, King Lear and Macbeth* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1991); Bianca Theisen, “The Drama in Rags: Shakespeare Reception in Eighteenth-Century Germany,” *On Literary Form: From Kleist to Bernhard*, (April 2006), 502-13.

<sup>35</sup> Gislinde Seybert, “George Sand und die Musik. Zur Vermittlung von Musik im Text: ‘symphonie pastorale de Beethoven,’” *Musik und Literatur*, edited by Albert Bier and Gerold W. Gruber (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995), 159-1; David A. Powell, *While the Music Lasts: The Representation of Music in the Works of George Sand* (London: Associated University Press, 2001); Powell, “‘Histoire du rêveur’, ou le ‘rêve de mélodie’: Le Fantastique musical chez George Sand,” *George Sand et son temps: Hommage à Annarosa Poli* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1993), 505-22; “Music Conductive to Dream: Sand and the Musical Fantastic,” *Le Siècle de George Sand* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), 321-33.

symphonies suggested to Berlioz ways that music could be used to capture modern dramatic effects in his own conception of program music. Berlioz's reception of Beethoven as "poet" has never been systematically linked to his activities as a composer. This is the focus of my discussion in Chapter IV, "Beethoven's Influence on Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* (1839)." Here I explore the formal and aesthetic similarities that exist between Berlioz's conception of Beethoven's symphonies and his own symphony *Roméo et Juliette*, the latter composed in the heat of his critiques. In particular, I examine how Berlioz uses similar developments of the nine modes of action to create the *poétique*, notably the innovative techniques of melodic transformations and orchestration found in Beethoven's mature works. To support my argument, I apply Berlioz's own musical methodology to illustrate that his new form of music reflects Beethoven's original "form" as a mixture of dramatic symphonic structure and lyrical vocal idioms. Reflective of his understanding of Beethoven, Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* is largely generated by melodic impulse and the personification of orchestration, which unfolds a mixture of dramatic "scenes" and emotional impressions that convey a central metaphorical poetic idea.<sup>36</sup> Thus, the importance of Beethoven on Berlioz's work is more than quantitative: his criticisms and personal writings reflect a deep influence, and the analysis by Berlioz of Beethoven's music acts as a model, a program, and a mirror for his own symphonic creation. Berlioz's study of Beethoven ultimately enables him to elaborate a theory of listening and composing – his 'art of

---

<sup>36</sup> My assertions differs from current trends in musicology that discuss Berlioz's *Harold* in terms of its operatic influences, as in Jeffrey Langford's "The 'Dramatic Symphonies' of Berlioz as an Outgrowth of the French Operatic Tradition," *The Musical Quarterly* (Winter 1983): 85-103; or in terms of a self-conscious response or "anxiety of influence" to Beethoven based on a comparative analysis of Berlioz's musical forms with a Beethovenian paradigm, as discussed in Mark Evan Bonds, "*Sinfonia anti-eroica*: Berlioz's *Harold en Italie* and the Anxiety of Beethoven's Influence," *Journal of Musicology*, vol. 10 (Autumn, 1992): 417-63.

music' – which is not impaired by his own involvement as a composer.

Chapter V concludes with a discussion of how my study contributes to current research on the nineteenth-century reception history of Beethoven. In rigorous pursuit of the precise historical definition and significance of the meanings associated with Berlioz's rousing advocacy of the poetic in Beethoven's symphonies, this study reveals the significance of Berlioz's musical-literary critiques on Beethoven as important documents of French Romanticism. Poised at the crossroads of French Romanticism, where romantic literary and musical ideals intersect, Berlioz's "Critical Study" is significant in the history of French musical criticism and in the establishment of a French romantic musical aesthetic. In closing, I consider how Berlioz's "Critical Study" establishes a relationship between musical works and ideas, which ties the significance of Beethoven's modern poetic ideas to the socio-political notion of art created for cultural advancement.

## Chapter I: The Genesis of Berlioz's "A Critical Study of Beethoven's Nine Symphonies"

Berlioz's early critical writings on instrumental music (1825-38) are dominated by his discussions of Beethoven.<sup>1</sup> Through his decade-long study of Beethoven, Berlioz was able to address the broader issues regarding the social role of the artist in the context of the historical, social, and cultural changes that affected Beethoven reception in France. In this chapter, I establish Berlioz's "Critical Study" as the culmination of his early writings and the pinnacle of his views on Beethoven. To this end, I examine the complicated genesis of his "Critical Study" in a discussion that revolves around an extensive chronology of his Beethoven critiques. This survey illustrates that Berlioz's "Critical Study" was collected and reedited from the exhaustive study of Beethoven that permeated his public writings over many years – his prolific articles and essays, his *Treatise of Orchestration*, and his personal *Memoirs* and correspondence – to represent his fullest and most extensive assessment of Beethoven's symphonies. Berlioz's writings on Beethoven fall into three stages: early biographical essays with Romantic declarations (1829-30); coverage of concerts at the *Société des concerts du Conservatoire* (1833-7); and his individual essays on each of Beethoven's symphonies (1837-8; 1844; 1862). These critical writings document the extraordinary evolution of Berlioz's encounter with Beethoven's symphonies, an evolution in thought made possible by the serendipitous collision of two crucial facets of Parisian musical life: the inaugural public performances of Beethoven's complete symphonies and the rise of modern music journalism.

---

<sup>1</sup> Murphy, *Hector Berlioz and the Development of French Music Criticism*, 137-52.

## Beethoven in France, 1800-28

In early nineteenth-century France, Beethoven's music was known largely through French editions of his keyboard compositions, the publications of which reflected an increased interest in German music for home entertainment, music instruction, and public and private performances in the theatres and salons.<sup>2</sup> The press announced the availability of French editions of Beethoven's music, which met with mixed reviews by critics who disagreed primarily over elements of his style. For example, in 1804 the *Correspondance des amateurs musiciens* announced the availability of Beethoven's *Three Sonatas for Piano and Violin*, Op. 30, along with anonymous criticism opposed to Beethoven's "scholarly style" – or *musique savante* – as "difficult and alarming."<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, pro-Beethoven reviews appealed to the French preference for singing style (or *musique chantante*) by playing up the lyrical quality of his music. For example, the *Journal de Paris* promoted the "intelligent and graceful" melodiousness of Beethoven's music, and suggested that good players would appreciate it.<sup>4</sup> Controversy notwithstanding, the public continued to demand publications of Beethoven's music, and by 1810, forty of

---

<sup>2</sup> Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism*, 319.

<sup>3</sup> Undisclosed publisher. The *Correspondance des professeurs et amateurs de musique* (1800-5) announced many French editions of Beethoven's music, but generally published critical reviews that opposed modern art and piano music; another example is *Correspondance des professeurs et amateurs de musique* 2: Jg. Nr. 46 (June 6, 1804): 365, in which an anonymous critic described recently (undisclosed) published pieces in Beethoven's *Répertoire des clavecinistes* as "*aussi difficile à exécuter que la plupart de ses autres compositions.*" See Kraus, 13-48; Mongrédien, 315-45.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal de Paris*, December 1, 1804: This journal announced Simrock's publication of a large number of Beethoven's works (not listed in the Kinsky catalogue), which included fourteen piano sonatas. Mongrédien, 320; music reviews in the *Journal de Paris* (1800-10) generally praised modern piano music.

Beethoven's works were published in France.<sup>5</sup>

Publications of Beethoven's music in France represented a growing international trade between France and Germany that was largely created by the expansion of family businesses or joint mergers. The first edition of Beethoven's music in France, announced in the *Journal de Paris* on September 9, 1800, was his *Four-Hand Sonata for Harpsichord or Pianoforte*, Op. 6, published by Jean-Georges Sieber's newly established French branch.<sup>6</sup> Trade alliances also formed between French firms and the rightful German publishers: the successful merger of the *Maison Pleyel* (established by Ignace Pleyel in 1797) with Breitkopf and Härtel of Leipzig in 1800, created the new firm of *Chez Pleyel*. By 1807, Pleyel successfully expanded his publication business to include the manufacturing and sale of pianos, which marked a growing joint business venture in France, and the new "Pleyel et Cie" published the first French edition of Beethoven's

---

<sup>5</sup> Mongrédien, 290; 318-9. To my knowledge, no comprehensive list of early nineteenth-century French editions of Beethoven's music exists and would be difficult to determine for several reasons: Mongrédien states that his information was compiled by his checking lists of editions known through press announcements and publishers catalogues; by 1810, forty editions of Beethoven's music were listed in the catalogues of Paris publishers Sieber, Érard, Pleyel, and Simrock, which included piano music, notably the *Appassionata Sonata*, Op. 57 (Pleyel, 1804); chamber music, notably the Opus 18 string quartets (Pleyel, 1801); and parts of the Second Symphony (Pleyel, 1805). My own study of the Kinsky Catalogue reveals that only a few of these editions are listed, indicating that most were not "authentic." Kinsky does not include a comprehensive list of available French editions in the early nineteenth century, yet he records editions of Beethoven's works printed in 1800-10 by Janet & Cotelle (notably the Second Symphony, 1805); Ormont (Op. 58 as Op. 79, 1804); Lemoine (Op. 50 as Op. 40, 1804); Lefort (Three Duos for Clarinet and Bassoon, WoO 27, 1810); and others by Carli, Chanel, Naderman, Pacini, and Richault. See Georg Kinsky, *Das Werk Beethovens: Thematische-bibliographisches Verzeichnis seiner sämtlichen vollendeten Kompositionen* (Munich-Duisburg: G. Henle, 1955). Additionally, numerous arrangements of Beethoven's compositions for various instrumental combinations are listed in the *Bibliographie de la France*, though not every edition survived or is available: see F. Lesure, *Les premières éditions françaises de Beethoven, 1800-11* (Munich: Henle, 1980); A. Dèvries and F. Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique française* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1979).

<sup>6</sup> Anik Devriès, "Les éditions musicales de Sieber," *Revue de Musicologie* 55 (1969): 20-46; Dexter Edge, "Viennese Music Copyists and the Transmission of Music in the Eighteenth-Century," *Revue de Musicologie* 84/2 (1998): 298-304.

*Deux Trios pour piano, violon et basse*, op. 70 (1810).<sup>7</sup>

Distribution of the original “authentic” editions of Beethoven’s music in France was complicated by rightful publishers (such as Artaria in Vienna) that claimed ownership of scores and limited very few for international trade.<sup>8</sup> Legal copyrights did not exist, as we know them. This allowed legitimate international traders to circulate scores from publisher to publisher. Legal and pirated reprints coexisted without penalties or obligations to the artist. Beethoven himself attempted to secure a French publisher for his compositions, but French publishers were not legally able to secure exclusive ownership of music composed by a non-French citizen. Alternatively, through collusion, Beethoven allowed Johann Peter Simrock (1790-1822) to publish the first French edition of fourteen of his piano sonatas, which was announced in the *Journal de Paris* (1804).<sup>9</sup>

The rising distribution of Beethoven’s music in France was encouraged by the popularity of touring German virtuosos and music theatre groups that, at a time when most of French musical life centred on the opera, fostered a growing appreciation of instrumental music. French composers and musicians rarely travelled, so German musicians were credited with the increased availability of imported editions and for exerting a noted influence on French concert behaviour. In 1811, François Henri-Joseph Castil-Blaze, a well-known journalist, reported a more “serious”

---

<sup>7</sup> This followed *Chez Pleyel’s* printing of the first complete French edition of Haydn’s string quartets (1801). Kraus, *Beethoven-Rezeption in Frankreich*, 37-43.

<sup>8</sup> Patricia Stroh, “Evolution of an Edition: The Case of Beethoven’s Op. 2,” *Notes* 57 (2000): 289-329.

<sup>9</sup> Simrock established a French branch of the Viennese family business. This followed Simrock’s first French edition of J.S. Bach’s *Well Tempered Clavier* (1801). See Albert Riemenschneider, “A List of the Editions of Bach’s Well Tempered Clavier,” *Notes* 14 (1942): 38-45.

audience attitude developing in Paris, a change that he partly attributed to the touring soloists from Germany, who insisted on silence during performances.<sup>10</sup>

The availability of editions of German music contributed to the private instrumental concert scene that flourished in France between 1800 and 1815. During the Napoleonic regime, most concerts were organized by individuals or small groups of “enlightened amateurs,” who performed for exclusive audiences in private salons, at the Lycées, and in formal gardens. Beethoven’s First and Second Symphonies were first performed in France in 1802, in a private salon with a small orchestra organized by François-Antoine Habeneck.<sup>11</sup> In attendance was Étienne Méhul, a French composer whose music, like that of Ferdinand Hérold and Gaspare Spontini, began to reflect the “Teutonic” or “learned style” of Beethoven around 1804.<sup>12</sup>

Fashionable society attended public concerts at the *Conservatoire*, where Habeneck directed students of the school in concerts called *Exercices* that included Beethoven’s symphonies: the First in C (1807), the Fifth in C minor (1808), and the *Eroica* in E flat (1811).<sup>13</sup> By 1812, the Paris Conservatory housed the Rue de Cléry orchestra, which specialized in performances of Haydn’s music, and incited such a craze for it that by 1815, all one hundred and

---

<sup>10</sup> However, Mozart’s music appeared late in France: in 1807-11, Mozart’s operas, which were more popular than his keyboard music and his symphonies, successfully premiered in Paris (in Italian), widely appealing to the new audience taste for the emotional expression of *bel canto* in Italian *opera seria*. Mongrédien, 89.

<sup>11</sup> Mongrédien, 54-64; 318-9; Alexander L. Ringer, “A French Symphonist at the Time of Beethoven: Étienne Nicholas Méhul,” *The Musical Quarterly* 37 (1951): 543-65.

<sup>12</sup> Ringer, 543-656. Beethoven was also aware of Méhul’s symphonies and in 1823 he ordered copies of Méhul’s music from Maurice Schlesinger in Paris, notably the rescue opera *Hélène* (1803).

<sup>13</sup> *Critique musicale* (1837-8), 15.

four of Haydn's symphonies had been performed.<sup>14</sup> Many amateur and professional musicians from the Conservatory collaborated in the *Concerts spirituels*, a series that had originated in 1725 in response to the developing symphonic repertoire. Due to political and bureaucratic changes, this instrumental series was forced to perform in various available Paris theatres. In 1818, these concerts involved the leading opera orchestra at the *Théâtre Royal de l'Odéon*, directed by Habeneck, who continued to program Beethoven's symphonies.<sup>15</sup>

In 1821, the Paris Conservatory fell under the new direction of Luigi Cherubini, who straight away programmed selected movements from Beethoven's First Symphony and the inaugural French performance of his Mass in C.<sup>16</sup> Cherubini additionally conducted various *Concerts spirituels*, which included Beethoven's *Benedictus* from his *Mass in C* (in 1821), repeated performances of the First Symphony and excerpts from the *Mass in C* (1824 and 1826), and the inaugural performance of the *Fidelio* overture (1826).<sup>17</sup>

France's cosmopolitan musical life and the rising interest in public instrumental concerts supported the rise of the French violin school at the Conservatory, where concerts commonly featured its faculty of international solo violin virtuosos, such as Giovanni Viotti, Rudolphe Kreutzer, and later Pierre Baillot, who premiered Beethoven's violin concerto in 1825 with Habeneck (then his student) as conductor.<sup>18</sup> These concerts persisted concurrently with the craze

---

<sup>14</sup> Mongrédien, 317-9.

<sup>15</sup> *Critique musicale* (1837-8), 15.

<sup>16</sup> Mongrédien, 312-9 (the Austrian premiere had been in 1808).

<sup>17</sup> Kraus, 60-7. The entire opera *Fidelio* was first given in Paris by a visiting troupe in 1829.

<sup>18</sup> Mongrédien, 261; Maiko Kawabata, "Virtuoso Codes of Violin Performance: Power, Military Heroism, and Gender (1789-1830)," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 28 (Fall 2004): 87-107.

for Rossini's operas that began in 1826, and their success inspired many orchestras and music schools throughout France to appeal for government subsidies granting them status as branches of the *Conservatoire*. The Concert Society of Lille (est. 1802) was one of the most successful branches, in addition to other prosperous schools that developed in Toulouse, Nîmes, and Marseille. This instrumental revolution in France fostered a higher standard of music education and performance, as well as an appreciation of instrumental music and international composers, particularly Beethoven. In 1828, the Paris Conservatory launched a concert series, under the new direction of Habeneck, which introduced Beethoven's complete symphonies to Paris. The first season opened with Beethoven's *Eroica*, and next premiered Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. The orchestral musicians included both faculty and students of the Conservatory, whose dedication to repeated and regular rehearsals earned them an international reputation for the highest performance quality in Europe, rivalling even that of Vienna.<sup>19</sup>

Critical response to the new Conservatory concerts largely represented two style of music journalism. One of these was the pedagogical style that was introduced by François-Joseph Fétis in his newly established *Revue musicale* (1827). Fétis's critiques of these concerts largely praised the performers, with general overviews of Beethoven's symphonies that occasionally provided formal theoretical discussions using musical terminology. Fétis valued the elements in Beethoven's symphonies that reflected the styles of Haydn and Mozart and castigated his "bizarre" departures from the "good taste" of the classical style, as illustrated in his 1828 review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony:

Unfortunately, Beethoven never knows when to stop; nearly all of his most beautiful

---

<sup>19</sup> Holoman, *Le Société des concerts du Conservatoire*, 91-9.

movements are prolonged beyond the limits of their necessary development, and spoil the pleasure they instill by passages of more or less bizarre workmanship. It's simply that in spite of the immense capacity of his genius, he lacks the good taste that is one of the aspects of Haydn and Mozart.<sup>20</sup>

To Fétis, Beethoven was an “unrefined giant” of “brute force and large proportions,” whose late symphonies (initiated by the Seventh) mixed beauty with the “bizarre or unnatural” in a manner that reflected a mind “infected” by deafness.<sup>21</sup> With the words “unrefined” and “brute,” Fétis expressed a perception of Beethoven’s music as counter to culture and civilization, as a product of natural talent without rules or polishing. His reviews of Beethoven’s music underlined his promotion of an ideology that valued music of the past. Fétis’s articles were popular among scholarly readers in both France and Germany. However, his views did not reflect the public’s growing appreciation of Beethoven’s symphonies, and therefore are removed from the larger historical and social concerns of a growing industrialist society and from an emerging French Romanticism. Though his arid writing and classical ideology had limited appeal, he contributed to the rising field of historical music journalism, notably developed by Joseph d’Ortigue.<sup>22</sup>

More common at this time was a literary style of music criticism that typically attempted to elicit a subjective response to music by creating a sort of poetic reverie, and which represented growing Romantic literary trends in France. The aim of the literary critic was to provide an

---

<sup>20</sup> François-Joseph Fétis, *Revue musicale* (1828), quoted in Peter Bloom, *François-Joseph Fétis and the Revue Musicale*, 146.

<sup>21</sup> Bloom, 148; 176-80.

<sup>22</sup> Classifications of journalistic styles are debated among scholars: H. Robert Cohen, “The Nineteenth-Century French Press,” *Nineteenth-Century Music* 7 (1983): 142. Cohen also classifies Blaze de Bury as a “critic historian,” yet I agree with Kerry Murphy who states that because de Bury also wrote extensively on literature as well as music, and in a literary-impressionistic style, he is in a different class. Murphy, 222, n. 32.

inducement to an artistic experience, by reminiscence or imagination, that would parallel the experience of listening to music during the concert. Similarly in France at this time, the critic of paintings and art aimed to produce an artistic text, which would inspire an emotional response. Thus, already at the dawn of French Romanticism, all the elements of Baudelaire's notion of synaesthesia (feeling and critiquing art with all the senses) are gathered. The early nineteenth-century literary critic, typically anonymous, rejected the antiquated and out-moded institutions of the recent past and the didactic historical style of Fétis.<sup>23</sup> Instead, he targeted a "non-specialist" audience who expected nothing but poetical responses to music's effects. Literary critics took their cues from Romantic writers to build a rich, evocative language using layers of images and various impressions with multi-dimensional meanings that were pieced together to form a coherent poetic idea and pattern. They described their own perceptions and feelings by using many adjectives that expressed their subjective involvement, more valued than any objective judgement: thus, the use of *magnifique*, for example, refers to the emotion of the critique more than to a specific aesthetic criterion. The accumulation of affective adjectives ideally created for the reader the effect of an animated conversation, as during an intermission, in which the feeling is not grounded in rational argument, but conveys the tone, sincerity, and the force of the critic's voice. Once more, the literary critic has become, already, an artist and this is the condition for including the poetic reverie, sought after by the Romantics. This critical style was most typical in

---

<sup>23</sup> For example, "Ch. L.," "Société des concerts: Symphonies de Beethoven," *Le Temps* 27 (February, 1834):2. Here its anonymous critic stated: "God keep me from embarking upon the analysis of a symphony, unless I copy the *Revue Musicale*, and say, as it does, *that the return in the principal key is prepared by a perfect cadence on F sharp, the dominant of the key of B natural*: a language that marvellously suits the specialized readers of the *Revue*, but not an ignoramus like me, and that does not suit the non-specialized audience of *Le Temps* any better."

reviews of the music of Beethoven, which was conveyed as a metaphysical language through the use of poetic adjectives such as *sublime*, *magnifique*, and *admiratif*. A prime example is a review by an unknown author, published in *L'Artiste* (1834): “En effet, toutes les créations de Beethoven ne vous causent-elles pas et cette tristesse infinie, et cette exaltation de l'âme qui éprouve le besoin de s'unir avec Dieu!”<sup>24</sup>

This new impressionistic or “romantic” music criticism marks the establishment of flamboyant French Romanticism in music criticism, largely modelled on E. T. A. Hoffmann's articles on Beethoven. Hoffmann's writings were well received in France, where many of his short stories were translated and published by 1829, followed by his complete works in 1830.<sup>25</sup> Hoffmann was famous in distinguishing himself in Germany for his often quoted (or paraphrased) review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony (1808), in which he forwarded the notion that music was a metaphysical language that linked mankind to the Absolute, thus making it: “...the most romantic of all the arts, one might almost say the only really romantic art, for its sole object is the expression of the infinite.”<sup>26</sup> Here he deduced that Beethoven, as a composer of spiritual music, was ultimately “a purely romantic composer.” Hoffmann's near-deification of the composer as creator of this divine language reflected the aesthetic of music in German Romantic literature as first described by Wilhelm Wackenroder in his *Phantasien über die Kunst für*

---

<sup>24</sup> “In fact, do not all Beethoven's works evoke in you both that infinite sadness, and that exaltation of the soul that feels the need to unite with God!” Anonymous, “Société des concerts du Conservatoire de musique,” *L'Artiste* 7, no. 3 (1834): 26.

<sup>25</sup> E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Oeuvres complètes*, 12 vols. (Paris, 1830).

<sup>26</sup> Hoffmann, *E.T.A. Hoffmann's musikalische Schriften; mit Einschluss der nicht in die gesammelten Werke aufgenommenen Aufsätze ueber Beethoven, Kirchenmusik, etc.: nebst Biographie* (Cologne, 1899), 84-94.

*Freunde der Kunst* (Fantasies on the Subject of Art for Friends of Art), published by his close friend, Ludwig Tieck, in 1799. Hoffmann's serious music journalism likewise made a moral appeal for the appreciation of serious art over commercialism, demanding reverence and solemnity for music as a sacred language.<sup>27</sup>

French literary critics shared in Hoffmann's Romantic aesthetic and poetic descriptions of Beethoven's music as "infinite" and "transcendental." Hoffmann's musical discussion, however, would have proven too sophisticated for most French critics whose literary perspective often showed a lack of musical training. Reaching the general public would require a new form of journalism, one that could reinforce the appeal of Romantic literary imagery with an engaging, didactic technical musical discussion. This journalistic innovation would be launched in France by a young composer, Hector Berlioz, who would revolutionize the state of music journalism with his articles on Beethoven. Such a concept of criticism already promised the intimate union of writers and musicians for an absolute and mirroring experience of the concert and of the review. In Germany, this symbiosis of expressions and motives had been achieved by the reciprocal creation of Beethoven and Hoffmann: Beethoven being the celebrated hero of Hoffmann, who, in turn, modelled his own writings on his heroic model in a new form of music journalism. Hoffmann's use of the word "transcendental," so often used in this era, meant that the art invoked feelings beyond the limits of disciplines or individual senses: like Plato evoking the Universals or the ideas through the Mathematics, the Romantics touched absolute and universal emotions through music and heroism.

---

<sup>27</sup> For further discussion of Hoffmann's musical aesthetics, see Abigail Chantler, *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Aesthetics* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006).

## Berlioz's Early Encounters with Beethoven

Berlioz's first encounters with Beethoven involved reading two (undisclosed) scores of his symphonies and hearing one of his slow movements, probably the famous *Allegretto* of the Seventh Symphony, by 1827 (*M*, 49-50). He records in his *Memoirs* that this “*andante*” was played on the large stage of the Opera-house, which “produced a sound that was so poor and thin as to awaken no enthusiasm in me. I had, therefore, never paid much attention to purely instrumental music” (*M*, 49).<sup>28</sup> Yet, in 1828, Berlioz heard Beethoven's Fifth Symphony performed at the Paris Conservatory, and although he felt his first encounters with Beethoven had given him only faint indications of the composer's genius, he now realized the superior power of Beethoven's instrumental music. Berlioz had just recently become smitten with both Shakespeare and the famous Irish actress (and his eventual bride), Harriet Smithson, and his response to this historic concert reveals a combination of youthful idealism and the intertwining of these first-loves:

I had scarcely recovered from the visions of Shakespeare and Weber when I beheld Beethoven's giant form looming above the horizon. The shock was almost as great as that I had received from Shakespeare, and a new world of music was revealed to me by the musician, just as a new universe of poetry had been opened to me by the poet (*M*, 76-8).

Here, Berlioz clearly esteems the dramatic in both Shakespeare's plays and the operas of Weber – connections which foreshadow images found in his critical writings on Beethoven – but which are now superceded by Beethoven's dramatic music, portrayed as both vast and poetic. He immediately perceived Beethoven as a titan.

---

<sup>28</sup> My assumption that Berlioz discusses Beethoven's *Allegretto* erroneously as an *andante* is based on his same misidentification of this movement in his “Critical Study.” For purposes of clarity, I override Berlioz's misidentified title with Beethoven's own.

Initially, Berlioz's personal responses inspired his exploration of Beethoven's effective and colourful orchestral expression. This interest filled a gap in his compositional studies with Jean-François Le Sueur and Antoine Reicha, who, like most fellow academics, still viewed instrumental music as inferior, and so did not teach him about instrumentation (*M*, 77-8). Much of his self-study of orchestration focussed on the musical models of Weber, Spontini and Beethoven, and comprised listening to orchestral performances with score in hand and an "impartial examination" of both traditional and innovative techniques of instrumentation (*M*, 46). His early orchestral studies also included score study facilitated by earning extra income as a proof reader.

In 1829, just before Berlioz left for Italy after winning the *Prix de Rome*, the publisher Troupenas gave him the scores of Beethoven's symphonies to correct and proof, after Fétis had previously edited them (*M*, 192-3). Berlioz recalls his horror: "I found them full of the most insolent modifications of the very conceptions of the composer, and of annotations still more outrageous! Everything in Beethoven's harmony that did not fit in with the theory of M. Fétis was altered with incredible audacity" (*M*, 193). Even more repugnant to Berlioz, Fétis's "improvements" to Beethoven's symphonies reflected similar cuts made for performances: "Beethoven saw his symphonies corrected by Fétis, Kreutzer, and Habeneck (...) It does not look as if the corrections came from above, but rather from below, and very perpendicularly at that!" (*M*, 62-3).

The alterations to Beethoven's music that Berlioz witnessed were the authoritative decision of Rudolphe Kreutzer (1766-1831), who had bureaucratic pull as the conductor of the Paris Opera orchestra. Kreutzer was also famous as a violinist and composer, and it was he to

whom Beethoven dedicated his “Kreutzer” sonata for violin and piano, Op. 47. Berlioz records that Kreutzer’s disdain for Beethoven led him to make drastic cuts to the Second Symphony in D major. Habeneck followed suit, and cut out the double basses from the beginning of the Scherzo, which influenced subsequent performances over the next twenty years: “He (Habeneck) thinks they don’t sound well! A lesson for Beethoven!”<sup>29</sup> Berlioz asserts that Kreutzer’s acts epitomized the reception of the time: “In those days 99 percent of the musicians in Paris shared Kreutzer’s opinion of Beethoven.”<sup>30</sup> Berlioz voiced general indignation at any form of alteration to an artist’s work, a theme that both documents the existence of this particular performance practice, and runs as a subtext throughout his critical writings on Beethoven’s symphonies.

#### Berlioz’s Early Critical Writings on Beethoven, 1829-30

Berlioz began his career as a journalist in 1825 with his articles for *Le Correspondant*, where he defined himself as a critic whose primary critical goal was to defend true art over prosaic commercialism. This was partly instigated by his “passionate indignation” towards the contemporary state of French journalism: “I was reading the ramblings of one of these lunatics when I was seized by the desire to answer them” (*M*, 80). His artistic crusade in journalism began with a defence of Gluck and Spontini against the attacks of Rossinists. By 1828, he also championed Weber. But it was with his defence of Beethoven as a Romantic composer this same year that he established his name in journalism.

---

<sup>29</sup> *M*, 40, 48, 64, 77. This personal information made it into a later article (see C227, Table IV, 1837).

<sup>30</sup> Berlioz, *AM*, 15-59.

Berlioz's early articles on Beethoven express a unique conception of ideology in French music journalism, one that reflects the influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann's notion of transcendentalism and Victor Hugo's controversial literary ideology. Indeed, Hugo's aesthetics loom large in Berlioz's Beethoven reception, particularly in the latter's advocacy of originality, expressiveness, and the modern *musique poétique* in terms that resemble Hugo's notion of *la poésie moderne*.

In 1827, Victor Hugo took the lead of the Young Romantics who wished to revive French poetry and rebel against strict and stagnant systems inherited from academic and scholastic definitions of literature. By breaking with the tradition of separating poetry and drama, Hugo proclaimed an "complete" or absolute poetry within the new art form: drama.<sup>31</sup> In his *Préface de Cromwell* (1827), written like a manifesto for the new aesthetics, Hugo claimed that, contrary to canonic traditions that built on Aristotle's principles (in the *Poetics*) of separating and using the literary devices and tools according to the different genres, the new poetry represented diversity, as a mixture of all the generic elements.<sup>32</sup> Hugo motivated a movement towards a 'mixed mode' of poetry, one that combined all genres and expressions in various ways and proportions, mingling elements of comedy and tragedy, and the epic and lyric, with the grotesque and the beautiful, the terrible and the absurd.<sup>33</sup> The source of Hugo's new aesthetic, then, focussed not on the rules

---

<sup>31</sup>Here I acknowledge H el ene Cazes for her indispensable assistance and feedback on my discussion of Hugo and French Romanticism.

<sup>32</sup> Victor Hugo, *Pr eface de Cromwell* in *Th eatre complet*, ed. J. J. Thierry and Josette M el eze (Paris: Gallimard, 1963), I, 422-5; Hugo, *Cromwell* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion), 61-109. Unless otherwise indicated, translations here are mine.

<sup>33</sup> Hugo's complex style avoids clear definition by a single term; however, for purposes of my discussion, I have created my own terminology in line with Hugo's ideas: in this dissertation, I will use the term 'mixed mode' of expression in reference to the content or musical mixture of themes, motives,

(notably the three unities, derived from Aristotle and applied to classical drama in France) but on nature, as reality.<sup>34</sup>

In form, Hugo's modern drama largely incorporated elements of lyric poetry: "Drama is complete poetry (...) Our time, dramatic above all, is that which is also eminently lyrical...but it is especially lyrical poetry which complements drama."<sup>35</sup> The overriding character of this 'dramatic-lyric' style included a mixture of genres (of prose with poetry, comedy with tragedy, etc.) designed to portray various dialects and intellectual abilities in society at large.<sup>36</sup> Hugo stressed the importance of an organic process of thematic development around a central poetic idea, which unfolded in non-chronological episodes.<sup>37</sup> The tension of opposites (as 'mixed mode' expression or dramatic-lyric form that mixed genres), he stated, was held together by the power of the romantic genius, propelled by the subjective expression of *sa valeur intrinsèque* (the drama's intrinsic value, or a notion of the poetic idea). This central poetic idea, "when steeped in verse," at

---

expressions, and imagery (as oxymoron, paradox, metaphor, etc.); and 'dramatic-lyric' in reference to formal structure (largely as a mixture of genres: lyrical poetic elements mixed with dramatic structure). For more discussion of Hugo's style, see: Albert W. Halsall, *Victor Hugo and the Romantic Drama* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998). On the topic of Hugo's use of metaphor, see: Wendy Greenberg, "Structure and Function of Hugo's Condensed Metaphor," *The French Review* 55 (December 1982): 257-66.

<sup>34</sup> In neoclassical drama, the three unities are: unity of action, with one action and few or no subplots; unity of place; unity of time (usually 24 hours).

<sup>35</sup> "Notre époque, dramatique avant tout, est par cela même éminemment lyrique (...) Mais c'est surtout la poésie lyrique qui sied au drame." *Cromwell*, 76. For purposes of my discussion, I refer to 'dramatic-lyric' as a term to denote Hugo's notion of form, as mixed genres.

<sup>36</sup> My own understanding of Hugo in this regard is supported by William J. Thompson, *Understanding "Les fleurs du mal": Critical readings* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1997): 8.

<sup>37</sup> The action, Hugo stated, must "cast aside the unities of time and place." *Cromwell*, 78.

once acquired a “more incisive, more brilliant quality.”<sup>38</sup> Thus, the culminating intensity of this absolute poetry would create unprecedented experiences of the sublime.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, this aesthetic experience would reach a larger audience by creating a kaleidoscopic perspective with indeterminate resonances as subtext of imagery and meanings for different audiences.

His new ideal of poetry – described, as he states, by the more indefinite yet popular term “romantic literature” – instigated a collapse of classical traditions by representing the realities of life and the diversity of nature: “drama is a mirror that reflects nature...nature and reality.”<sup>40</sup> Hugo objected to the isolation and refinement represented in the old order of “mimetic

---

<sup>38</sup> “L’idée, trempée dans le vers, prend soudain quelque chose de plus incisif et de plus éclatant. C’est le fer qui devient acier.” *Cromwell*, 96. “The idea, when steeped in verse, suddenly becomes something sharper and brighter. It is the iron that becomes steel.”

<sup>39</sup> “Et il serait exact aussi de dire que le contact du difforme a donné au sublime moderne quelque chose de plus pur, de plus grand, de plus sublime enfin que le beau antique; et cela doit être.” *Cromwell*, 72. Translation: “And it is also true to say that the contact of the deformed gave the modern sublime something more pure, greater, more sublime than the beautiful ancient finally, and it should be.” For further discussion of Hugo’s notion of the sublime, see: Thomas Weiskel, *The Romantic Sublime* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 11-68; Kathryn M. Grossman, *Figuring Transcendence in Les Misérables: Hugo’s Romantic Sublime* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994).

<sup>40</sup> “Le drame est un miroir où se réfléchit la nature... La nature et la vérité.” *Cromwell*, 90. As Hugo states in his preface, the modern poetic is referred to as “romantic,” a popular yet elusive description of the various applications of the poetic. His own theory allows for such variety, subject to the genius of an individual poet. Rather than a complete rejection of traditions, Hugo encourages individuals to develop freely all means of poetry, as tools to facilitate new forms and expressions. To further explain this contravention from strict adherence to paradigms, Hugo draws analogy between artistic styles and the oak tree, rooted in traditions yet branching in various directions (Shakespeare is compared to one of these branches). See: Halsall, *Victor Hugo and the Romantic Drama*; on romanticism, see: Introduction, note 3; Janet Johnson, “The Musical Environment in France,” *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, 211-6; Ora Frishberg Saloman, *Listening well: on Beethoven, Berlioz, and Other Music Criticism in Paris, Boston, and New York, 1767-1890* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 47-59.

expression” or the descriptive pittoresque, which spoke only to one perspective.<sup>41</sup> Playing on the double meaning of mimesis – as the imitation of reality, and the imitation of reality in a structure (drama) – Hugo proposed a new type of mimesis that would be just as beautiful as prose and that would represent the true reality on stage. This created a “mirror” of reality as theatrical illusion.<sup>42</sup> To this effect, the new drama contravened neo-classical concepts that were in effect in 1827, by a mixture of the indeterminate represented by the infinite, the fantastical, and the grotesque combined with the mimetic represented by traditional beauty as grace, the good, and light. Traditional beauty, for example, was singularly portrayed as noble and moral. In Hugo’s realm, however, beauty was now rivalled by an interest in evil, terror, the taboo, and the grotesque, to create drama as a reflection of reality:

---

<sup>41</sup> The “mimetic” in classical and neo-classical literature refers to a concept that art may imitate reality; the expression of this aesthetic, however, is complex and varied. Hugo describes traditional concepts of mimetic verse that would be just as beautiful as prose or the descriptive or pittoresque: “ce vers-là serait bien aussi beau que de la prose...l’autre poésie était descriptive, celle-ci serait pittoresque.” *Cromwell*, 95-6. Hugo’s promotion of artistic freedom leads to a revolutionary style, without generic constraints (that came with a series of lexical constraints etc.). In his promotion of radical innovations, he rejects a conception of creation which would produce works where rules are a criterion both for composing and for appreciating art work. This mediation, accepted for centuries in the classical poetics, is violently and defiantly abandoned. The most visible effect of this position is the inclusion of devices traditionally attached to specific genres into the new work, notably the use of metaphors – the jewel of lyric poetry – in drama. As we will see, Hugo’s definition of the mimetic correlates with Berlioz’s notion of “physical imitation” in music, notably as the expansion of traditions of the musical pittoresque with mimetic imitation of the indefinite, largely as personal subjective expressions. For more discussion see, for example: John D. Boyd, *The Function of Mimesis and Its Decline* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1980); Mary Jo Muratore, *Mimesis and Metatextuality in French neo-Classical Text* (Genève: Droz Librairie, 1994); Christopher Prendergast, *The Order of Mimesis: Balzac, Nerval, Stendhal, Flaubert* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

<sup>42</sup> Art reflects nature by theatrical illusion, a crossroads that produces “a drama in which the poet finally meets fully the multiple purpose of art, which is to open the view to a double horizon, to illuminate both inside and outside of men, outside their speech and their actions within, by asides and monologues; which cross, in a word, in the same table, the drama of life and the drama of consciousness.” *Cromwell*, 91.

*La poésie de notre temps est donc le drame; le caractère du drame est le réel; le réel résulte de la combinaison toute naturelle de deux types, le sublime et le grotesque, qui se croisent dans le drame, comme ils se croisent dans la vie et dans la création. Car la poésie vraie, la poésie complète, est dans l'harmonie des contraires. Puis, il est temps de le dire hautement, et c'est ici surtout que les exceptions confirmeraient la règle, tout ce qui est dans la nature est dans l'art.*<sup>43</sup>

By refusing the classical definition of beauty, Hugo emphasized the novelty of life. Central to his literary theory is the mimetic representation of subjectivity – the life of the self.<sup>44</sup> And Shakespeare, who contravened classical traditions of historical accuracy and logical sequences of time by using billowy poetical outlines that link verse with prose and replaced the epic with the dramatic as lyric verse, became the hero of this new drama:

*Nous voici parvenus à la sommité poétique des temps modernes. Shakespeare, c'est le Drame; et le drame, qui fond sous un même souffle le grotesque et le sublime, le terrible et le bouffon, la tragédie et la comédie, la drame est le caractère propre de la troisième époque de poésie, de la littérature actuelle.*<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Hugo, *Théâtre complet* I, 425; *Cromwell*, 79. “The poetry of our times is the drama, the character of the drama is real, the real result of any natural combination of two types, the sublime and the grotesque, which intersect in the drama as they intersect in life and creation. For true poetry, the **complete poetry** is the harmony of opposites.”

<sup>44</sup> *Cromwell*, 89-90. Hugo proposes that art reflect a “concentrated” view of nature and truth: far from demolishing art, the new ideas aim only to reconstruct it more firmly and on a better foundation, let us try to point out the impassable limit which in our opinion, separates reality according to art from reality according to nature. It is careless to confuse them as some ill-informed partisans of romanticism do. Truth in art cannot possibly be, as several writers have claimed, absolute reality. Art cannot produce the thing itself.”

<sup>45</sup> Hugo, I, 425; *Cromwell*, 78. “Here at last we reach the poetic summit of modern times. Shakespeare is drama; and the drama, which with the same breath combines the grotesque and the sublime, the terrible and the absurd, tragedy and comedy--the drama is the distinguishing characteristic of the third epoch of poetry, of the literature of the present day.” Hugo’s reception of Shakespeare signaled a departure from the negative critical stance maintained over the previous decades and largely influenced by François-Marie Voltaire. Voltaire initially pronounced his dislike of Shakespeare in his *Lettres philosophiques XVIII* (1726): “I am going to say a rather risky thing, but a true one: the merit of this writer ruined the English theatre (...).” In his “*Essai sur la poésie épique*” (1728), Shakespeare’s “bizarre and gargantuan ideas” were further attacked as “boorishness.” Voltaire continued – in his *Letters concerning the English Nation* (1743) – to deem Shakespeare a master of the grotesque, a “fruitful Genius...not so much as a single spark of good taste.” His statements reflected the literary

Hugo celebrated Shakespeare's radical antistructuralism, overturning both Voltaire's disdain for Shakespeare's mixed modes and the German Romantic reception of Shakespeare's plays as moral symbols of unity. Hugo's lifelong study of Shakespeare provided him with practical examples for his own artistic beliefs, ranging from his play *Cromwell* (1827) to his essay "William Shakespeare" (1864). Hugo praised Shakespeare's poetical billowy outlines that link verse with prose and mixed the epic with the *dramatique-lyrique*. In content, he valued Shakespeare's juxtaposition and mixture of paradoxical images, themes, characters, or ideas. The artful combination of these elements created a space or a gap in human comprehension – Hugo refers to as the "indefinite" or vagueness– representing the apex of sensation, which powerfully engaged audiences in theatrical illusion.

---

fashion of an era that criticized Shakespeare's plays for disregarding classical unities; using paradoxical imagery; mixing various modes of speech; and juxtaposing genres that created incomprehensible forms. As we will see in Chapters III and IV, Berlioz reflects Hugo's reception of Shakespeare in his response to Beethoven's modern dramatic expression (Fifth and Seventh Symphonies) and in his own *Roméo et Juliette*. Hugo felt that Shakespeare's use of mixed modes represented the epitome of expression, which corresponded with several similar ideas about Shakespeare that were circulating across Europe. In his *Lectures upon Shakespeare* (VIII, 1811-12), Samuel Taylor Coleridge cited *Roméo's* use of oxymoron, "feather of lead" and "bright smoke," as "the grandest efforts of poetry...where the imagination is called forth, not to produce a distinct form, but a strong working of the mind...the substitution of a sublime feeling of the unimaginable for a mere image." John Keats called this Shakespeare's "negative capability", and stated that it allowed Shakespeare to become a chameleon who took delight in being both vile *Iago* and virtuous *Imogen*. Similar conceptions of irony or paradox were a theme in German romantic literature and philosophy that was likewise inspired by Shakespeare. In his *Vorlesungen über schöne Literatur und Kunst* (1801-2), August Schlegel stated that while he prepared his translations of Shakespeare's plays, he observed a deep coherence of form, which led him to develop a mystical theory of a work of art. His theory was based on the idea of 'organic unity' that defines art as "the beautiful...it is a symbolic representation of the infinite and the infinite becomes revealed through the beautiful." Schlegel's system of spiritualism was expanded upon by philosophers Johann Fichte in *On the Spirit and the Letter in Philosophy* (1794) and by Friedrich Schelling, in his *System des transzendentalen Idealismus* (1800). Both Fichte and Schelling upheld the belief that art was beauty, and that the beautiful originated in the appearance of harmony between our dual spiritual and sensing natures. While a main theme in German Romanticism was the ideal of form as a union of opposites, the focus of French Romanticism, as expressed by Hugo, was to explore nuances of mixed modes of expression.

Important to Berlioz's establishing a new poetic of music are five key principles that Hugo emphasized in his theory: 1) an aversion to strict adherence to traditional canonic techniques of versification to be replaced by the combination of genres; 2) reminiscences of past eras; 3) the suppression of logical order of time and place by use of "episodes"; 4) an emphasis on hyperbolic expression and sensation; and 5) the notion of originality, as the personal narrative of a central idea.<sup>46</sup> His mixed-mode expression marked the replacement of classicism's edifying austerities with hyperbolic-metaphorical expression (as the combination of antithetical or complementary opposites). This, Hugo claimed, would create *rêverie et expression poétique de la plus intense passion* (reverie and poetic expression of the most intense passion) to stimulate imaginative aesthetic experiences of sensual pleasure and the sublime.

Thus, by rejecting rules and conventions, Hugo aimed to create *théâtre complet* or *la poésie complète* that touched the core of the human experience. By integrating all the generic elements of poetry, his new drama would realistically represent the mixed elements of life and, thus, of subjectivity. His five key principles allowed him to define the core of human experience as personal subjectivity, and to set the stage for the theatre of the inner-self, disregarding external constraints (the three unities of action, place, time) to reflect the truth of the soul. Reconstructing the history of poetry as the progressive affirmation of the self and the progressive expression of this discovery, Hugo distinguished three stages: the lyric ode of primitive times, as pastoral hymn; the epic poetry of ancient society, as expressions of tragedy in Homer, and the expression of melancholy and meditation in Christian art of the Middle Ages; and the modern drama as

---

<sup>46</sup> Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Romanticism: Breaking the Canon," *Art Journal* 52 (Summer, 1993): 18-21.

complete poetry.<sup>47</sup> His own ‘dramatic-lyric’ transcended all previous forms of poetry, crowning the dialectic process by uniting all genres – previously separated to represent the personal with lyrical poetry, the collective with epics – as both personal and collective in the modern drama. Hugo’s new poetry thus recognized the universal soul within the perspective of individual subjectivity. This underlined the significance of the poet as the herald of cultural advancement. To Hugo, the goal of modern art “is almost divine: to bring to life again if it is writing history, to create if it is writing poetry.”<sup>48</sup> As such, Hugo’s aesthetic became the ideal mediation for Berlioz’s promotion of the poetic in music: the metaphorical gap or the tension of opposites created by the two concepts of universalism and individualism that coexisted within the poetic character of Beethoven’s symphonies.

In the Preface to his set of poems, *Les Orientales* (1829), Hugo further defended a poet’s prerogative to innovation and the right to follow his “true nature,” free from the “shackles of conventions”: “Art should not be made of handcuffs, of boundaries, of gags, it says to the man of genius, “go,” and lets him loose in the great garden of poetry where there is no forbidden fruit.”<sup>49</sup> His poems exemplify his ideas by capturing his personal reflections on travel, joy, and death in an innovative structure: subgroups of poems, interrelated by interlocking images that progressively

---

<sup>47</sup> Hugo, *Cromwell*, 64-76. Ultimately Hugo proposes that his notion of ‘dramatic-lyric’ reflects reality: “everything in nature and in life passes through these three phases, the lyric, the epic, and the dramatic, because everything is born, acts, and dies.” *Cromwell*, 76.

<sup>48</sup> “Ainsi le but de l’art est presque divin: ressusciter, s’il fait de l’histoire; créer, s’il fait de la poésie.” *Cromwell*, 91.

<sup>49</sup> Victor Hugo, *Les Orientales* (1829), quoted in Hector Berlioz, C16; *Hector Berlioz: Critique musicale 1823-1863* (Paris, 1996), vol. 1: 1823-1834, 66. “L’art n’a que faire de menottes, de lisières et de bâillons, il dit à l’homme de génie, va, et le lâche dans ce grand jardin de poésie où il n’y a pas de fruit défendu.”

unfold to create an organic whole.<sup>50</sup> Like Hugo's preface to *Cromwell*, his *Les Orientales* provided another artistic manifesto for Romantic literature. No such manifesto as yet existed for music – it would be provided by Berlioz.<sup>51</sup>

At this time, Hugo's *Les Orientales* suffused Berlioz's critical aesthetics, and inspired him to compose *musique poétique*. In a letter of 1829, Berlioz wrote to his friend Humbert Ferrand about his recent setting of Hugo's "Chant de pirates" from *Les Orientales*: "C'est de la musique d'écumeur de mer, de forban, de brigand, de flibustier, à la voix rauque et sauvage, mais je n'ai pas besoin de vous mettre au fait; vous comprenez la musique poétique aussi bien que moi."<sup>52</sup> Set for contralto or mezzo-soprano and orchestra, this song was first performed as *La Captive* in 1832; after five revisions, it was later performed in London with Berlioz conducting (1848).

Berlioz's concept of romantic ideology first found a voice in his writings for *Le Corsaire*, *Le Correspondant*, and the *Berliner Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. In 1829-30, his articles for *Le Correspondant* ranged in topic from religious music to strong criticisms against the *Théâtre*

---

<sup>50</sup> Richard B. Grant, "Sequence and Theme in Victor Hugo's *Les Orientales*," *PMLA* 94 (Oct. 1979): 894-908.

<sup>51</sup> For further discussion of Berlioz's setting of Hugo's *Les Orientales*, see: Holoman, *Berlioz*, 239.

<sup>52</sup> 1829, *Corr.* I, 233. "It's the music of the buccaneer, the pirate, the brigand, the freebooter, who have raucous and savage voices, but I have no need to explain to you; you understand the poetic music as much as I do." Here, Berlioz echoes Hugo's ideal of the new poetic as a free mixture of expressions, notably the grotesque, and a portrayal of nature as boundless and savage (the endless sea and the forbidden nature of man). Significantly, this quote illustrates Berlioz's synthesis of Hugo's aesthetic into a new view of "poetic music," which he would develop in his promotion of Beethoven's music as a metaphorical language that conveys a diversity of dramatic musical imagery.

*Italien*; they included as well the first stage of his writings on Beethoven, listed in Table I.<sup>53</sup>

These articles illustrate Hugo's influence on Berlioz's Beethoven reception in terms of the modern poetic as dramatic and metaphorical, and in the notions of historical artistic evolution and personal artistic liberty. In the first three articles (C14, C15, C16), Berlioz discusses Beethoven's biography in three categories that link the composer's musical development to the three main stages of his personal life: youth and tradition; mature works and innovation; and suffering and transcendence. As will be illustrated in Chapters II and III, Berlioz's concept of these three chronological categories, which reflects his notion of a personal artistic evolutionary process, affects the way in which he perceives, evaluates, and assesses Beethoven's symphonies in his "Critical Study." Berlioz's fourth article (C18) is significant as his first attempt to establish a Romantic musical manifesto. Like Hugo, Berlioz upheld Shakespeare's plays as models of modern poetic drama. Beethoven's symphonies, however, superceded the poetic expression of literature because of music's greater ambiguity and its ability to create metaphorical experience.

Table I: Berlioz's Early Articles on Beethoven, *Le Correspondant* (1829-30)

- C14 *Beaux-Arts*: "Biographie étrangère: Beethoven" (premier article), *Le Correspondant*, August 4, 1829. Beethoven's youth.
- C15 *Beaux-Arts*: "Biographie étrangère: Beethoven" (Suite), *Le Correspondant*, August 11, 1829. *Le compositeur-poète*: 1801-1811.
- C16 *Beaux-Arts*: "Biographie étrangère: Beethoven" (Suite et fin.), *Le Correspondant*, October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1829. *La dernière période*: 1811-1827; *La Symphonie avec chœurs*.
- C18 *Beaux-Arts*: "Aperçu sur la musique classique et la musique romantique," *Le Correspondant*, October 22, 1830. *Définition de la musique; les chaînes scolastiques du "classicisme"*; Gluck; Beethoven et Weber.

---

<sup>53</sup> As explained in the Introduction, these sigla refer to Holoman's catalogue numbers.

In his first article (C14), Berlioz provides anecdotes of Beethoven's youth as a talented student who learned the forms of his masters Mozart and Haydn and yet who revolted against these traditions because of his independent spirit (*indépendance d'esprit*) and his inherently melancholic character (*son penchant à la mélancolie*). The anecdotes of Beethoven's youth illustrated his independence from rules: even from childhood, without the polishing effect of studies and experience, Beethoven was born a musician. Thus, his art was a natural gift, not a well earned retribution for efforts. As such, the interest in Beethoven's formative years thus demonstrates a Romantic concept of Beethoven's art.

Berlioz next addresses Beethoven's second stage as a mature artist (in C15) who asserted his own personal style in new forms, since traditional forms could not fully express the immense melancholy caused by suffering his fate as a deaf musician. In his third biographical article (C16), Berlioz discusses Beethoven's suffering as the reason for his brooding nature, and asserts that he transcended this human condition by his genius and love of music. The paradox of his suffering and greatness are expressed in his late music as the mixture of extreme and contradictory emotions, of dreams and despair, and of new and unconventional – and ultimately transcendent – forms. Here we see the mixture of opposite tensions to create hyperbolic expression and experiences of the metaphorical established by Hugo's new literary aesthetic. To Berlioz, these characteristics mark Beethoven's highest personal development as an artist and the highest form of modern art.<sup>54</sup> Berlioz's theme – connecting the image of “suffering” with the restorative

---

<sup>54</sup> Hector Berlioz, article C16: “Un caractère de sombre exaltation, de vague rêverie et de désespoir, tellement prononcé, avec des formes si éloignées de toutes les habitudes musicales, qu'elles forment un genre à part dans les hautes régions de l'art.” (A character of sombre exaltation, of vague dreams and of despair, so pronounced, with forms so removed from all musical conventions that it creates a unique genre in the highest regions of art.)

power of music – also pervades his personal correspondence of this time (1827-30). For example, in a letter to his sister Nanci, Berlioz described a performance of Beethoven’s late quartets as powerful because they expressed Beethoven’s great suffering.<sup>55</sup> Here he illustrates the romantic perspective of paradox between suffering and regeneration: music relieves Berlioz from the “capacity for suffering which kills me” because music was able to contain his own vast emotions. In fact, it delivered him from his own suffering:

*Il y a en moi une force d’expansion qui agit violemment, je vois tout cet horizon, ce soleil, et je souffre tant, que si je ne me contenais, je pousserais des cris, je me roulerais par terre. Je n’ai trouvé qu’un moyen de satisfaire complètement cette avidité immense d’émotion, c’est la musique.*<sup>56</sup>

Berlioz’s image of Beethoven (and himself) as the poet-genius and suffering innovator reflects trends in Romanticism that argued that such “perpetual martyrdom” granted the poet the privilege of being judged according to a separate set of standards. Poverty, alienation, hostility, and martyrdom were part of the poet’s destiny. In his *Méditations poétiques* (1820), Alphonse de Lamartine explained that “toute grande idée est...un combat contre la société, une révolution, un martyre souvent.”<sup>57</sup> Honoré de Balzac frequently wrote about the predetermined suffering of the artist, with prime examples found in his 1830 article “Des Artistes” (1830) and in the third part of

---

<sup>55</sup> 1829, *Corr.* 1: 244 (Letter to Nanci).

<sup>56</sup> 1830, *Corr.* 1: 313. “Cette facilité de souffrir qui me tue.”; 1830, *Corr.* 1: 311. “There is in me a violent expansionary force, I see this immense horizon, this sun, and I suffer so much, so much, that if I did not contain myself, I would cry out, I would roll on the ground. I have found only one means of completely satisfying my overpowering emotion, that is music.”

<sup>57</sup> “Every great idea is...a fight against society, a revolution, often a martyrdom.” Lamartine, “Le Lac,” *Méditations poétiques* (1820); Albert de Vigny described poets as marked men: “les hommes d’imagination sont éternellement crucifiés; le sarcasme et la misère sont les clous de leur croix.” (Men of imagination are eternally crucified; sarcasm and misery are the nails of their cross.) Albert de Vigny, quoted in Gretchen R. Besser, *Balzac’s Concept of Genius: The Theme of Superiority in the ‘Comédie humaine’* (Geneva: Library Droz, 1969), 54.

his *Illusions perdues* (1837), where he examines the *souffrances de l'inventeur*.<sup>58</sup> The poet, as innovator and iconoclast, led a life of paradox, torn between his need to escape the envy and scorn of society and his drive to create art that challenged and extirpated deep-rooted habits of thought. He created in isolation, “far from the madding crowd,” adopting an attitude of either superb and lofty disdain (such as Alfred de Musset, Vigny or Byron) or of aloof compassion with a wish to educate (as with Hugo, Balzac, and Berlioz).<sup>59</sup> Similarly, Berlioz conveys a Romantic image of Beethoven as suffering for the love of his art, stating that this is what distinguishes true artists from common men. In one respect, the notion of martyrdom underlines Berlioz’s appeal for a receptive attitude towards innovative and surprising moves and effects. These issues persist in Berlioz’s Romantic image of Beethoven as a poet-genius. They also underscore his establishment of new criterion by which to evaluate the poetic in modern “romantic” music.

Berlioz’s fourth article on Beethoven, “Aperçu sur la musique classique et la musique romantique” (C18), establishes a musical manifesto that would guide his readers to an understanding of “romantic” music through a new aesthetic and terminology based on the musical models of Gluck and Spontini, Weber, and Beethoven. This is the first instance in which he defines a poet as a “romantic” in his own journalism. A romantic, Berlioz explains, manifests his genius in the invention of new forms that freely express his natural passion, in contrast to the

---

<sup>58</sup> Honoré de Balzac, “*Des Artistes*,” *L’Europe littéraire*, 1830; Thomas R. Palfrey, *L’Europe littéraire: Un essai de périodique cosmopolite* (1827), *passim*; Balzac, *Correspondance*, II, 212, 279 (March 1833); *Illusions perdues* (Paris: 1837;1843;1855; Paris: Garnier, 1961). For further discussion on Balzac and the image of the poet, see Besser, 49-58; Roland Chollet, *Balzac journaliste: le tournant de 1830* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1983).

<sup>59</sup> For further discussion on broad characteristics of the Romantic poet, see Anita Brookner, *Romanticism and Its Discontents*.

formulaic products churned by the merely talented, or the *ingénieux industriels* (clever drones) – a slur that Berlioz particularly directs at *les cantilènes italiens modernes* (the modern Italian opera composers). He draws from the Preface to Hugo’s *Les Orientales* to describe the modern poet as a “rule-breaker” who emancipates art from established rules and conventional dogma, and who creates art because of a passion that specifically calls to his “nature” or inborn poetic instinct. Gluck was the first composer to break *les chaînes scolastiques* in order to forge a new path of dramatic expression. In doing so, he created the genre of *musique expressive*, making music *une véritable poésie*. In this way, Gluck is a *Shakespeare de la musique*. Spontini also belongs to this poetic school, as his music, like that of Gluck, represents both a link between French traditions of the grand dramatic-epic and an evolutionary outgrowth of these traditions, which marks the advent of modern romantic music.<sup>60</sup>

For Berlioz in the “Aperçu,” romantic music is best represented by the music of Weber and Beethoven, who created a new romantic genre which he calls the *genre instrumental expressif*. This music is the original and personal subjective expression of a central poetic idea.<sup>61</sup> Capable of the greatest stimulation to the imagination, its ephemeral, indecisive and extremely vague qualities, he states, allow it to express the deepest of human emotions, invoke strange and

---

<sup>60</sup> Berlioz implies here a knowledge of earlier French musical writings represented, for example, by Lacépède’s treatise on the symphony, *La poétique de la musique* (1785). Lacépède advised composers to treat the symphony like a drama, and to view each movement like an act in a play. Lacépède was a great friend of Gluck; he promoted the notion of music as the expression of images, both descriptive and imitative. Berlioz specifically refers to Lacépède in his later article, “De l’imitation musicale” (part 2), *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (Jan. 8, 1837). Gluck was another composer on whom Berlioz focussed, and this article provided him with material for a subsequent one on Gluck for the *Gazette* (June 1, 1834), and as a longer essay, “Du système de Gluck en musique dramatique” (*Journal des débats*, Oct. 2, 1835), in which he proclaims Gluck a genius, along with Beethoven and Weber.

<sup>61</sup> “Une pensée poétique qui se manifeste partout” - a poetic idea which manifests throughout.

unsettling sensations, and to unfold in unexpected ways and in original forms:

*(...) le langage devient alors extrêmement vague et par cela même acquiert encore plus de puissance (...) Comme les objets entrevus dans l'obscurité, ses formes deviennent plus indécises, plus vaporeuses (...).là on est en présence de l'humanité avec ses passions; ici un monde nouveau s'ouvre à vos regards, on est transporté dans une sphère d'idées plus élevée, on sent se réaliser en soi la vie sublime rêvée par les poètes (...).*<sup>62</sup>

Importantly, here Berlioz promotes three key concepts that underscore his romantic aesthetic of music: that music is a *langage* (a language); like poetry, it is capable of creating metaphorical imagery (the indefinite, or *le vague*); and by its superior metaphorical expression, it becomes a divine language that may transport listeners into an experience of the sublime.

The novelty of ideas presented in Berlioz's article "Aperçu" expresses the revolutionary spirit of the time with enormous verve and impassioned enthusiasm. Published just after the July Revolution of 1830 and the appearance of both Hugo's innovative play *Hernani* and his own *Symphonie fantastique*, this is a rare instance in which Berlioz defends Romanticism within the context of the volatile changes in French politics, social structure, the economy, culture, and the press.

### The July Monarchy: Flamboyant Romanticism in the Press

Following the July revolution of 1830, Louis-Philippe d'Orléans took the throne as "citizen king", and the press, which had supported the revolution, benefited with a rise in status. Under the new July monarchy, the fraternity of the press enjoyed relative freedom, and its

---

<sup>62</sup> "The language thus becomes extremely vague and by this acquires greater power. Like objects glimpsed in darkness, forms become more indecisive, more vaporous. In it one is in the presence of humanity with all its passions; here a new world opens itself for us to see, one is transported into the sphere of more elevated ideas, one seems to find in oneself the sublime life dreamed by the poets."

journalistic strategies contributed to a boom in print culture: in 1830, there were 60,000 subscribers to Paris journals, a number which rose to 200,000 by 1848.<sup>63</sup> This increase reflected economic gain during a relatively peaceful time and an increase in the wealthy middle-class, who now sought pleasures – notably music concerts – that had previously been limited to aristocrats.

With the expanding concert life, a large number of general newspapers filled the public's need for news and information by featuring a music review, variously entitled *La chronique musicale*, *Le bulletin musical*, *Les spectacles de Paris*, *La chronique de Paris*, *La revue musicale*, *La critique musicale*, and *Le feuilleton musical*. The first four titles were used interchangeably to refer to a survey of the week's musical and theatrical events in the form of announcements. The last three titles might involve a theoretical essay, a concert review, or an historical composer's biography. Many of these journals included international correspondence, gleaned from literary bulletins and translated literature, from England, Germany, Spain, and Italy.<sup>64</sup>

At a time of political experimentation, the broader socialist goals of Saint-Simonism, no longer censored under the July monarchy, provided a foundation for many writers and journalists to address the social function of art.<sup>65</sup> Many Young Romantics saw Paris as driven by commerce

---

<sup>63</sup> Philip Mansel, *Paris Between Empires*, 319; Philippe Vigier, *Paris pendant la monarchie de juillet* (Paris: Association pour la publication d'une histoire de Paris, 1991), 449.

<sup>64</sup> Mansel, 175; Palfrey, 32.

<sup>65</sup> Saint-Simonism was founded on the beliefs of Comte de Saint-Simon, who advocated a form of socialism that divided society into 'producers' and the 'idle,' outlined in a pamphlet, *De la réorganisation de la société européenne ou de la nécessité de rassembler les peuples de l'Europe en un seul corps politique en conservant à chacun son indépendance nationale* (Paris, 1814). See Locke, *Music, Musicians, and the Saint-Simonians*; Claire G. Moses, "Saint-Simonian Men/Saint-Simonian Women: The Transformation of Feminist Thought in 1830s France," *The Journal of Modern History* 54 (June 1982): 240-67.

and entertainment, often at the expense of the working class.<sup>66</sup> High unemployment and appalling living conditions startled the consciousness of society. Social concerns led to new political ideologies that rejected the old social systems of aristocratic rule and the authority of the church, and which were published in the press. French *litterati*, such as Victor Hugo, Honoré de Balzac, Alphonse de Lamartine, and George Sand, sought to raise awareness of social issues in art by portraying fictional characters in realistic and contemporary situations. Journalists, notably Emile Barrault, published a Saint-Simonist manifesto as a pamphlet titled “*Aux artistes: Du passé et de l’avenir des beaux-arts*” (1830).<sup>67</sup> Having observed many wealthy opera audiences callously pass by the starving homeless, he and Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin promoted an ethical, moral, and political function of music in society that extended beyond pure pleasure.<sup>68</sup>

Some art critics did not ally themselves fully with Saint Simonism, notably Heinrich Heine and Henri Blaze de Bury, who rebelled against the Saint-Simonian ideals by arguing for a separation of art, politics, and religion – or art for art’s sake.<sup>69</sup> Bury’s philosophy underscored his own validity as a literary critic who used “sensing” and “feeling” as principal means to understanding music. To convey the extent of feeling, Bury drew analogies between a Beethoven symphony and various poetic literary works that were celebrated by the Young Romantics as

---

<sup>66</sup> Mansel, 340; Julien Frédérique Tarn, *Le Marquis de Custine* (Paris: Fayard, 1985), 353.

<sup>67</sup> Emile Barrault cited in Murphy, 24.

<sup>68</sup> Murphy, 23-4.

<sup>69</sup> Henri Blaze de Bury, “Revue musicale,” *Revue des deux mondes* (1840): 603-4; Dorothy Hagan, “French Musical Criticism Between the Revolutions, 1830-1848” (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1965), 238; Murphy, 17; Roger Cook, ed., *A Companion to the Works of Heinrich Heine* (New York: Camden House, 2002), 5-9; Antonia Vallentin, “Vive la France, quand-même,” *Heine: Poet in Exile* (New York: Doubleday, 1956), 158-189.

masterpieces, particularly Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Goethe's *Faust* and *Werther*, and Chateaubriand's *René*, in order to convey the importance of Beethoven's music as a dramatic language that expressed the deepest thoughts and emotions.<sup>70</sup> By linking Beethoven to celebrated poets, Bury illustrated three new aspects in French literary journalism: first, the establishment of the new French Romantic aesthetic, which values interdisciplinary elements shared between poetry and music; second, the idea that true art is poetic; and third, the inclusion of Beethoven in the French Romantic ideal of an artistic brotherhood. Despite his lofty ideals, Bury lacked sufficient musical knowledge to examine specifically how these new values were manifested in Beethoven's music. His articles thus remain rather abstract and general in tone. He elucidated correspondences between musical-poetic structural and aesthetic elements, but this understanding was restricted to an artistic elite. Bury represented a trend in press reviews and bulletins on music events that expressed eclectic critical philosophies. These were largely written by writers, like Bury, who used a literary rather than a technical style. Reaching the general public would require a new form of journalism, one that could reinforce the appeal of this type of literary imagery with insightful and didactic discussion based in understanding of the technicalities of music. This journalistic innovation was launched in France by Berlioz, in his second stage of writing on Beethoven.

#### Berlioz's Second Stage: The Reviews of The *Société des concerts du Conservatoire* (1833-6)

In the second stage of his writing on Beethoven (1833-7), Berlioz turned from a discussion that focussed largely on history, biography, and aesthetics to reviews of performances of

---

<sup>70</sup> Henri Blaze de Bury, *Meyerbeer et son temps* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1856), 4.

Beethoven's symphonies at the *Société des concerts du Conservatoire*. His initial articles, which cover the earliest performances of Beethoven's symphonies in Paris, were almost exclusively published in *Le Rénovateur*, as listed in Table II. Though generally brief, these articles initiate Berlioz's introduction of a new type of music journalism, one that intertwines an engaging Romantic literary style with insightful technical musical discussion that superceded existing literary and pedagogical models. These articles mark the beginning of his vigorous exploration of Beethoven's acoustical and aesthetic effects, notably produced by melody, harmony, rhythm, and orchestration, which Berlioz more fully developed in his "Critical Study" and his *Traité d'orchestration* (1843).

Table II: Early Reviews of Conservatory Concerts (1833-4)

- C23 "Société des concerts du Conservatoire: première séance," *Revue européenne*, April 22, 1833. Includes *La Symphonie pastorale*: analyse et commentaire.
- C35 *Revue Musicale* "Opéra-Comique - Théâtre-Italien-Concerts," *Le Rénovateur*, January 27, 1834. Includes *Préparation de la 9e symphonie de Beethoven au Conservatoire*.
- C36 *Revue Musicale et littéraire*. "Traité de composition de Beethoven," *Le Rénovateur*, January 21, 1834.
- C40 *Revue Musicale* "Deuxième concert du Conservatoire," *Le Rénovateur*, February 17, 1834. Commentary on Beethoven's Fourth Symphony.
- C42 *Revue Musicale* "Troisième concert du Conservatoire: *Symphonie pastorale*," *Le Rénovateur*, March 2, 1834.
- C47 *Revue Musicale et théâtrale* "Septième (sixième) concert du Conservatoire," *Le Rénovateur*, April 8, 1834. Beethoven's Second Symphony.

Significant in Table II is article C36, "Traité de composition de Beethoven," in which Berlioz bolsters the same aesthetical principles raised in his "Aperçu" (C18) with further technical

descriptions.<sup>71</sup> In particular, he delights in how Beethoven intensifies his wide range of expressive melody in combination with “witty, irreverent” harmonic principles that contradict the “doctors of harmonic science.”<sup>72</sup>

His reviews of concerts in Table II give a play-by-play of each program, showing that Beethoven’s symphonies were included in varied programs of mixed musical genres: these included chamber works performed with the full orchestra; selections from operas, oratorios, or a mass; movements from a virtuosic instrumental concerto; and symphonies, performed either in full or in part as a single movement or as a fragment of the original composition. Some of the performances included editorial cuts to Beethoven’s symphonies, made by those whom Berlioz condemns in his *Memoirs* as “culprits” and “stupid criminals” – a major dilemma for the “small and faithful group of devotees” at the Conservatory who persevered in performing Beethoven’s music, albeit in fragmented states.<sup>73</sup>

When Berlioz began his reviews of these concerts, the Conservatory hall seated 1100, and attendance was limited by a subscription that was considered to be a “treasured luxury.”<sup>74</sup> The

---

<sup>71</sup> His article C36 was reprinted in its entirety in the *Rénovateur* (Jan. 27, 1834) and in part the following year as passages in his “Cours de contrepoint et de fugue, de M. Cherubini – *Traité de composition*, de Beethoven” (*Journal des débats*, Dec. 22, 1835). See C164, Table III. Hector Berlioz, *Enseignement Musical*: “Cours de contrepoint et de fugue, de M. Cherubini – *Traité de composition*, de Beethoven, chez M. Maurice Schlesinger, rue de Richelieu, 97” (*Journal des débats*, Dec. 22, 1835); *Critique musicale*, vol. 2 (1835-6), 365.

<sup>72</sup> “Quelquefois cependant Beethoven semble se repentir de ses boutades irrévérenceuse contre les docteurs de la science harmonique...”

<sup>73</sup> For example, H. B., “Introduction” to “Critical Study.” For further discussion of programming in context of concert culture, see: William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Beethoven to Brahms* (New York: CUP, 2008).

<sup>74</sup> Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire*, 95-105.

annual renewable official subscription list (and the official waiting list) was largely reserved for those of political and social standing, including leading figures of the Parisian art scene, notably Hugo, Balzac, de Vigny, and Eugène Delacroix. By 1834, all of Beethoven's symphonies had been performed, either as fragments, selected movements, or sometimes in full; the First Symphony was rarely performed, and was omitted from performances between 1834 and 1844, and the Ninth Symphony was not performed intact until 1837.<sup>75</sup>

In his later articles, Berlioz voiced indignation at this type of mixed program, yet his initial reviews in Table II are primarily laudatory in tone. This suggests that he was well aware of his influential power in the press, where he could encourage both the novelty of this type of concert series and the *Société's* goal to promote Beethoven's music at a crucial period in the establishment of the Conservatory concert series, when audiences typically preferred popular virtuosity and the opera.<sup>76</sup> Berlioz's enthusiasm also suggests that he was eager to keep his coveted seat at the Conservatory, which regulated a press box for journalists by invitation only, a seat which new journals or negative critics were denied.<sup>77</sup>

#### Dissemination of Berlioz's Reviews of the *Concerts du Conservatoire*, 1834-5

By 1834, Berlioz's writings on Beethoven and the Conservatory concerts were published in several journals, notably in France's leading daily paper, the *Journal des débats*. These articles, listed in Table III, illustrate that Berlioz was a prolific journalist who often reworked and

---

<sup>75</sup> Ellis, 105; Kraus, 111; Holoman, 154.

<sup>76</sup> Murphy, 137.

<sup>77</sup> Holoman, 77-8.

republished some of the same material.<sup>78</sup> The wide dissemination of his articles indicates the establishment of Romanticism in French journalism. Many of these articles provide expanded discussions on the foundation and history of the Conservatory concert series, which serve as source material for his “Critical Study.” His Romantic ideology is largely illustrated in his use of religious imagery to describe the Conservatory, for example, as a “temple” of “devoted” musicians, to whom Beethoven became *leur nouvelle religion*.<sup>79</sup> To this end, he conveys music as a divine language, and he builds on the image of Beethoven as poet-priest.

Table III: Dissemination of Berlioz’s Reviews of *Concerts du Conservatoire* (1834-5)

- C50 “Concerts du Conservatoire: cinquième, sixième et septième concerts,” *Gazette musicale de Paris*, April 27, 1834. Beethoven’s Second and Fifth Symphonies.
- C51 *Revue Musicale* “Concerts: Beethoven, Cherubini, Hauman, Ponchard,” *Le Rénovateur*, April 27, 1834. Compares Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony and *Othello*.
- C53 “Revue Musicale et Littéraire,” *Le Rénovateur*, May 11, 1834. Fifth Symphony.
- C112 “Société des concerts du Conservatoire: Premier concert,” *Journal des débats*, January 25, 1835. Third Symphony.

---

<sup>78</sup> Reworkings and republications, for example: C50 with C51 and C53; and in essays, such as C129, C164, and C177; his article C113 is a partial reprint of excerpts from C112. While the latter is a more extensive article that builds on material that Berlioz previously published as foreign correspondent for A. B. Marx’s *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (July 18, 1829). *Hector Berlioz: Critique musicale* (1835-6), 29. His articles for Marx’s journal focussed largely on opera in Paris.

<sup>79</sup> Quoted from article C113, in which Berlioz documents material that he later uses in the Introduction to his “Critical Study.” In this article, Berlioz gives a brief play-by-play of the first Conservatory concert (January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1835), which included a fragment from Beethoven’s *Missa solemnis* (*Credo*), a solo for violin by Joseph Mayseder (played by M. Urhan), *La Religieuse, scène avec orchestre* (*Die junge Nonne*) by Franz Schubert, and Beethoven’s *Symphonie héroïque*. To mark this historical event, he discusses the foundation and history of the Conservatory concert series, from preliminary “séances de déchiffrage des oeuvres de Beethoven” (sight-reading evenings of Beethoven’s works) organized by Habeneck and Baillot in 1810-20; to the persistence of the *Concert spirituel* series performing Beethoven at *l’Opéra et le Théâtre-Italien*; and finally, to the establishment of the Conservatory concert series of 1828.

- C113 “Revue Musicale: Concerts,” *Le Rénovateur*, Jan. 25, 1835.
- C118 “Deuxième concert du Conservatoire,” *Journal des débats*, Feb. 12, 1835. Seventh Symphony.
- C120 “Troisième concert du Conservatoire: Symphonie de Haydn - Symphonie de Beethoven,” *Journal des débats*, Feb. 20, 1835. Eighth Symphony.
- C125 “Société des concerts du Conservatoire: Quatrième concert,” *Journal des débats*, March 22, 1835. Sixth Symphony.
- C129 “Cinquième concert du Conservatoire: Symphonie en si bémol de Beethoven; grande scène de Beethoven, chantée par Mlle Fallcon; solo de violoncelle, par M. Franchomme; *Andante* de la symphonie en la de Beethoven; grand chœur d’*Euryanthe*, de Weber; ouverture de *Fidelio*, de Beethoven,” *Journal des débats*, April 12, 1835.
- C130 “Sixième concert du Conservatoire,” *Journal des débats*, April 18, 1835. Fifth Symphony.
- C164 “Du système de Gluck en musique dramatique,” *Journal des débats*, October 2, 1835. Discusses Beethoven and Weber as examples of dramatic music.
- C177 “Enseignement Musical: Cours de contrepoint et de fugue, de M. Cherubini—Traité de composition, de Beethoven, chez M. Maurice Schlesinger, rue de Richelieu, 97,” *Journal des débats*, Dec. 22, 1835.

Significant in Table III is Berlioz’s article C50, which marks the beginning of his full-time career as music critic for the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*. Berlioz’s Romantic defence of Beethoven gained the attention of Maurice Schlesinger, editor and founder of the *Gazette*, a newly established liberal arts journal. In 1834, the Conservatory granted the *Gazette* a press seat.<sup>80</sup> Schlesinger immediately hired Berlioz as a full-time music journalist to cover these concerts and to contribute to the journal’s Romantic leanings with his enormous verve and erudition. Schlesinger

---

<sup>80</sup> The *Gazette musicale* (est. 1831) was previously denied a press seat at the Conservatory; when it merged with the *Revue musicale* in 1834, the artistic quality and the Romantic leanings of new *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* gained favour with the Conservatory officials. See Holoman, 77-8.

built the *Gazette*'s reputation for superior artistic content by gathering France's leading young artists as contributors – notably Hugo, Honoré de Balzac, Alfred de Vigny, George Sand, Alexandre Dumas, Franz Liszt, and briefly Richard Wagner. Schlesinger's inaugural mission statement to promote music as a *poésie des poésies* coincided with the establishment of Robert Schumann's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (1834), which issued a similar editorial goal to uphold true art in Germany against mass consumerism. Schlesinger and Schumann both continued to show interest in Berlioz's compositional-critical career, notably by publishing his later essays on Beethoven's nine symphonies (1837-8).

By 1836, Berlioz provided regular concert reviews for the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, listed in Table IV. This group of articles illustrates important changes in Berlioz's journalistic style that reflect the establishment of the musical ideals of "Romanticism" and the familiarity of Parisian audiences with Beethoven's romantic symphonies. Berlioz now turned his attention to issues of reception that relate to the popularization of art, an issue that continued to occupy him.

Table IV: Berlioz's Conservatory Reviews for the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (1836)

- C182 "Premier concert du Conservatoire," *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, January 31, 1836. Seventh Symphony.
- C184 "Second concert du Conservatoire," *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, Feb. 14, 1836. Fourth Symphony.
- C186 "Premier concert du Conservatoire," *Journal des débats*, Feb. 24, 1836.
- C190 "Cinquième concert du Conservatoire," *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, March 27, 1836. Eighth Symphony.
- C193 "Sixième concert du Conservatoire," *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, April 24, 1836. Third Symphony.

C195 “Septième et dernier concert du Conservatoire,” *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, May 8, 1836. Fifth Symphony.

Berlioz’s focus on reception in this group is best illustrated by his article C182, “Premier concert du Conservatoire” (Jan. 31, 1836), in which he discusses the opening season concert that featured Beethoven’s Seventh Symphony. Berlioz gives a short overview of the work, and he documents that audiences particularly favoured its slow movement, much as they did the storm scene from the *Pastoral*.<sup>81</sup> Stagnant concert programming, he states, encouraged this type of popularization by repeat performances of selected favoured movements, removed from their original context within the complete symphony.

Berlioz’s articles of 1837-8 continue the style of his 1836 *Gazette* articles that similarly contain a mixture of pedagogical essays and concert reviews. Examples of these are listed in Table V. These continue in a similar style to those in Table III, presenting general overviews of the concert programs that are generally preceded with an historical discussion, especially as it relates to issues of reception. Notably Berlioz marks the first complete performance of Beethoven’s Ninth in Paris.<sup>82</sup> Some of these articles illustrate Berlioz’s continued interest – as a young composer – in studying Beethoven’s symphonies as compositional models, notably in his discussion of program music.

---

<sup>81</sup> The issue of reception continues to occupy his writings on Beethoven’s Seventh Symphony, for example C298.

<sup>82</sup> This is documented in his article, “Premier concert du Conservatoire” (C227). Preceding his review, Berlioz situates the reception of Beethoven’s symphonies in France with a brief history of the *Concerts spirituels de l’Opéra*. He credits the dedication and persistence of Habeneck and his musicians in performing Beethoven, despite the perception of his music as bizarre, savage, and difficult. Much of this discussion is included in the introduction to his “Critical Study,” though the remainder of the article lacks extensive technical discussion of the symphony itself.

Table V: Berlioz's articles for *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* on Beethoven (1837-8)

- C225 "De l'imitation musicale," Jan.1, 1837. (first of two parts; second is C226)
- C227 "*Premier concert du Conservatoire*," Jan. 22, 1837. Ninth Symphony.
- C230 "*Première soirée musicale de MM. Liszt, Batta et Urhan –Deuxième concert du Conservatoire*," February 5, 1837. Ninth Symphony.
- C233 "*Concert du Conservatoire*," February 26, 1837. Fourth Symphony.
- C237 "*Concerts du Conservatoire*," March 12, 1837. Seventh Symphony.
- C241 "*Concert du Conservatoire*," March 26, 1837. Sixth Symphony.
- C245 "*Concerts du Conservatoire*," April 9, 1837. Third Symphony.
- C247 "*Septième concert du Conservatoire: Symphonie pastorale; motet de Haydn; concerto de violon par M. Lafont; grande scène d'Alceste; ouverture du Freischütz*," April 23, 1837. Sixth Symphony.

Notable in this group is the first of a two-part essay, "De l'imitation musicale" (C225), in which he discusses Beethoven's *Pastoral* Symphony.<sup>83</sup> Musical imitation, he states, has been employed by all the great composers, and yet this important subject has not been fully examined. Seeking to shed light the criterion that determines the application of this theory to create art, he turns to Giuseppe Antonio Carpani, "the excellent Italian critic" famous for his writings on the works of Haydn, to provide a "bon sentiment de l'art et de ce qui constitue spécialement les convenances musicales."<sup>84</sup> Carpani sheds light on traditional *style descriptif* (descriptive music or

---

<sup>83</sup> His use of "imitation" stirred attacks and confusion from critics, notably Fétis, who claimed Berlioz's aesthetic was "regressive." The heated debates between Berlioz and Fétis are well documented: see Reeve, *The Poetics of the Orchestra in the Writings of Hector Berlioz*; Peter Bloom, *François-Joseph Fétis and the 'Revue Musicale'* (Ph.D. diss.:University of Pennsylvania, 1972).

<sup>84</sup> H.B., *Critique musicale*, vol. 3, 1: "a proper feeling about the true limits of the art of music." Berlioz's sarcasm is note in his use of innuendo linking "limits" to "sentiments" and "Haydn." Berlioz refers to Giuseppe Antonio Carpani, *Haydn, sa vie, ses ouvrages, ses voyages et ses aventures* (Milan,

the pittoresque style by identifying the two forms of musical “imitation”: the *physique*, which directly imitates (nature, as birdcalls, for example); and the indirect or *sentimentale*, to portray emotions. Yet Berlioz raises several objections to shortcomings in Carpani’s theory.<sup>85</sup> First, he objects to Carpani’s concept that music may mimic physical nature to create *modèles naturels* in the way that painting effects *terre colorée*. Here Berlioz establishes the superiority of music – a romantic concept that echoes Hugo’s notion of the mimetic to create analogous impressions of nature:

*Ici M. Carpani nous semble être sorti de son sujet, en empruntant à la peinture un terme de comparaison. Cet art, en effet, ne peut et ne doit avoir d’autre objet que la reproduction ou l’imitation plus ou moins belle et fidèle de la nature; tandis que la musique, dans un très grand nombre de cas, est un art sui generis, se suffit à elle-même, et sait charmer sans avoir recours à aucune espèce d’imitation. La peinture ne saurait jamais empiéter sur le domaine de la musique; celle-ci au contraire peut évidemment agir sur l’imagination avec ses moyens propres, de manière à faire naître des impressions analogues à celles que produit l’art du dessin.*<sup>86</sup>

Given the imprecise, vague or indefinite nature of music as sound, Berlioz argues, how can music imitate a physical object (a forest, a meadow, the moon) unless it imitates a sound (noises such as birdcalls)? Next, Berlioz reveals gaps in Carpani’s claim that music may express “sentiments.” To

---

1837); and to Carpani’s *le Haydine ouvero Lettere su la vita e le opere del celebre maestro Giuseppe Haydn* (1812); republished in the *Bibliographie de la France* under the title *le Haydine, ou Lettres sur la vie et les ouvrages du célèbre compositeur* (1836). Carpani was also editor in chief, for the *Gazetta di Milano* (1792-1796).

<sup>85</sup> My observations here are supported by G. Condé, “De l’imitation musicale” *Dictionnaire Berlioz*, 145-6; C. Reynaud, “Romantisme,” *Dictionnaire Berlioz*, 477-9; Stephen Rodgers, *Form, Program, and Metaphor in the Music of Berlioz*, 55-7.

<sup>86</sup> “Here M. Carpani seems to me to go seriously astray on the subject, by arguing a comparison with painting. The art may not indeed have any other object than to accurately reproduce, to give a beautiful imitation of nature; whereas music, in most cases, is an art *sui generis*. It is sufficient unto itself, and able to charm without having recourse to any kind of imitation. Painting cannot encroach on the domain of music; on the contrary, music can by its own means act upon the imagination in such a way as to engender impressions analogous to those produced by graphic art.”

Berlioz, this produces a limited kind of imitation that does not identify the source or the cause of these sentiments. Berlioz proposes that modern musical imitation is a process that ideally revives in the listener an analogous impression and sensation experienced in response to an object; these impressions are intermingled with *effets dramatiques* to complement the expression of a central *l'idée musicale* (the poetic idea).

To this end, Berlioz proposes four principles of modern musical imitation: that imitation is an end rather than a means to complement the central poetic idea; that the effect itself is artistic; that the fidelity of direct imitation must reflect the intention of the composer; and that sentimental imitation of emotions is now conceived of as subjective *expression*. Berlioz upholds Beethoven's use of a combination of these elements in his *Pastoral* symphony to create contrasts and dramatic effects that range from the musical imitation of a storm and bird calls, to the less explicit imitation of pastoral life suggested by his inclusion of poetic titles. Poetry and music exist in solidarity, and it is Beethoven's combination of these arts – his intertwining and contrasting the four types of programmatic elements – that creates a poetic portrait of the sublime – *cette peinture sublime*. This style of imitation that mixes contrasting elements is the creation of *une incalculable puissance de génie*. Berlioz's essay provides material for later essays of 1837-8, particularly for “De la musique en général” (C273) and the essay on the *Pastoral*, “Symphonies de Beethoven: Deuxième article” (C296), both of which were included in his “Critical Study” (see Table VI). As we will see in the following chapter, these essays also provide insight into Berlioz the composer in relation to his concept of programmatic music.

Important to my discussion is the second part of this article (C226), where Berlioz provides further distinctions between Carpani's traditional notion of *sentiment* and his own modern concepts

*de l'expression, de la peinture, et des images musicales* (expression, painting, and musical images), though without direct reference to Beethoven. Here he attempts to justify music's indirect imitation as "analogous impressions" by citing Lacépède's *La poétique de la musique* (1785), where musical impressions are described as "retracing the feelings that these things inspire in us."<sup>87</sup> Yet Berlioz cautions against Lacépède's ideal of a faithful portrayal of nature, which he feels may create a limited dramatic action and subjective perspective. Instead, Berlioz departs from an idea forwarded by his mentor and teacher Jean-François Le Sueur that the orchestra could intone "the human heart."<sup>88</sup> Unlike Le Sueur, Berlioz contravenes instrumental music's subservient role by promoting its superior ability to imitate intense emotions, secret thoughts, and ideas. Berlioz marks a romantic aesthetic in music that propels the traditional descriptive style towards the metaphorical.

#### Berlioz's Third Stage of Critical Writings on Beethoven, 1837-8

By 1837, all of Beethoven's symphonies had been performed in Paris. In the third stage of Berlioz's writing on Beethoven, he addressed a Parisian audience, now very familiar with Beethoven's "romantic" symphonies, in individual essays published in the *RGM* specific to each of Beethoven's Nine Symphonies (Table VI). These essays pull together his previous discussions of Beethoven reception, and expand the intertwining of his poetic response with extensive technical

---

<sup>87</sup>Bernard Germaine Étienne de La Ville sur Illon, Comte de Lacépède's *La poétique de la musique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1785).

<sup>88</sup> For the primary text, see: Jean-François Le Sueur, *Exposé d'une musique une, imitative et particulière à chaque solennité*, 4 vols. (Paris: Veuve Hérisant, 1787; Mongrédien, *Catalogue thématique de l'oeuvre complète du compositeur Jean-François Le Sueur, 1760-1837* (New York: Pendragon, 1980); my source for this primary text accessed online: gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148>; quotations are also drawn from Ora Frishberg Saloman, "La Cépèdes La poétique de la musique and Le Sueur," *Acta Musicologica* 47 (1975): 144-54.

musical discussions. In particular, these essays include a deeper investigation of orchestral techniques, which corresponds with his discussion of most of the same passages in his soon-to-be published *Traité d'orchestration*. To prepare readers for his more analytical discussion of Beethoven's symphonies, he precedes these essays with an introductory essay, "De la musique en général" (C273), in which he identifies the various compositional elements available to modern composers, or what he calls the "modes of action in musical art," specifically melody, harmony, rhythm, expression, modulation, instrumentation, the point of origin of sounds (staging), degree of intensity of sounds (dynamics) and multiplicity of sounds (combinations and doublings). His discussion of instrumentation in this essay was expanded into a later series of articles in 1841-2, "On Instrumentation" (Table VI, C455, 456, 458 ), which he incorporated into his *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* (1844).<sup>89</sup>

Table VI: Berlioz's Essays on Beethoven's Nine Symphonies in the *RGM* (1837-8)

C273 "De la musique en général," September 10, 1837.

C295 "Symphonies de Beethoven, premier concert du Conservatoire," January 28, 1838. Chronological analysis of First, Second Symphonies; Third Symphony, reedits his article of April 12, 1835; Full analysis of Fourth and Fifth Symphonies, drawn from his article of April 18, 1835.

C296 "Symphonies de Beethoven: Deuxième article," February 4, 1838. Sixth Symphony.

---

<sup>89</sup> Following the publication of the 1837-8 essays (Table VI), France's leading daily newspaper, the prestigious *Journal des débats*, offered Berlioz a full-time position as music critic, a post he held for many years (1835-1863). Having two full-time positions allowed him to become the most widely published and distinguished music critic in France. The 1837-8 essays were so well received that he reworked much of the material in them for numerous subsequent articles in the *RGM* (1838-1842), notably C455, "De L'Instrumentation," (*RGM*, Nov. 21, 1841), the first of 16 articles later revised and expanded as his *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes*. Berlioz drew from the articles in Table VI for various subsequent publications to 1862. Additionally, he gained attention in Germany when his essays on Beethoven's symphonies were reprinted in Robert Schumann's journal, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, as installments in 1840-1841.

- C298 “Symphonies de Beethoven: Troisième article,” February 11, 1838  
Seventh Symphony.
- C300 “Symphonies de Beethoven: Quatrième article,” February 18, 1838.  
Eighth Symphony.
- C301 “Symphonie avec chœurs de Beethoven,” March 4, 1838. Ninth Symphony.

These essays illustrate a development in Berlioz’s narrative voice as it grows from impassioned defence of the Romantic aesthetic into a more confidential tone (one notes the use of the first-person narrative or the “*moi*”). He draws in readers as sympathetic confidants, revealing to them his true thoughts, ideas, and feelings, which surround his more technical musical discussion of each symphonic movement. To this effect, he develops an innovative form of music journalism that reads as a double musical-literary narrative, which allows him to establish the poetic in music by highlighting links with many poetic trends in French Romantic literature: the use of personal musical narrative, thematic (poetic) fragmentation or transformation, ambiguous or unconventional harmonies that create a sense of the unexpected, and mixed genres. Yet Berlioz simultaneously supports these poetic issues with detailed technical observations that uncover the compositional innovations of Beethoven’s music, thus integrating the antithetical worlds of the poetic and analytical in a critical mixed mode. His vivid imagery reinforces his admiration for the way Beethoven combines such novelties to unfold each of his symphonies as an individual symphonic “poem.”

In 1844, Berlioz published his essays in Table VI, along with his introductory “De la musique” (C273) with minor additions and revisions, in book form as “Étude critique des symphonies de Beethoven” in *Voyage musical en Allemagne et en Italie: Études sur Beethoven*,

*Gluck et Weber: Mélanges et nouvelles par Hector Berlioz.*<sup>90</sup> Changes to the original essays include alterations to the essay on the *Eroica* Symphony to include an introductory excerpt from his *RGM* article of April 9, 1837 (C245), and a concluding section taken from his *RGM* article of January 28, 1838 (C295); in his essay on “Symphony No. 6 – The Pastoral” he begins with the second article from *RGM*, published on February 4, 1838 (C296) and concludes with an added final dialogue on the topic of reception. Now we have reached by a long route the culmination of over ten years of passionate listening and rewriting – the goal text of my study.

His “*Étude critique*” (“Critical Study”) was reprinted in his now famous book, as *A Travers chants: Études musicales, adorations, boutades et critiques par Hector Berlioz* (1862), which remains in print.<sup>91</sup> The essays for his “Critical Study” include his most extensive discussions on reception, culled from his many previous articles on the topic; they also, however, record several novelties in French musical life between 1828 and 1838 that are not fully disclosed in his previous writings. His “Critical Study” enhances his earlier texts with several additions: he describes the phenomenon of a devoted following around a single composer; the active listening and enthusiastic response of audiences; the repeated programming of Beethoven’s symphonies; repeated rehearsals; and the rising standards in both orchestral performances and conducting. He

---

<sup>90</sup> Volume I (Paris, 1844; reprint London, 1970), 263-355.

<sup>91</sup> *ATC*, 15-59. Berlioz’s “*Étude critique*” (*VM*) and two translations/reprints are important to my study: *A Critical Study of Beethoven’s Nine Symphonies*, trans. Edwin Evans; intro. D. Kern Holoman (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000); *The Art of Music and Other Essays (A Travers chants)*, trans. Elizabeth Csicsery-Rónay; intro Jacques Barzun (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994). I agree with Holoman, who recommends that reading these two translations needs “some working out on the reader’s part, and it helps to have the music close by”(xiv). Therefore, in attempts to understand and more accurately convey Berlioz’s technical musical discussion, I sometimes include Berlioz’s original French, along with my own translations of his musical terminology.

argues as well that these events mark the advent of modern concert life and performance practice.

At the crossroads of Romanticism, Berlioz consistently promoted Beethoven's symphonies as the primary compositional models of the new aesthetic of the poetic in music. His decade-long study of Beethoven allowed him to underline the relationship between the artist and society and to posit the significance of artistic innovation for posterity. Berlioz's "Critical Study" constitutes the "last word" in his study of Beethoven, which reads as an artistic manifesto that promotes artistic innovation by establishing a link between music and ideas. Almost ten years in the making, Berlioz's "Critical Study" is the fruit of a consistently developing program of listening, reflecting, and writing on Beethoven's symphonies in the context of emerging literary romanticism. In the following two chapters I examine the ways in which Berlioz uses Beethoven's symphonies as models to establish a methodology for the scientific analysis of modern compositional elements, and to support his promotion of the poetic in music and the image of Beethoven as poet.

## Chapter II Berlioz as *critique savant*: Beethoven's Compositional Techniques and the Aesthetic of the Symphony

Berlioz's "Critical Study" illustrates his development of an innovative form of journalism that unfolds as a double narrative, one that intertwines technical musical discussion (Berlioz as *critique savant*) with vivid literary imagery that conveys the music's poetic effects (Berlioz as exponent of *la critique poétique*). This chapter explores one side of the double narrative, Berlioz's learned, musical narrative of Beethoven the composer, with two goals: first, to determine Berlioz's methodology for technical musical discussion, analysis, and evaluation of his aesthetics of the symphony; and secondly, to examine how he uses his methodology to illustrate the specific compositional aspects of Beethoven's symphonies that reflect Berlioz's aesthetic of the symphony as "poetic." Berlioz's musical narrative illustrates both his didactic goals as a journalist and his interests as a composer, particularly in thematic transformation, unconventional harmony, and original instrumentation. His compositional study of Beethoven's symphonies extended into his additional writings, notably his *Correspondance*, *Memoirs*, and his pedagogical discussions of Beethoven's instrumentation in his *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* (1843). A comparison of the observations in these sources regarding the musical passages that Berlioz also singles out in his "Critical Study" further illustrates the significance of particular compositional elements for Berlioz as composer, from which – as I will argue in Chapter IV – he found instruction and inspiration in his symphonic works of the late 1830s. His assessment of each symphony is unique, and together they reflect a French Romantic aesthetic.

Berlioz's analytical methodology rests on the "means at the disposal of the art of music

today,” which he first outlined in his article “De la musique en général” (C273, *RGM* 1837; Table VI, “The Art of Music”).<sup>1</sup> This article directly preceded his inaugural essays on Beethoven’s symphonies (see Table VI, Chapter I). He also included this article as the introductory essay to his “Etude analytique” (*VM*, Vol. I, 1844), and in his book *A Travers Chants*, titled “Musique.”<sup>2</sup> Directly preceding his Beethoven essays, “Music” defines the basis of understanding Berlioz’s analytical terminology.

“Music” represents Berlioz’s contribution to French traditions of musical aesthetics, from his own perspective as a young French romantic composer. His precedents are drawn from the distant and recent past, including Horace’s *Ars poetica* (verses 408-10), Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s article “Musique” in the *Dictionnaire de musique* (1767), and French traditions of the aesthetics of instrumental music, notably represented by the contemporary scholarship of his teacher Jean-François Le Sueur.<sup>3</sup>

In “Music,” Berlioz isolates nine specific “modes of action in musical art” that serve as the critical underpinning of the essays in his “Critical Study.”<sup>4</sup> Berlioz’s discussion of the individual modes of action are his means to uncover both the inner technical components of the music and the process of their unfolding into an organic poetic form. Eight of these modes

---

<sup>1</sup>Csicsery-Rónay notes that this article was originally written for the *Dictionnaire de la conversation* (1837; 2d ed., 1863). See *AM*, 232.

<sup>2</sup> *VM*, vol. I, 405-9; “The Art of Music,” *AM*, 1-8.

<sup>3</sup> Berlioz’s article resembles J. J. Rousseau, “Musique.” See *AM*, 232-3.

<sup>4</sup> Translations here pose a problem: Berlioz outlines nine separate paragraphs to discuss each of “les modes d’action de l’art musical”: *la mélodie; l’harmonie; le rythme; l’expression; les modulations; l’instrumentation; le point de départ des sons; le degré d’intensité des sons; la multiplicité des sons*. Evans presents only eight modes, with the “degree of intensity” and “multiplicity of sounds” combined as one mode. Csicsery-Rónay, on the other hand, generally reflects Berlioz’s original.

pertain to major technical criteria, which fall into two groups. Four of these modes are purely technical devices: melody, rhythm, harmony and modulation.<sup>5</sup> A second group deals with orchestral colour: instrumentation, staging, dynamics, and the texture. Expression, as the ninth mode, relates to the perception by audiences or performers of the composer's intended sentiments.

In his "Critical Study," Berlioz's definitions of these modes allow him to write about and evaluate Beethoven's symphonies. Musical traditions and current practices of music criticism did not provide Berlioz with the critical tools to discuss the modern elements in Beethoven's music. As *critique savant*, Berlioz develops his own practical methodology to discuss his ideals of the poetic in music, using Beethoven's symphonies as models. Yet, unlike Marx's detailed theoretical analysis of Beethoven's form that underlines a German idealist aesthetic of narrative in terms of the "heroic," Berlioz's technical discussion of Beethoven's symphonies focuses on aesthetic principles in terms of the "poetic."

Crucial to the establishment of the new poetry in music is Berlioz's use of the nine modes of action to emphasize five key principles: 1) combination of musical genres, largely as the intermingling of vocal idioms with instrumental; 2) loosening of conventional forms by innovations, or traditions mixed with modern expression; 3) emphasis on melody, as thematic transformations enhanced largely by orchestration; 4) mixed modes of expression as complementary opposites to create hyperbolic expressions of the sensual or sublime; and 5) original combination of these elements to unfold "episodes" organized around a central poetic

---

<sup>5</sup> Berlioz distinguishes "harmony" as "the musical effect produced by various sounds heard simultaneously" from "modulation" as "the passage or transitions from one key or mode to a new key or mode."

idea. These key principles underlie Berlioz's promotion of Beethoven's anomalies that loosen conventional syntax and grammar. To this end in his "Critical Study" Berlioz builds his technical discussion of Beethoven's symphonies around the three central issues as determined in his essay "Music" – technical modes, orchestration, and expression. His discussion of these modes illustrates both his interests as composer and his didactic goals as music critic. Ultimately, by incorporating a discussion of these modes into his musical narrative, he underlines his aesthetic of the poetic in music by illustrating the significance of Beethoven's artistic liberties.

#### i. Technical Modes

Melody is the prime technical means to enact Berlioz's five key principles of the new poetry in music. In his "Critical Study," Berlioz is preoccupied with Beethoven's melodic alterations as a means to create new forms and new expressions.<sup>6</sup> He largely discusses the remaining three modes in this technical group (rhythm, harmony and modulation) in terms of their ability to enhance melodic treatment. He notes how Beethoven's altered melodic themes are also treated by continuous alterations to other modes of action, especially the various 'hues' of orchestration.

Berlioz's focus on melody reflects his links with French traditions that stressed the melodic impulse. For example, his praise of Beethoven's melodic treatment reflects the popular traditions of French art song, particularly the *romance* or *mélodie*, the most fashionable French

---

<sup>6</sup>Rushton, *The Musical Language of Berlioz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 167. My study illustrates that Berlioz's study of Beethoven's treatment of melody occupies his technical discussion, which supports Rushton's observation that "Melody, for Berlioz, is the most vital agent of musical expression and the primary building block of musical form."

vocal genre in the salons from 1789 until mid-century, when the genre became indistinguishable from the *chanson*.<sup>7</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau described the genre as a “simple, touching style with a somewhat antiquated flavour.”<sup>8</sup> In contrast with the more virtuosic melodic traditions of aria, the style of *romance* generally features a simple, strophic melody and verse form that uses light accompaniment (reminiscent of troubadour narrative or ballade style) that invokes expressions of nostalgia and melancholy.<sup>9</sup> As we will see, Berlioz reflects this lyrical tradition in his praise of Beethoven’s slow introductions to first movements and to slow-movements where lyrical themes mix moods of love and melancholy. Generally, Berlioz promotes Beethoven’s modern treatment of melody as a means to create an organic process of continual transformation. This technical process underlines his aesthetic ideal of the poetic in music, similar to Hugo’s notion of steeping a metaphorical idea in verse.

More specifically, Berlioz praises Beethoven’s development of melodic alterations – as ornamental variation or thematic fragmentation, as recombinations of thematic motives, and expansions. Here Berlioz lauds Beethoven’s use of asymmetrical melodies that depart from the symmetrical melodic forms typical in the operas of Gluck and Spontini.<sup>10</sup> For purposes of my

---

<sup>7</sup> Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism*, 241-3; Frits Noske, *French Song from Berlioz to Duparc*, transl. Rita Benton (Toronto, Ontario: Dover, 1988), 6-22.

<sup>8</sup> Rousseau quoted in Denis Stevens, *A History of Song* (New York, N. Y. : W. W. Norton, 1981), 200.

<sup>9</sup> In the 1820s, the title *romance* determined a subtype of a larger group of songs known as *couplets*, which are song forms built refrains of music and text. *Couplets* are variously titled according to their expression of sentiment or character; these subgroups include, for example, *ballade* and *sérénade*. See: François-Joseph Fétis, *La musique mise à la portée de tout le monde* (Paris: Brandus et Cie, 1847; orig. pub. A. Mesnier, 1830); quoted in Rodgers, 71-8.

<sup>10</sup> Rushton, “Mélodie (style mélodique),” *Dictionnaire Berlioz*, 338-9.

discussion I refer to this type of melodic manipulation as “thematic transformation,” which involves progressive variation of strophic melodies that evolve in character. My use of this term reflects Berlioz’s own style of melodic alterations to the *idée fixe* in his *Symphonie fantastique*. I also use this term to reflect Holoman’s observation that Berlioz is at “his most natural in prevaillingly strophic procedures, where his fertility of invention can be expressed by means of varied resettings and ongoing *transformation* of given material.”<sup>11</sup> As we will see, in his “Critical Study,” Berlioz also uses the term “transformations” to describe Beethoven’s transformation of themes by principles that he later develops himself. Scholars today variously describe this principle in Berlioz’s music as “strophic procedure,” “strophic variation,” “strophic elaboration,” or, according to Bartoli, “*répétition variée*” to effect “*un refrain évolutif*.”<sup>12</sup> Rodgers describes this process simply: “Berlioz repeats and varies a clear-cut theme successively.”<sup>13</sup>

Berlioz promotes Beethoven’s flexible treatment of melody as a means to create romantic symphonic forms as dramatic structures.<sup>14</sup> In this regard, Berlioz reflects theories

---

<sup>11</sup> Holoman, “Berlioz,” in *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony*, edited by Holoman (New York: Schirmer, 1997), 115.

<sup>12</sup> J.-P. Bartoli, “Forme symphonique,” *Dictionnaire Berlioz*, 199-201; “Les Ouvertures de Berlioz et la dramatisation du style symphonique,” *Les Cahiers de l’Herne* 77, 96-104.

<sup>13</sup> Rodgers, 11.

<sup>14</sup> On the tradition of melody as the determining factor of sonata form in the nineteenth century, as distinct from the determining factor of harmony in sonata form of the eighteenth century, see: William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Classical Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963; 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York: Norton, 1983); Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms* (New York: Norton, 1980); on the dichotomy of harmony vs melody in the determination of sonata form, see: Jane R. Stevens, “An 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Description of Concerto First-Movement Form,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (1971): 85-95; James Webster, “Sonata Form,” *Grove Music Online*, [www.Grovemusic.com](http://www.Grovemusic.com) (Accessed 7/10/ 2010).

proposed by his predecessors Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny and Anton Reicha, who advocated that the melody determined the expression, and that its natural unfolding determined the structure of the music.<sup>15</sup> Yet Berlioz ultimately illustrates Beethoven's evolution of these principles in his modern treatment of thematic transformations of melody. Ultimately, this novel technical application is a means to effect Berlioz's aesthetic ideal to create new forms by the mixture of strophic structures associated with the lyrical expressions of song and symphonic structures. In this regard, he praises Beethoven's melding of genres in a large-scale structure, particularly in the Ninth Symphony, as a mixture of the non-strophic form of the instrumental symphony with the lyrical and poetic idiom of song. Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in turn gave Berlioz cues to create his own dramatic-lyric form in his *Roméo et Juliette*. More specifically, Berlioz focusses on Beethoven's manipulations of melodic material as a means to integrate strophic variation or the principle of theme-and-variations genre into large-scale symphonic structures, as we will see in his essay on the Ninth Symphony.

Generally, his study of Beethoven's treatment of melody illustrates his own artistic integrity. Berlioz admires Beethoven's originality of motivic design for creating myriad possibilities of development, notably in the *Eroica* Symphony. Yet, as we will see in Chapter IV, fundamental differences exist between Beethoven's thematic development and Berlioz's thematic transformations. While Beethoven typically manipulates and reinterprets small motives, Berlioz largely manipulates a theme that remains relatively recognizable but changes in mood or

---

<sup>15</sup> J.-J. de Momigny, *Cours Complet d'Harmonie et de Composition* (Paris 1806); Momigny, "Mélodie," *L'Encyclopédie Méthodique de Framery et Ginguené*, vol. 2, 1818; *Traité de mélodie de Reicha*: "la mélodie désigne l'expression et s'articule autour du débat initié par la réforme dramatique de Gluck"; Alan Ramaut, "Le Thomas Moore d'Hector Berlioz," *Hector Berlioz Regards*, 213-221.

expression by alterations to the other modes (harmony, orchestration, rhythms, for example).

Because of this, scholars often refer to Berlioz's principle of thematic transformation in terms of variation.<sup>16</sup> Berlioz's interest in Beethoven's variation procedures underline his aesthetic ideal to effect a diversity of expressions – reflecting both individual subjectivity and universality – in new dramatic structures.

Form – in the nineteenth-century sense of musical construction, organization, and organicism – is not distinguished as a purely separate mode in Berlioz's methodology. This is in part because theorists had not yet developed ways to formally classify Beethoven's symphonic structures.<sup>17</sup> His discussion of "form" is generally restricted to three compositional aspects: as a genre, particularly in Beethoven's novel replacement of the conventional minuet with a *scherzo*; as a function of Beethoven's monumental expansion of Haydn's and Mozart's classical paradigms; and as a manifestation of the overall expression or character of a movement or a symphony as a whole.

---

<sup>16</sup> Bartoli, "Variation," *Dictionnaire Berlioz*, 570-1; *L'Oeuvre symphonique de Berlioz: Forme et principes de développement*, Thèse, Université de Paris IV (Paris-Sorbonne), 1991; Rodgers focuses on Berlioz's use of strophic variation to incorporate vocal elements into the symphony: see Rodgers, *Music of Berlioz*; Walter Frisch, *Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 36.

<sup>17</sup>A sonata-form type of movement was first discussed by H. C. Koch (1793), and Berlioz similarly identifies form in relation to particular types of movements (for example, rondo, *scherzo*, minuet); yet form as it pertains to symphonic structure was not fully discussed until A. B. Marx defined it with Beethoven's symphonies as models in his *Lehre von der musikalischen Composition* (Berlin: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1837, 1838, 1847). For a modern English edition of Marx, see Scott Burnham, editor and translator, *Musical Form in the Age of Beethoven: Selected Writings on Theory and Method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Marx's *Idee* emerges from the tradition of German idealist aesthetics, which generally differs from Berlioz's notion of poetic idea. Both Marx and Berlioz share in their understanding of Beethoven's music in terms of a narrative. However, differences exist largely in approach: Marx, as theorist, focuses on a detailed theoretical approach to analysis of form to illustrate his theories, while Berlioz, as artist, focuses on the aesthetic ideas with far less interest in formal analysis. As such, it is not possible to apply Berlioz's theories to Beethoven's music in the detailed manner offered by Scott Burnham.

In addressing what he perceives to be classical elements in the designs of Beethoven's symphonies, Berlioz's notion of form reflects the Revolutionary aesthetics of Bernard Germain Lacépède's *The Poetry of Music* (1785), for whom the three movements of a sonata should ideally portray those expressions expected in classical drama: the first noble, the second pathetic, the third tumultuous. Berlioz may also have gained this knowledge from the writings of Francesco Galeazzi (1796), and from Augustus Kollmann (1799) who suggested that the three parts of a sonata movement function as "expectation," "setting out," and "satisfaction."<sup>18</sup>

Significantly, Berlioz's perspective on sonata form draws on Reicha's *Traité de haute composition musicale* (Paris, 1824-6). Bartoli's recent research finds correlations between Berlioz's idea of sonata form and Reicha's notion of *grande coupe binaire*, where the material of a reprise or recapitulation is not fully restated, but instead is developed by "transposition with modification."<sup>19</sup> This research supports my own findings that Berlioz does not by any means reject traditional forms.<sup>20</sup> Rather, his study of Beethoven reveals his interest in the flexible treatment of form, as an organic process to create a dramatic structure. As we will see here,

---

<sup>18</sup>Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer, 1998), 251; Anton Reicha, *Traité de haute composition musicale* (Paris, 1824-6), 171; *Anton Reicha*, translated by Peter M. Landey (New York: Pendragon Press, 2000); Michael Broyles, *Beethoven: The Emergence and Evolution of Beethoven's Heroic Style* (New York: Excelsior Music, 1987), 43; Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann, *An Essay on Practical Musical Composition* (London, 1799), 5; Kollmann's essay available online: [http://imslp.org/wiki/An\\_essay\\_on\\_Practical\\_Music\\_Composition\\_\(Kollman,\\_August\\_Frederic\\_Christopher\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/An_essay_on_Practical_Music_Composition_(Kollman,_August_Frederic_Christopher)). I am unable to substantiate any indication that Berlioz may have known of H.C. Koch's *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* (Rudolstadt and Leipzig, 1782-93).

<sup>19</sup>Bartoli, "Berlioz, Reicha et la 'Formenlehre,'" in Döhring, Jacobshagen, and Braam, eds., *Berlioz, Wagner und die Deutschen* (Cologne: Dohr, 2003), 227-38. See also Rodgers, *Music of Berlioz*, 71.

<sup>20</sup> Berlioz's incorporation of traditional forms illustrates his links with traditions, and his adoption of Hugo's aesthetic of the dramatic-lyric, as a style that subsumes traditions into a modern expression. For a discussion of the many misconceptions surrounding Berlioz's concept of form and the importance of structure to his expression, see: Rodgers, 2-5.

Berlioz is attentive to evidence of Beethoven's emancipation of the symphony from the classical models of Haydn and Mozart, revelling in Beethoven's "theoretical infractions" that open a powerful, new world of imagination and aesthetic experience.

Berlioz's value placed on large-scale mixed-genre forms reflects precedents in French musical traditions, notably early nineteenth-century *symphonies à programme* or *musique chantante*, and French opera. These large-scale genres, which follow no set structural outline, share in their use of mixed modes (as a mixture of genres, styles, expressions), and their setting for huge orchestration (including brass and percussion) with voices.<sup>21</sup> Their flexible formal outlines are generated largely by melodic impulse, which unfolds "scenes" and episodes that depict a particular heroic or historical event, incorporating elements of the *pittoresque* in a theatrical narrative style. The *symphonie à programme* was a popular new large-scale vocal-instrumental composition developed during the French Revolution, commissioned by the government as a venue of propaganda. A prime example is Etienne Méhul's *Le Chant national du 14 juillet* (1800), which is a large musical fresco for three orchestras (including percussion) and chorus, and involved strategic staging. Some revolutionary and military-based musical frescos incorporated elements of Masonic hymns to victory, which carried messages to the masses within simple syllabic melodies, such as the famous *La Marseillaise* by de Lisle.<sup>22</sup>

The popularity of the operatic style of these scenic panoramas encouraged the French taste for *romance* or *mélodie*, which developed as part of a mixed mode style in most operas

---

<sup>21</sup> Mongrédien, 246-312.

<sup>22</sup> Malcolm Boyd, editor, *Music and the French Revolution* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Alexander L. Ringer, "A French Symphonist at the Time of Beethoven: Etienne Nicolas Méhul," *The Musical Quarterly* 37 (Oct. 1951): 543-65.

performed at the *Théâtre Italien* before 1811.<sup>23</sup> Méhul's *Hélène* (1803), for example, is an *opéra comique* that incorporated new romance-melodies and romantic literary themes in troubadour style, alongside a trumpet fanfare inspired by Beethoven's *Fidelio*.<sup>24</sup> Mixed genre style in French opera is also notably represented by Spontini's *La Vestale* (1807), which is a veritable melting pot of patriotic scenes, fashionable solos, ballets, and choral hymns.<sup>25</sup> The French preference for mixed genres was also common to the practice of adaptations of existing and known works: productions of Peter Winter's *Castor & Pollux* included the addition of vaudeville and Gioachino Rossini's *Le Siège de Corinthe*, first performed in Paris in 1826, included added ballet and choral works. Formal prototypes in France, even with titles, showed little distinction of genre. Even the more serious themed operas were presented at the popular *opéra-comique* theatres, including the popular tradition of French 'rescue operas' (which may have influenced Beethoven's *Fidelio*), such as Le Sueur's *Ossiana* (1804), which, in the tradition of musical episodic panoramas, includes the expected happy outcome and the underlying combination of moralizing with sentimentalism.<sup>26</sup> From these traditions, we can trace Berlioz's emphasis on Beethoven's development of melody as the generating factor in mixed mode of expression and

---

<sup>23</sup> Mongrédien, p. 248-312.

<sup>24</sup> Méhul founded the Paris Conservatoire in 1795, and was known for his operas modeled on the pathos of Gluck and the orchestration of Edelmann, both of whom were his teachers. Of his four symphonies (1809-11), the first two were published in Germany in 1811 by Breitkopf & Haertel. They enjoyed a long success in both Germany and France, and Beethoven ordered publications of his music from Maurice Schlesinger in Paris in 1823. Further research is needed in a comparative analysis between Beethoven and Méhul, who was known for using several elements praised by Berlioz in Beethoven's symphonies, notably thematic development of a germinal motive, use of fugato in his finales, decisive rhythmic vigor, unorthodox orchestration, and wrote scherzo-like minuets. See Ringer, "A French Symphonist at the Time of Beethoven: Etienne Nicolas Méhul."

<sup>25</sup> This opera was awarded a prize from Napoleon. See Mongrédien, 64-119.

<sup>26</sup> Mongrédien, 64-119; 246-312.

his cultivation of modern musical dramatic-lyric form, which integrates vocal idioms within dramatic symphonic forms.

## ii. Orchestration

A second group of modes deals with orchestral colour: instrumentation; *le point de départ des sons* (the point of origin of sounds), or staging; *le degré d'intensité des sons* (the degree of intensity of sounds), or dynamics; and the multiplicity of sounds (*la multiplicité des sons*), or the texture created by a large group of performers. Instrumentation, he states, is a relatively new mode that assigns each instrument a “part to play,” and “paints” orchestral colour by combinations of timbre and tone. Staging, Berlioz states, is a relatively unexplored means to change musical effect. Here he conveys his interest in the physical placement of instruments to create various acoustical effects, which reflects his concern with theatrical perspective and as an element of creating a dramatic structure that reflects the poetic idea. Notable examples of this device are Berlioz’s structural estrangement of the viola in his *Harold en Italie*; and, as we will see in Chapter IV, his stage directions for placement of the voices in his *Roméo et Juliette*. As we will see in this chapter, staging also factors into Berlioz’s discussion of reception, particularly in his essay on Beethoven’s Fifth, and in his promotion of modern romantic expression, as in his essay on the Ninth Symphony. The “degree of intensity of sounds” is a power that must be imparted accordingly to effect an “idea.” The “multiplicity of sounds” is “one of the most powerful principles of musical emotion”; instrumentation, “hardly used before the end of the last century,” is “what colour is to painting” (*AM*, 5). Yet, superceding the expressive effects of painting, Berlioz promotes Beethoven’s mastery of orchestration in terms of diverse theatrical

perspectives and multimedia effects, as we will see in Chapter III. As *critique savant*, Berlioz illustrates how Beethoven's mastery of these orchestral modes creates integral textural, sonic, and expressive refinements of tone and timbre. To this effect, orchestration for Berlioz enacts the dramatic musical action, giving "voice" or expression to Beethoven's novel transformations of the four technical modes. In "Music," Berlioz states that mastery of these eight modes – four technical and four orchestral – ultimately reflects the inherent artistry of one's "nature."<sup>27</sup> In his "Critical Study," Berlioz illustrates how Beethoven's skilful mixture of innovatively treated modes creates an organic musical process (a sense of free transformations of modes) – and this reflects his nature as poet. Beethoven's organic musical process represents Berlioz's new ideal of the poetic in music: as a means to unfold dramatic musical action in scenes or episodes; to represent romantic nature as the mixed elements of life; and, ultimately, to create a kaleidoscopic theatrical perspective of individual subjectivity and collective universality..

### iii. Expression

In his essay "Music," the final mode is aesthetic – "*expression*" – which directly reflects music's intended "feelings" or "passions." He defines expression as it relates to the perception by audiences or performers of the composer's intended sentiments. In his "Critical Study," Berlioz expands on his discussion of expression to underline his romantic aesthetic of the poetic as true art, in contrast to the prosaic, formulaic, or the "false" expression he commonly finds in

---

<sup>27</sup> Here Berlioz implies a distinction between mere talent and genius; he builds on Jean-Jacques Rousseau's notion of man's inherent character as "nature." Rousseau forwarded a philosophy of education that stressed raising a child in "accordance with his own nature" to develop the "intrinsic potentiality of one's nature." See Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation* (1762); *Emile: or, on Education*, translated and edited by William H. Payne (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, 2008), 221.

opera.<sup>28</sup> Berlioz's mode of "expression" marks an aesthetical shift away from traditional concepts of isolated expressions of "sentiment." Reflecting Hugo's notion of mixed mode expression, Berlioz emphasizes that romantic expression is the combining of two intense emotions to create hyperbolic expression, as experiences of the sensual or sublime that revolve around a central idea, like poetic fragments that develop a central metaphor (as we will see in Chapter III).

Berlioz's new musical aesthetic of the poetic emerged from Revolutionary perspectives, notably represented by Berlioz's mentor and teacher Jean-François Le Sueur (1760-1837), and Le Sueur's associates Bernard-Germain-Étienne de la Ville-sur-Ilion, comte de Lacépède (1756-1825), and Michel-Paul-Guy de Chabanon (1730-92). Le Sueur introduced Berlioz to a range of musical aesthetics, though he himself largely promoted ideas on composing dramatic vocal music. Best known for his *Suite de l'essai sur la musique sacrée et imitative* (1786-7), Le Sueur linked the notion of form with expression, in terms of dramatic sacred music for voices and orchestra. Expressions and dramatic situations were ideally combined, he stated, by linking traditional music directly associated with a specific celebration to original contributions. Within this context, instrumental music played a role in rendering pleasant sounding melodies.<sup>29</sup> Also important to Berlioz was Le Sueur's four-volume *Exposé d'une musique imitative et particulière à chaque solennité* (1785-7), in which he hinted at the importance of instrumental music to enhance the dramatic idea by its ability to "imitate all the tones and all the inflections of nature"

---

<sup>28</sup>AM, 5. "At the opera one often sees an entire audience, people who would be upset at once by a dubious note, listening without dissatisfaction and even with pleasure, to passages whose expression is completely false."

<sup>29</sup> Mongrédien, 694-7; Saloman, 40-2.

that would “ intone the human heart.”<sup>30</sup> As we will see, Le Sueur’s aesthetic is reflected in Berlioz’s notion of music in terms of the theatrical and dramatic combined with vocal elements, equally in Beethoven’s symphonies and in his own compositions. Yet, as David Cairns points out, Berlioz departs from Le Sueur’s agreement with Gluck that music was the servant of text.<sup>31</sup>

Le Sueur was instrumental in introducing Berlioz to the aesthetics of Lacépède, who promoted composing instrumental music in terms of theatrical expression.<sup>32</sup> In his two-volume *La Poétique de la musique* (1785), Lacépède devotes only a small discussion to music without voices. Central to this discussion is a notion of instrumental musical imitation, in terms of replicating sentiments, “retracing the feelings these things inspire in us,” which, if we recall from Chapter I, Berlioz quotes in his article “De l’imitation musicale” (C225).<sup>33</sup> Katherine Kolb Reeve interprets Lacépède’s brief commentary as inspiration for Berlioz’s notion of dramatic music.<sup>34</sup> However, I agree with the observations of Jean Mongrédien, who feels Lacépède thought that symphonic music lacked the superior expressive abilities of vocal music. This supports my argument that Berlioz finds such traditional notions of musical imitation limited.

---

<sup>30</sup> Primary text accessed online: gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148>; Le Sueur quoted in Mongrédien, 697; and in Saloman, “La Cépèdes La poétique de la musique and Le Sueur”: 144-54.

<sup>31</sup> David Cairns, *Berlioz: Volume Two, Servitude and Greatness* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); *M*, 605.

<sup>32</sup> Mongrédien, 264; Saloman, 40; Rodgers, 53-5; original text, see: Comte de Lacépède, *La Poétique de la musique* (Paris, 1785), I, 103-4; II, 329-90.

<sup>33</sup> Berlioz cites Lacépède in his 1837 article on imitation (C225, Table IV).

<sup>34</sup> Katherine Kolb Reeve, “The Poetics of the Orchestra in the Writings of Hector Berlioz” (Ph.D. dissertation: Yale University, 1978), 32-3.

However, Berlioz drew inspiration from Lacépède's intimations of music's capacity for analogous expression. On the topic of musical imitation, Lacépède cautioned composers against attempts at literal portrayals of nature. Instead, he proposed concert music as a theatrical representation of "sentiments" that "awaken the idea of the feeling" evoked by an object.<sup>35</sup> Berlioz expands on these traditional notions of musical imitation by giving the widest expressive capability to instrumental rather than vocal music.

In his "Critical Study," Berlioz emphasizes Beethoven's superior capacity to create metaphorical expression by his treatment of the mode of melody. In this regard, Berlioz reflects another Revolutionary idealist, Michel-Paul-Guy de Chabanon (1730-92).<sup>36</sup> Though Berlioz does not quote Chabanon directly in his articles, he indicates that he was probably aware of his writings, which were well known across Europe. Berlioz may also have learned of Chabanon through his teacher Le Sueur, who was Chabanon's friend and associate. In his *De la musique considérée en elle-même et dans ses rapports avec la parole, les langues, la poésie, et le théâtre* (1785), Chabanon considers instrumental music's superior ability to convey sentiment.<sup>37</sup> Important to Berlioz was Chabanon's notion of instrumental music as a language *en elle-même* (unto itself). His *De la musique* is a polemic against musical imitation, because, he argues,

---

<sup>35</sup> Mongrédien, 264; Rodgers, 54.

<sup>36</sup> Ora Frischberg Saloman, "French Revolutionary Perspectives on Chabanon's *De la musique* of 1785," *Music and the French Revolution*, edited by Malcolm Boyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 211-20. Chabanon's *De la musique* is an expanded revision of his *Observations sur la musique et principalement sur la métaphysique de l'art* (Paris, 1779; reprint Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969).

<sup>37</sup> Saloman, 211.

“music lacks proper means of imitation.”<sup>38</sup> Unlike Le Sueur and Lacépède, Chabanon establishes that “the whole essence of music is...melody.”<sup>39</sup> Melody’s prime importance was to create sensuous beauty. This experience of pleasure, Chabanon states, is created by analogy – our filling in the gap between the reality of our own feelings and the expression of the music – and “the analogy is such, that the mind agrees to take the one for the other.”<sup>40</sup> Chabanon goes on to explain how this analogous process works: “But how does music, without imitating speech, or cries, express the passions? It assimilates our diverse feelings, as much as it is able, the diverse sensations that it produces.”<sup>41</sup> To demonstrate this idea, Chabanon illustrates how four general melodic characters, when correlated with selected tempos, evoke particular sentiments (or affects): *tendre* with *largo*; *gracieuse* with *andante*; *gaie* with *allegro*; and *vive* with *presto*. Yet Chabanon departs from traditional listening experiences as a response to an affect. Instead, and important to Berlioz, Chabanon proposes that music cannot directly imitate or instigate a designated sentiment. Instead, he raises music to a language of the metaphysical. Music becomes an individual aesthetical experience that inspires “by imperfect analogy rather than through rigorous imitation.”<sup>42</sup> Chabanon’s aesthetic of instrumental music is reflected in Berlioz’s development of his own concept of *genre instrumental expressif*. Unlike Chabanon, however, Berlioz does not exclude musical imitation from the realm of metaphorical expression.

---

<sup>38</sup> Edward A. Lippmann, translator and editor, “Chabanon’s Observations on Music,” *Musical Aesthetics: a Historical Reader*, vol. 3 (New York: Pendragon Press, 1986), 295-318.

<sup>39</sup> Lippmann, 302.

<sup>40</sup> Lippmann, 317.

<sup>41</sup> Lippmann, 312.

<sup>42</sup> Saloman, 145.

Significant in these traditional French aesthetic theories is the broad meaning of the term “imitation” either as “direct” or “sentimental,” which Berlioz discussed (as seen in Chapter I) in his two-part essay, “De l’imitation musicale” (C225 and C226) that directly preceded his 1837 *Gazette* essays on Beethoven’s symphonies. As we will see, he builds on these theoretical precedents to promote Beethoven’s modern development of musical imitation in the *Pastoral Symphony* as a mixture of the mimetic with the indefinite. Here Berlioz promotes Beethoven’s novelty within his own contributions to French traditions of musical imitation and his wide notion of program music.

The narrowest meaning of “program” symphony – literally one that features an accompanying program that is distributed to the audience – applies only to Berlioz’s *Symphonie fantastique*, *La Retour à la vie* (1832), and later *Lélio* (1854). He first declared the aims of the program in the preface to his *Symphonie Fantastique*. There he states his aim to describe in prose certain scenes that reveal inspiration for his musical development, and that interpret the music poetically. The program thus fills in what the music has left unsaid, while the music imparts passions and emotions contained in the program:

The composer’s intention has been to develop, insofar as they contain musical possibilities, various situations in the life of an artist. The outline of the instrumental drama, which lacks the help of words, needs to be explained in advance. The following program should thus be considered as the spoken text of an opera, serving to introduce the musical movements whose character and expression it motivates.<sup>43</sup>

By contrast, *Harold en Italie* (1834) relies on poetic titles to the work and each movement, similar to most of Berlioz’s titled overtures. In other cases, notably his *Roméo et Juliette* (1839),

---

<sup>43</sup> Edward T. Cone, *An Authoritative Score: Berlioz’s Fantastic Symphony* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971), 21.

there is a preface, prologue and text for solo and choral numbers. His other compositions are generally vocal music. In this light, program music describes only a small number of Berlioz's compositions.<sup>44</sup> Most of these were created during his arduous study of Beethoven's symphonies. As we will see, Berlioz's discussion of Beethoven reveals his broader concept of the term program music. His understanding of Beethoven's *Pastoral*, for example, illustrates his inclusion of music with poetic titles. As Condé states, "Berlioz was never able to write a work without attaching a dramatic or literary subtitle to it."<sup>45</sup> Poetic titles for Berlioz suggest both the drama (the poetic interpretation) and the idea (the inspiration).

Berlioz's aims for the programme of the *Symphonie fantastique*, however, sparked a program-versus-music debate that he struggled to defend his entire career. The issue that continues to be debated today stems largely from Berlioz's avoidance of a compositional paradigm or a clearly defined genre.<sup>46</sup> As Gérard Condé notes in the *Dictionnaire Berlioz*, Berlioz's use of "programmatic" elements, except for the program of the *Symphonie fantastique*, most often exist as descriptive titles. In this regard, the 'program' allows him to create an

---

<sup>44</sup> Rushton, *The Music of Berlioz*, 161.

<sup>45</sup> Condé, "Programme, musique à," *Dictionnaire Berlioz*, 441.

<sup>46</sup> Berlioz's prime rival in this regard was Fétis, as discussed in Chapter I, and further developed in the following chapters; a full discovery of this debate, however, is beyond the scope of my current discussion. My focus here is to examine Berlioz's own writings as they pertain to his critical writings on Beethoven's descriptive or programmatic symphonies; Edward T. Cone states, "The relationship between the program and the music of the Fantastic Symphony has been the source of as much discussion and controversy as the music itself." (Cone, 18); Bartoli adds, "for some, it is tempting to justify the work according to its program since, as its author puts it, it 'motivates the character and the expression' of the work. For others convinced that so-called 'pure' music is superior to music accompanied by a literary text....it is advisable to take a formalist view of the music." Bartoli, "Forme narrative et principes du développement musical dans la *Symphonie fantastique* de Berlioz," *Musurgia: Analyse et pratique musicales* 2/1 (1995): 25.

analogical bridge between the emotions of his musical expression and similar emotions and ideas created by literary expression.

Wide debates on the ‘program problem’ in Berlioz’s music illustrate the difficulty in determining a definition of the term. Jacques Barzun, for example, defines “programmatic” in the broadest sense as “any scheme or idea, general or particular, that helps to determine the course of a composition.”<sup>47</sup> Roger Scruton, on the other hand, states that such definitions suggest that “the idea of programme music as a separate genre” is “entirely illegitimate.”<sup>48</sup> Stephen Rodgers reflects Barzun’s view in his statement that Berlioz’s “approach to the Ninth is no different from his approach to the Sixth...sung text is just as much a hermeneutic tool as a provocative movement title.”<sup>49</sup> On close examination of Berlioz’s “Critical Study,” my own findings largely support the statements of Barzun and Rodgers: Berlioz conveys his understanding of “program music” as a flexible genre that encompasses a wide range of different applications. In its broadest scope, Berlioz seems to respond similarly to Beethoven’s integration of poetic elements (as titles, poetic text, or program ) in the *Pastoral* and Ninth Symphonies. Here Berlioz’s aesthetic concept of program music reflects his links with French musical traditions that typically denoted titles with little distinction of genre as a set structural outline, for example, as in *opéra-comique*. On the other hand, Berlioz’s avoidance of a clearly defined formal paradigm also reflects his

---

<sup>47</sup> Jacques Barzun, “The Meaning of Meaning in Music: Berlioz Once More,” *The Musical Quarterly* 66 (January 1980), 3.

<sup>48</sup> Rodger Scruton, “Programme Music,” L. Macy, ed., *Grove Music Online*, [www.grovemusic.com](http://www.grovemusic.com) (Accessed 7/10/ 2010). Scruton distinguishes between what he calls “representational” music and that which “purports to carry its narrative meaning within itself.”

<sup>49</sup> Rodgers, 23. He states: “In his analysis of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony Berlioz uses Schiller’s text to construct what we might call a “programmatic’ reading of the final movement (though he never in fact calls the text a program).”

concept of romantic ideology: the poet's need to constantly evolve by artistic expression, reflective of a process of self-actualization; and the poet's right to enact this need by creating original new art forms. Here we see Berlioz as artist: unlike Marx's theoretical approach that, for example, discusses Beethoven's symphonies as models that outline a genre of sonata form, Berlioz instead uses Beethoven's symphonic models to promote program music as an aesthetic concept, one that ultimately creates metaphorical experiences.

However, I hope to offer a perspective on subcategories that exist within Berlioz's broadly defined genre of "program music" by examining how he evaluates Beethoven's music in terms of his aesthetic of the poetic, largely as mixed modes and dramatic-lyric style created by the fusion of literature and music as a modern romantic means to create a diversity of theatrical perspectives. In this regard, Berlioz reveals that he understands that fundamental differences exist in the more specific application of mixed elements in the *Pastoral* and Ninth Symphonies: the former represents an outgrowth of French traditions of musical imitation, as a modern mixed mode of expression; while the latter is a completely novel hybrid vocal-symphonic form that illustrates the modern dramatic-lyric style.<sup>50</sup>

Central to Berlioz's conception of Beethoven the innovator and to his own symphonic ideal is the belief that each symphony conveys a unique poetic idea that unfolds as an individual

---

<sup>50</sup>My study illustrates Berlioz's early concept of program music that corresponds with his study of Beethoven. Perhaps in response to audience familiarity with this genre, his later views illustrate that he did not insist on the use of an accompanying program. For example, in an 1855 performance of his *Symphony fantastique* he stated "the distribution of the program may, if absolutely necessary, be dispensed with, the titles of the movements only being preserved; the symphony offers (or so the composer hopes) enough musical interest in itself quite apart from all dramatic intention." See Barzun, *Berlioz and the Romantic Century*, 158. Rushton, on the other hand, interprets Berlioz's statement to mean "that unless it was too expensive" the program should accompany the performance. See Rushton, *The Music of Berlioz*, 160.

symphonic “poem.” Berlioz’s notion of poetic idea (also termed *pensée poétique*) reflects what was set out in his earliest promotion of modern music as *genre instrumental expressif* (“Aperçu,” C18):

In former times instrumental music seems to have had no other aim than to please the ear or to engage the intellect, just as modern Italian cantilena evokes a kind of voluptuous sensation in which the heart and imagination have no part; but in Beethoven’s and Weber’s works, one cannot miss the poetic thought for its ubiquitous(ness)...needing no words to make its expression specific; its language then becomes quite indefinite, thanks to which it acquires still more power over beings endowed with imagination. Like objects half-perceived in darkness, its images develop, its forms become more unsettled, cloudier; the composer, no longer forcibly restricted to the limited range of the human voices, makes his melodies more active and varied; he can turn the most original, even bizarre, phrases without fear of making them unplayable, a problem one is always up against when writing for voices. From this stem the amazing effects, the curious feelings, the ineffable sensations, produced by the symphonies, quartets, overtures and sonatas of Weber and Beethoven.<sup>51</sup>

The “ubiquitousness” of a central metaphorical idea lies at the heart of freely developed dramatic forms and “vague” expressions. Like Chabanon, Berlioz claims that instrumental music is a language that expresses the indefinite and sensual. Yet modern music is distinguished from all other instrumental expressions by its development of these expressions around a central “*pensée poétique*.”<sup>52</sup> Here Berlioz reflects Hugo’s notion of the *valeur* of a poetic idea at the centre of mixed-mode expression. As we will see in Chapter III, Berlioz interprets each of Beethoven’s modern symphonies as expressions of an individual poetic idea, conveyed as a central metaphor.

---

<sup>51</sup>Translation by Rushton, *Roméo et Juliette*, 90.

<sup>52</sup> Berlioz may not have been aware of the fact that several of Beethoven’s students and friends reported he frequently described his own music in metaphorical terms. See: Carl Czerny, *On the Proper Performance of All Beethoven’s Works for the Piano*, edited by Paul Badura-Skoda (Vienna: Universal Editions, 1970); Anton Felix Schindler, *The Life of Beethoven* (Mattapan: Gamut Music Co., 1966); Johann Aloys Schlosser, *Beethoven: The First Biography*, edited and translated by Barry A. R. Cooper, (New York: Amadeus Press, 1996).

Though his “Critical Study,” like his original *Gazette* essays, addresses each of Beethoven’s symphonies in numerical order, his evaluations indicate that these fall into five groups that represent stages in Beethoven’s artistic evolution: the traditional style; the expression of antique beauty; the modern dramatic; the modern descriptive or pittoresque symphony; and the transcendental final work. The first category includes Beethoven’s First, Second, Fourth, and Eighth – for Berlioz the most classically based and unevenly conceived symphonies, and the ones that illustrate Beethoven’s emerging mastery. The *Eroica* stands alone as a non-political musical work that resembles traditions of “antique beauty.” Beethoven’s most popular and original symphonies, the Fifth and the Seventh, express the modern drama as mixed mode expression. The Sixth Symphony illustrates Beethoven’s modern development of traditions of musical imitation. And the Ninth Symphony stands as an example of the modern dramatic-lyric, a new form of sublime proportions, which marks Beethoven’s highest artistic achievement.

#### Beethoven the Traditionalist: The First, Second, Fourth, and Eighth Symphonies

In Berlioz’s “Critical Study,” the essays on this group of symphonies are distinguished by two main features: their brevity and avoidance of musical analysis; and their ambivalence of tone. For Berlioz, this group of symphonies illustrates Beethoven’s emerging individual style, embedded however in musical retrospection, imitation of traditions, and convention. His brief responses to these “traditional” symphonies are often acerbic, for according to Berlioz they lack his prime aesthetic criterion of romantic “expression.” As we will see, Berlioz sometimes describes these symphonies with complimentary descriptions of their expressive characters, whether lively, energetic, noble, or charming. These descriptions suggest a double level of

meaning. The pleasantness of their tone reflect Berlioz's critical goal to promote Beethoven. On the other, these descriptions convey "expression" in terms of traditional affects or "sentiments," rather than in terms of the modern mixed mode of expression. Still, Berlioz is engaged with selected moments in these symphonies, notably in Beethoven's slow introductory first movements and slow second movements. Overall, however, these symphonies lack a thoroughly original musical process that unfolds a central "poetic idea." In turn, there is little discussion of how this music illustrates Berlioz's five principles of modern music.

Berlioz the journalist reveals the qualified originality of these symphonies in his emphasis on only six of the nine modes: the three technical modes of melody, harmony, and rhythm; and largely three modes of orchestration: instrumentation, dynamics, and texture. Likewise, the brevity of my own discussion in this regard reflects Berlioz's typically brief description and use of vague references to unspecified musical passages. In particular, he underlines Beethoven's production of radical new sounds from the classical orchestra of Mozart and Haydn's time by new instrumental groupings, textures, and dynamic shifts. Originality is also found in Beethoven's novel thematic treatment. Berlioz's discussion of these modes indicates that he may have been aware of more recent German theories, developed between 1810 and 1820, that were moving toward a thematic concept of form, as discussed earlier, especially in the theories of Reicha.<sup>53</sup> However, Berlioz is concerned with the process of thematic unfolding, praising Beethoven's asymmetrical or fragmented melodies as modern advancements in expression. In particular, Berlioz finds that the composer's thematic treatment is especially effective in some of

---

<sup>53</sup> Many of these theories were published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*; see Fred Ritzel, *Die Entwicklung der "Sonatenform" im musik-theoretischen Schrifttum des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1968), 209.

his lyrical *Andante* movements, where the melodies are designed to create an improvisatory effect by asymmetrical phrasing or use of fragmented motives, enriched by unconventional harmony.

In other instances, Berlioz indicates the conventionality of this group by using retrospective vocabulary to describe their technical and orchestral elements. For example, his discussion of Beethoven's orchestral "colour" reflects Lacépède's attempt to compare the orchestration of a symphony with painting. By the same token, Berlioz tells us that Beethoven's instrumentation in this group reflects a subtle refinement of the hues of classical orchestration, rather than a radical new definition of colour. In this group, Berlioz frequently expresses blunt disappointment at Beethoven's use of "old-fashioned" techniques and forms in the style of "Mozart and Haydn," which seem to "stifle the composer's inventiveness."

The overall effect of these "traditional" symphonies does not consistently uphold Berlioz's prime aesthetic criteria. For Berlioz, Beethoven's extensions or refreshments of traditions reveal only qualified originality, embedded in retrospection or convention. This group of symphonies lacks his romantic aesthetic criteria of "expression," as a consistently original musical process that unfolds inner emotion by the modern mixed modes of expression or the new dramatic-lyric form. Consequently, for Berlioz, these symphonies express no central "poetic idea." Instead, he sees in Beethoven's innovations fleeting glimpses of emerging genius, eclipsed by an overall expressive continuity of simple elegance, childlike innocence, and youthful energy.

Symphony No.1 in C Major, Op. 21 (1800)<sup>54</sup>

For Berlioz, Beethoven's First Symphony is his least original work, and he describes its antiquated style as "still obviously under the spell" of Mozart. Today this work is viewed as largely indebted to Haydn, particularly its use of a slow introduction to the first movement and its rondo-like finale.<sup>55</sup> Unlike Berlioz, some modern scholars value this symphony for elements that foreshadow Beethoven's later and more powerful style: his intense sudden dynamics and harmonic novelties, such as the "wrong key" opening to the *Adagio molto* Introduction. Others note the deferral of resolution of the off-tonic Introduction to the final movement, providing an early example of Beethoven's characteristic end-weighted architectural structures.<sup>56</sup> All of these refinements are invisible to Berlioz as critic, for whom the First, though "admirably wrought," is a disappointment. Nonetheless, he bids his readers to "stay-tuned," ending his essay with a cliff-hanger – a device often used by Schlesinger in his *Gazette* in serialized installments of articles and fiction: "Beethoven is not yet there. We are going to find him."<sup>57</sup>

Beethoven's First Symphony differs from his later symphonies because it "quite lacks the

<sup>54</sup> The original article of Jan. 28, 1838 includes a discussion of Beethoven's First, Second, Third, and Fourth Symphonies, in Berlioz's goal to present them in chronological order. His writing on the First Symphony is reprinted in full as his short essay in the "Critical Study." All English quotations for this section are from *AM*, 11-2.

<sup>55</sup> Haydn's Symphony No. 97 is often cited as Beethoven's model. See Kinderman, 52-3; Leon Botstein, "Sound and Structure in Beethoven's Orchestral Music," *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 169-170; Nicholas Marston, "Symphonies," *The Beethoven Compendium* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 214-5.

<sup>56</sup> Marston, "Symphonies," 214. By 1800, slow introductory movements to symphonies were commonplace in German traditions, notably in the symphonies of Haydn. However, Berlioz conveys his understanding of form based on French traditions; his idea of form as part of expression perhaps explains why he omits mention of Beethoven's skillful adaption of a standard French overture form (two-part form: slow intro - *allegro*) for a symphonic first movement.

<sup>57</sup> *ATC*, 18 : "en un mot, ce n'est pas là Beethoven. Nous allons le trouver."

poetic idea that so richly and grandly informs most of the works that came later.”<sup>58</sup> Like the work of a good student, its melodic, rhythmic, and orchestral procedures largely imitate the style of Mozart, while cleverly expanding it.<sup>59</sup> Yet Berlioz notes the importance of orchestration in creating original effects with older devices. For example, in the first movement, *Allegro*, Beethoven adapts an imitative motivic formula that Berlioz states is commonly found in French opera overtures, and yet creates a surprising new effect in a symphony when enhanced by novel orchestration. This is described as a “rather ordinary” melody (secondary theme at m. 53, following the cadential transition that begins at m. 45 and the half-cadence at m. 52) that follows the principal theme. This begins as an oboe melody (m. 53) and is cleverly transformed by short imitation in the flute at a fourth above (mm. 54-56), which expands to all winds (m. 57).<sup>60</sup>

Instrumentation is also the main engine that drives Beethoven’s fresh development of rhythm in this symphony. For example, in the first and second movements, Berlioz observes novel rhythmic patterns that are reminiscent of similar patterns found in Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*, yet which are more striking, notably the inventive timpani accompaniment in the second movement, *Andante*.<sup>61</sup> Berlioz states this was an ingenious effect in its time, one that Beethoven greatly

---

<sup>58</sup> “C’est la seule véritable nouveauté de cette symphonie, où l’idée poétique, si grande et si riche dans la plupart des oeuvres qui ont suivi celle-ci, manque tout à fait.” *ATC*, 18.

<sup>59</sup> Berlioz may have recognized this similarity, particularly in Beethoven’s writing for winds, which correlates with modern observations of Mozart’s influence on that Beethoven’s works for winds and for winds and strings from his Bonn and first Vienna years to 1800.

<sup>60</sup> Evans’s translation fails to mention “woodwinds” (*CS*, 30): “When, by means of a half-cadence repeated three or four times, we arrive at an instrumental design in imitations at a fourth”; (*AM*, 11): “By means of a half-cadence repeated three or four times, we reach a short passage of imitation by the woodwinds at the fourth above.”

<sup>61</sup> This begins at m. 53 as a dotted rhythm that concludes the first A section, and it reappears in the B section, where it complements the imitation of a graceful melodic theme, variously orchestrated. In

expanded upon in his later symphonies, but that it is now rather ordinary. Berlioz's quest for originality is met only in the *Scherzo*, but originality is absent in the "rondo" finale, which is "musically childlike."<sup>62</sup> The First Symphony, to Berlioz, on the whole lacks the aesthetic criteria of poetic form.

Symphony No. 2 in D Major, Op. 36 (1802)<sup>63</sup>

In 1801, according to Czerny, Beethoven stated that, "I am only a little satisfied with my previous works. From today on I will take a new path."<sup>64</sup> Recent scholarship generally recognizes this new path in the original and prophetic formal design of Beethoven's Second Symphony: notably in the larger dimensions of the developments (especially in the finale) and codas (which herald the *Eroica* and the finale to the Seventh Symphony); its profusion of thematic material; its slow introduction to the first movement (as a model for his Fourth and Seventh Symphonies), and

---

his *Treatise*, in the section on "kettledrums," Berlioz observes Beethoven's "later development" of this accompaniment ("excellent use of the *pianissimo* of the kettledrums"), with examples from the Fourth and Fifth symphonies. *II*, 380. For further discussion on the importance of timpani in Berlioz's own compositions, see: Peter H. Tanner, "Timpani and Percussion Writing in the Works of Hector Berlioz" (Ph. D. thesis: Catholic University of America, 1969).

<sup>62</sup> Berlioz identifies the form of the finale as a "rondo." Here, he reflects the "Picturesque and Poetic Analysis" of Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny, who applied his "structural and narrative" perspectives of monothematic forms, in terms of rondo, to Haydn's Symphony No. 103 (106) in E flat major. See J.J. de Momigny, *Cours Complet d'Harmonie et de Composition* (Paris 1806), 696; "Rondo," *Encyclopédie Méthodique* (1818). Modern analysis reveals that the finale theme is a contredanse treated in rondo-like fashion, and that the movement is sonata form.

<sup>63</sup> Berlioz's essay on Beethoven's Second Symphony in his "Critical Study" reprints his assessment of the work that follows his discussion of the First Symphony from the same article of Jan. 28, 1838 (C295). English translations for this section are from *AM*, 12-3.

<sup>64</sup> Czerny, *On the Proper Performance of All Beethoven's Works for the Piano*, 13.

its innovative use of end-weighted form, in the coda of the finale.<sup>65</sup> Berlioz develops these elements in his own compositions, notably in his *Symphonie fantastique*. However, Berlioz suggests that the dramatic possibilities of these elements are lost amid the symphony's overall refinement and the homogeneity of Beethoven's generally classical expression.

Berlioz's brief musical discussion of the Second Symphony predominantly highlights Beethoven's growing individual style in his treatment of melody and instrumentation. Berlioz illustrates qualified originality in Beethoven's melodic treatment that is developed by variation, or by thematic fragmentation that breaks from the type of melodic symmetry found typically in the Italian operas of Spontini and Rossini.<sup>66</sup> For example, the main theme in the second movement *Andante* (Beethoven's *Larghetto*) is "a pure and ingenious song" elegantly varied and enhanced by embellishments, a delicate string quartet orchestration, and complementary runs. Berlioz describes the effect of this technical development in terms of the *lyrique* without the *dramatique*: the expression maintains the almost entirely consistent mood of "an innocent happiness," scarcely clouded by "a few melancholy accents."

Berlioz also admires the effective integration of tiny melodic motives, off-set by variable

---

<sup>65</sup> Marston, 214; Solomon, 137. Additionally, Beethoven's unexpected modulations and the harmonic tensions in the first movement *Allegro* (by a D minor modality in mm. 57-73 that conflicts with two major-mode themes) alludes to the harmonic ambiguity that he later more fully exploits in the first movement of his Ninth Symphony; and which foreshadows the type of thematic-modal conflict developed in the finales of the Fifth and Seventh symphonies.

<sup>66</sup> Another example of melodic interest that Berlioz describes in rather generic terms is the main theme in the first movement, *Allegro con brio*, which develops a sixteenth-note rhythmic figure – a "*gruppetto*" (first seen in unison violas and cellos, m. 34) – that builds to a crescendo with sudden accents, progressions that span across all instrumental sections, and imitations between winds and strings (to m. 62). Also, Berlioz may have heard similarities between Beethoven's slow introduction and Mozart's "Prague" Symphony, also in D major, notably by the similar use of an opening tonic-unison figure. See Kinderman, 80-1.

instrumentation in the *Scherzo*, where Beethoven creates a sense of high-spirited sport, notably in the final passages of the A section (beginning in m. 59). Here Beethoven builds three successive crescendos (mm. 63, 71, 75) that imitate, accumulate and contrast the main staccato figure among “competing” instrumental sections, alternating with a short, lyrical legato subordinate theme, and culminating in a climactic sectional ending (mm.77-84). These fleeting glimpses of originality elevate an otherwise generic description of the Second Symphony’s prevailing traditionalism and mood of cheerfulness.

Symphony No. 4 in B flat major, Op. 60 (1806)<sup>67</sup>

To Berlioz, the Fourth Symphony is uneven, with either striking innovations or “angry” disruptions. He compares the style of the Fourth to that of the Second. Likewise his essay revolves around illustrating Beethoven’s originality largely in the three technical modes of melody, rhythm and harmony, and in terms of orchestration. Yet, in the Fourth, Berlioz finds greater instances of originality in Beethoven’s more radical developments of melodic fragmentation, inventive orchestration, syncopated rhythms, and unexpected harmony, particularly in passages of the first three movements that create moods of the “mysterious” and the “sublime.” These passages illustrate glimpses of Beethoven’s genius in the collapsing of classical traditions to create an expression of mixed modes.

In the first movement *Allegro vivace*, Berlioz underlines the potential of melodic fragmentation to create dramatic and lyrical effects, particularly when enhanced by harmony and instrumentation. In this regard, Berlioz lingers over two passages in the development section where

---

<sup>67</sup> English translations for this section are from *AM*, 17-9.

Beethoven's original treatment of the "opening staccato motive" (main theme, mm. 39-44) breaks with conventions. Beethoven's opening theme, Berlioz states, reflects a thematic technique also "used by Mozart and Haydn" that treats the main theme as an "accessory idea," around which other more substantial melodies are layered. However, in the hands of Beethoven, this "device yields curious and interesting results." For example, Beethoven expands this motive into "mysterious developments" as a new lyrical theme (beginning in m. 221, section 3 of development, D major) that leads to an "unexpected ending." Here a *ff tutti* chord (m. 257) is followed by thematic fragmentation that unfolds a prolonged diminished seventh chord (outlining a ii 6-5/F or ii 6-5/V/B-flat major, mm. 269-281; musical example 1) as a "playful *pianissimo* conversation" between first and second violins (mm. 261-281). This prolonged diminished seventh sound avoids a clear cadence by an enharmonic shift into a new key (B, outlining a V7 chord in mm. 281-305). Similarly, this harmony is prolonged, enhanced by chromatic scalar passages, and avoids a clear cadence by an enharmonic shift (at m. 305, V7/B becomes I 6-4/B or V7 of B flat). To Berlioz, this progression creates "harmonies of vague, indefinite colouring."

Musical Example 1: Symphony No. 4, *Allegro vivace*, mm. 269-305.

mm. 269-77	m. 281	m.305
ii 6-5/F	V7/B	I 6-4 Bb    V7 Bb

The violin dialogue "dies away," ending on a series of rests, use of timpani roll (mm. 283-5; 287-

9) and followed by sustained dominant-seventh chords (beginning in m. 281, F-sharp in the bass, V of B major). Here for the first time, we see Berlioz indicate the mode of “expression” in indefinite terms of the metaphorical: the “mysterious developments” of thematic fragments are initially enhanced by “vague” harmonies – the prolonged diminished seventh harmonies and the enharmonic shifts – and the “indefinite coloring” of orchestration is created by the “murmur” of the strings, use of silent timpani, and pianissimo.

On a larger scale and to contrasting effect, Beethoven’s thematic fragmentation in this movement results in one of the “most ingenious musical inventions,” which is a “marvelous crescendo” (in the retransition to the recapitulation at m. 333). Berlioz highlights the technical importance of a timpani roll in this crescendo, which emphasizes the tonic (B flat) for about twenty measures (mm. 311-35; this continuous roll is preceded by a short roll in mm. 307-9). The timpani roll creates a “continual growl,” above which the orchestra tosses about “incomplete bits of phrases..above and below.” To this effect, the timpani roll supports the rising rhythmic energy of the *tutti* that gradually increase towards a full orchestral B-flat chord marked *ff* (start of recapitulation, m333; Berlioz does not mention that the timpani here also creates a seamless non-cadential shift directly into the recapitulation, where the energy then gently subsides).<sup>68</sup> To Berlioz, this original crescendo represents the intersection of several novelties that culminate in a dramatic musical process.

In the second movement, *Adagio*, Berlioz experiences the romantic expression of the sublime, which so overwhelms him that (as will be further discussed in the following chapter)

---

<sup>68</sup> Beethoven’s use of timpani here resembles one of several techniques found in other works of Beethoven’s “Heroic” period (1806-9), characterized by ebbs and flows of intense energy with moods of tranquillity, notably in the first movement of his Fifth Piano Concerto.

Berlioz as *critique poétique* eclipses Berlioz as *critique savant*: “it defies analysis... the consummate art of the structure is entirely concealed.” Berlioz implies that Beethoven’s seamless structure, though seemingly simple, evades clear formal outlines. Here he reflects a modern view of this form as a hybrid that loosens standard sonatina structure with rondo elements (with varied reprises and a passage of recomposition), or as a rondo.<sup>69</sup> For Berlioz, Beethoven’s *Adagio* illustrates his romantic concept of “poetic form” as a dramatic structure that facilitates the seamless interweaving of mixed modes of expression. This is indicated in his discussion of Beethoven’s *Adagio* in terms of a musical process that integrates dramatic and lyrical expressions to unfold the undefinable romantic sublime. To this effect, his musical narrative focuses on Beethoven’s original treatment of delicate lyrical melodies above expansive accompaniment figures, juxtaposed with forceful dissonant tutti passages or transparent orchestral textures.

Berlioz is drawn to an expression of the mysterious created by Beethoven’s combination of a lyrical, “angelic” melody with “unexpected” harmony. Berlioz admires how Beethoven creates this effect by the treatment of the technical modes of melody and harmony, enhanced by orchestral novelties of instrumentation and dynamics. More specifically, he refers to solo melodies, notably for bassoon and clarinet, accompanied by various alternating orchestral textures, ranging from a hypnotic serenade-like style (m.1) to expansive sounding arpeggiated figures in the lower registers (in the transition at m. 17). He particularly discusses two interesting accompaniment figures, one which is the *pizzicato* (mm. 28-31 in the second violins, violas and basses) beneath *arco* slurs

---

<sup>69</sup> Michelle Fillion is currently working on research that identifies this movement as a hybrid form that Beethoven learned from Haydn, a “slow movement” sonata or sonatina form with varied reprises and a passage of recomposition (or what Kinderman refers to as a “parenthetical enclosure.”) Her analysis provides more specific support of Berlioz’s observation on Beethoven’s unusual form. Other scholars identify the movement as a type of rondo; see: Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and Life* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995), 216.

(two-note ‘sigh motives’) in the first violins, while the second theme appears as a solo melody in the clarinets; and the other is the excellent use of the timpani in the coda, mm. 100-104.

Berlioz draws special attention, however, to a subordinate theme (an area of recomposition, or C section, in mm.50-4, see musical example 2 on the following page), a forceful, dissonant descending *ff tutti* passage.<sup>70</sup> As can be seen from this musical example, the force of this descent is emphasized by a homophonic texture moving parallel with a G flat major descending scale in the bass with timpani. This orchestral blast seems directly opposed to the preceding statement of the lyrical, light “angelic” principal theme (mm. 41-8 in E flat major), a soft *cantabile* melody in the strings, enhanced with woodwind echos, and delicate orchestral texture. Berlioz may have admired how Beethoven joins this lyrical statement with the descending orchestral blast by creating a seamless and brief orchestral expansion, using the modes of instrumentation, texture, and dynamics (m. 49). The dissonant *fortissimo* descent creates a dramatic contrast by instrumentation (*tutti*), dynamics (*ff* with *sf*), texture (homophonic), and harmony (dissonance). By modern analytical standards, this passage may be explained as a passage of recomposition in G flat major, ending on a dominant seventh. However, Berlioz’s priority is ultimately on the sound in performance. In this light, Berlioz may be delighted in what sounds to be a sudden shift into a remote key (as b III) and use of discord, by the use of dominant (Bb) pedals in the flutes, oboes and horns (mm. 51-3). This forceful effect is redoubled in direct contrast with the following retransition to the main theme (mm. 54-63), which returns to a transparent orchestral texture, soft dynamics, and *espressivo* character. Here the alternate soft arpeggios in violins (mm. 56-7) fragment into chromatic steps

---

<sup>70</sup>All musical examples of Beethoven’s Symphonies in this dissertation have been accessed from the petrucci music library (public domain) free copies of the Breitkopf and Härtel editions.



towards a dominant chord (V of E-flat Major, m.64) before the opening rhythm is revived to retransition into a return of the primary theme (m. 65). The appeal for Berlioz is the range of Beethoven's dramatic and lyrical contrasts, juxtaposed as two artistically combined complementary opposites, as a means to create metaphorical expression in music.

To Berlioz, these moments of *musique expressive*, however, are fleeting amid juxtapositions of conventional devices and disruptive outbursts, which prevent the symphony from unfolding as a poetic form that adheres to a central *idée poétique*. Least convincing, for Berlioz, is the finale, where he finds "conventional rhythmic forms," and "wild, rasping chords, angry outbursts." On the whole, this symphony resembles "the style of his (Beethoven's) Second Symphony," with its overarching "lively," "cheerful," or sweet character. The combination of wild disruption with traditional beauty presents a simplistic notion of combined opposites, which for Berlioz lacks the multi-dimensional resonance and dramatic tension of truly romantic expression.

Symphony No. 8 in F major, op. 93 (1812)<sup>71</sup>

Beethoven considered the Eighth as "much better" than his more popular Seventh Symphony.<sup>72</sup> Yet Berlioz concedes that it is not one of Beethoven's more innovative or subtle symphonies. Modern scholars, notably William Kinderman, generally consider the symphony's formal structure a condensed form with many structural innovations.<sup>73</sup> They note that it shares many compositional techniques with the Seventh Symphony, which (as we will soon see) Berlioz

---

<sup>71</sup> English translations for this section are from *AM*, 29-31.

<sup>72</sup> Czerny recalled this in conversation. See: Thayer-Forbes, *Beethoven* (Princeton: PUP, 1970), 576; Solomon, 276-7.

<sup>73</sup> Kinderman, 160-1.

similarly praises. These innovations are now viewed as developments that offset traditional balance and order: in particular, the unusually long codas in the first and final movements, the lack of a traditional slow movement (an *Allegretto* rather than an expected *Andante*; Berlioz's title from an undisclosed score reads *Andante scherzando*); and the extended design of the *Scherzo* (A1, A2, B, A1, B, A2)<sup>74</sup> Yet an awareness of these formal structural elements is foreign to Berlioz's methodology. Accordingly, he determines that the Eighth symphony is largely conventional. Berlioz notes that the compact formal dimensions of the Eighth Symphony are comparable to his First Symphony, though it contains more advanced compositional techniques. His focus is largely on Beethoven's uneven treatment of harmony, blending retrospective and original devices.

Beethoven's originality is situated in his radical use of harmony that creates remarkable expressive effects, though the logic of the use of dissonance in the finale eludes Berlioz's analytical and aesthetic understanding.<sup>75</sup> There, Berlioz cites the jarring enharmonic shifts (mm. 17; 118; 372), which culminate in a final C# (m. 372) that occurs between two statements of the main theme, where it first claims centre stage, and then causes an unexpected shift that both undermines the main theme and slips the harmony into the remote key of F# minor (tonic is F major). This is a famous crux point that Kinderman refer to as an example of Beethoven's musical humour, or "sublime

---

<sup>74</sup> There are two *Trio sections*; in the *first Trio*, the first *Scherzo* section returns at "Tempo I" (m. 176); followed by a varied return of the *Trio B* (m. 269); concluded with a modified statement of A2, as coda.

<sup>75</sup> Berlioz also admires a passage in this movement where a high tonic pedal for flutes and oboes on F is sustained above notes of the dominant-seventh chord (played by the violins) that resolves to a fragment of the tonic chord (the third F-A). This may be "theoretically incorrect," but, he asserts, the effect is "excellent and remarkably sweet." Another example of "radical harmony" is found in the first movement, where Berlioz sees innovation in the treatment of the second theme (melody), with harmony that avoids finishing with an expected perfect cadence, "vanishing," instead, without a cadence on an augmented-fourth-diminished-seventh chord (#IV<sup>o</sup>7 at m. 52); Berlioz identifies this as a diminished-seventh chord of the subdominant (in D).

comedy,” typically found where moments of beauty are juxtaposed with incongruity. This juxtaposition creates the effect of musical irony, or what is now commonly referred to as Beethoven’s “sublime humour.”<sup>76</sup> But Berlioz misses the point of Beethoven’s radical procedure. To Berlioz, this is an example of how innovations in the Eighth are undermined by conventions. As such, he does not use this example to illustrate his second poetic principle of modern music, the loosening of conventional forms by innovations to create a tension of opposites. Rather, Berlioz perceives Beethoven’s conventional elements as signals that he has not freed himself from the bonds of conventions. In this regard, Berlioz reflects Hugo’s assertion that conventions represented the “chains of scholasticism” that stifle personal imagination.

Berlioz however finds originality in the *Allegretto scherzando*.<sup>77</sup> This “poetic form,” Berlioz illustrates, is created by Beethoven’s breaking the rules of melodic symmetry and rhythmic pulse. His original thematic treatment of small melodic fragments is enhanced by unusual harmony and orchestrated like a conversation. This is created by a *punta d’arco* “dialogue” stated first as a melodic phrase in the violins and answered in the basses, which together unfold two almost symmetrical melodic phrase (this begins in the Exposition, mm. 1-13, for example), upset by a rest that ends the phrase on a strong beat and by unusual “tapping effects” created by woodwind accompaniment.

However, Berlioz finds that this poetic lyricism is overshadowed by the symphony’s larger scheme of conventional techniques. Berlioz is disappointed by Beethoven’s replacement of the scherzo movement with a “commonplace” and “old-fashioned” minuet; and by his use of largely

---

<sup>76</sup> Kinderman, 159-61.

<sup>77</sup>Berlioz calls this movement *Andante scherzando*.

conventional harmony in this movement and in the *Allegro vivace* finale. A prime example is Beethoven's "willful" use of a conventional cadential passage to end the finale – the same banal "G, F, A, B-flat (submediant, dominant, leading tone, and tonic) formula that concludes the acts to Italian operas."<sup>78</sup> Berlioz also objects to Beethoven's creation of harsh dissonances, particularly in enharmonic modulations. In this regard, Berlioz singles out a passage in the recapitulation of the finale that begins at m. 372:

Before closing, I cannot resist mentioning an orchestral effect in this finale which may perhaps cause the listener a greater surprise than any other. I mean the C-sharp, attacked *forte* by the entire orchestra in unison and octave after a diminuendo that has just come to an end on a C-natural. The first two times that it occurs, this sonic roar is immediately followed by the return of the theme in F, and it becomes clear that this C-sharp was really an enharmonic D-flat, that is, a lowered submediant of the principal key. But on its third appearance this strange blast of sound takes on quite another aspect: after modulating to C as before, the orchestra this time plays a genuine D-flat, followed by a fragment of the theme in that key. Then comes an equally genuine C-sharp, followed by another fragment of the theme in C-sharp minor. Finally, this same C-sharp is given out three times with redoubled force and the entire theme reappears in F-sharp minor. Thus, the sound that at first figured as a minor sixth becomes successively a tonic major in flats, a tonic minor in sharps, and finally, the dominant. It is curious indeed (*AM*, 30-1).

The "first two times" that the C-sharp attack occurs (in m. 17, then in m.178) it may be understood as an enharmonic flatted VI chord (on D-flat in the key of F); yet, the third time that this occurs (in m.372), the genuine flatted VI chord (on D flat) appears as a means to foray into what Berlioz considers a "curious" harmonic progression (D-flat to F# Minor, the minor neapolitan, then to the tonic F Major).

To Berlioz, the Eighth Symphony on the whole does not represent a modern mixed mode of expression. Instead, he views Beethoven's classical retrospection as a regressive element that limits

---

<sup>78</sup> The "G, F, A, B-flat" formula that Berlioz discusses is a repeated four-note violin tremolo motif.

or restrains modern expression, rather than as a modern reminiscence of the past presented in contrast to Beethoven's novelties.<sup>79</sup> We have already seen that Berlioz prizes situations of 'dramatic conflict' that represent Hugo's notion of "nature" as a mirror of the complexity of modern life. This sense of modernity is missing in the Eighth Symphony, he feels, in its incongruous mixture of obsolete classical expressions with glimpses of the future.

In this first group of symphonies, Berlioz finds ingenious moments in Beethoven's novel treatment of melody, largely by asymmetrical phrases or thematic fragmentation, unconventional harmony, syncopated rhythm, and new combinations of instrumentation. He praises the convergence of these elements to create modern metaphorical expressions, particularly as an experience of the "consummate art" of the Fourth Symphony. Nevertheless, these four symphonies lack pure originality for Berlioz, because they are devised of essentially standard classical techniques that Beethoven expanded in scope. To Berlioz, Beethoven's emerging genius is signalled in the dramatic possibilities of these expansions. In particular, these symphonies sometimes display a key principle of the modern poetic in music, the treatment of thematic transformations enhanced by innovative orchestration. Nevertheless, they do not consistently meet the other four key principles of modern music: the mixture of genres, the loosening of conventional syntax and grammar, the expression of complementary opposites to create exaggerated metaphorical expressions of the sensual or sublime, or the combination of these elements to create "episodes" unified by a central poetic idea. And so,

---

<sup>79</sup> In this regard, Berlioz reflects early nineteenth-century criticism of the symphony. Following its first performance in 1814 (in Vienna, programmed with the Seventh and "Pastoral" Symphonies, with Beethoven conducting), critics such as Wilhelm von Lenz found the work "retrogressive." For years after its performance in 1826, English critics launched similar attacks at the symphony. See Sir George Groves, *Beethoven and His Nine Symphonies* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), 279-82.

to Berlioz, this group of symphonies lacks the criteria for a poetic dramatic-lyric form.

The *Eroica* Symphony and Antique Beauty <sup>80</sup>

In his essay on the *Eroica*, Berlioz's teleology of Beethoven's musical narrative is as a non-goal-directed collection of poetic episodes or dramatic scenes depicting classical funeral rites. Instead of offering the political associations with militarism featured in many more modern programmatic accounts of the symphony. Berlioz offers a unique, non-linear, and poetic conception as a modern appreciation of its timeless, epic beauty.<sup>81</sup> To this end, he illustrates Beethoven's remarkable treatment of eight modes of action, which include the four technical modes (melody, rhythm, harmony and orchestration) and orchestration (largely as the three modes of instrumentation, dynamics, and texture). Additionally and – for the first time – appears a new emphasis on programmatic imagery and poetic form. Here Berlioz projects the modernity of the *Eroica* Symphony in terms of its “poetic idea,” represented here as a modern expression of epic poetry or antique beauty (reflecting Hugo's second stage of poetry).

His poetic idea of the *Eroica* is the funeral for an antique hero, expressed musically in several dramatic “scenes.” To this end, Berlioz removes the symphony from any political associations with modern militarism, largely by omission. First, he makes no references to the symphony's French Revolutionary elements. As richly summarized in Burnham's *Beethoven Hero*, the traditional markers for the military *topos* in the *Eroica* include military themes; expansive

---

<sup>80</sup> This essay reprints the original section from his article of Ap. 9, 1837 (C245), which was also reprinted in part on March 17<sup>th</sup>, 1839, with an added conclusion attached to his *VM* essay. Beethoven's letter of Aug. 26, 1802 to Breitkopf and Härtel, stated that the first edition title was, “*Sinfonia Eroica...to celebrate the memory of a great man,*” published first in parts, then in 1809 as score. See Marston, 315.

<sup>81</sup> For further discussion on the modern heroic concept in the *Eroica*, see Broyles, *The Emergence and Evolution of Beethoven's Heroic Style*, 97-115; Burnham, 1-13; 116-153.

sonorities and large orchestration; the serious and grand character; and the inclusion of a funeral march. Nor does Berlioz mention what Parisian audiences may have recognized in the second movement, Beethoven's reference to François-Joseph Gossec's *Marche Lugubre* (1797) – a piece for wind band that was frequently played for executions by guillotine.<sup>82</sup> Thirdly, Berlioz omits the story of how Beethoven ranted and tore off the original title page dedication to Napoléon after learning that the latter had proclaimed himself Emperor in May 1804.<sup>83</sup>

To Berlioz, the *Eroica* is seamlessly designed in “conception and execution, its style so sinewy, so consistently elevated, and its form so poetic” that it expresses a ceremonial mourning for an “antique hero” (*AM*, 15). Its dramatic character, he explains, is indicated by its title, *Heroic Symphony to Celebrate the Memory of a Great Man*. To this end, his technical discussion builds on two notions from Lacépède's *The Poetry of Music*: the concept of symphonic “colours,” and the ideal that the movements of a sonata should portray the expressions of classical drama.<sup>84</sup>

Berlioz's technical discussion focuses on Beethoven's novel thematic treatment as enhanced by rhythm and instrumentation. For example, in the first movement *Allegro*, Berlioz praises the novelty of Beethoven's melody, which begins as a fragment that becomes fully clear only after

---

<sup>82</sup> Luis C. Engelke, “François-Joseph Gossec's *Military Symphony*,” *International Trumpet Guild Journal* (June 2001), 62; journalcopyright@trumpetguild.org.; Donald J. Grout, *A History of Western Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 526.

<sup>83</sup> This anecdote was recounted by Ferdinand Ries. See Marston, 215. Mark Evan Bonds claims that Berlioz was well aware of this famous tale, though his reference for this cites Berlioz's essay on the *Eroica*; see, Bonds, “*Sinfonia anti-eroica*: Berlioz's Harold en Italie and the Anxiety of Beethoven's Influence.” *Journal of Musicology* 10 (1992): 444.

<sup>84</sup> Solomon, 251.

several measures of “exordium” (mm.1-45).<sup>85</sup> He regards this melody’s ability to create “myriad aspects” by combining liberally with modes of harmony and instrumentation, and particularly the way that its “serious and dramatic” character is combined with the three-quarter meter and tempo “more or less that of a waltz.” Another example in this respect is the development of thematic

Example 3: *Eroica* Symphony, *Allegro con brio*, mm. 24-35

m. 25

m. 35

The musical score for Example 3, *Eroica* Symphony, *Allegro con brio*, mm. 24-35, is presented in two systems. The first system includes staves for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Cor (Cor.), and Bassoon (Fag.). The second system includes staves for Violin (Vcl.), Viola (Vcl.), and Bass (Bassi). The music is in 3/4 time and features a dynamic range from *sf* to *cresc.* The score shows a gradual increase in volume and intensity across the measures.

<sup>85</sup> Csicsery-Rónay translates this as: “only fully clear after some introductory measures”; Evans: “it does not present itself in its full effect until after an *exordium* of some bars” (42). Given Berlioz’s introductory description of the symphony using *exordium* and *peroration* (in reference to Cicero’s dicta outlining the parts of rhetorical speech or oration), I have included my own translation to include the word *exordium* (“exorde” introduces the speech, rousing audience’s attention).

material with “extraordinarily remarkable” rhythms in a passage in which Beethoven superimposes duple meter on triple syncopation (here Berlioz likely refers to the hemiola in mm.25-35, as illustrated in example 3. Here the alternation of an active downbeat with a reactive upbeat – stressed syncopations followed immediately by strong downbeats – creates a sense of dramatic action and reaction. He notes how this effects a titanic force of “uncontrollable fury” followed by “painful recall of memories.” These dramatic developments, however, create the only two “eccentricities” in the symphony. One is a culmination of the syncopations into “bizarre” harmonies (at mm. 248-79), ending with E suspended over an F major chord (Neapolitan chord with a major seventh); and an “even stranger” passage – at the famous crux point (m. 394) – where the French horn recapitulates the theme early, against the 7<sup>th</sup> degree of the dominant (played in the violins) before the tutti dominant-seventh (mm. 396-7) announces the recapitulation (beginning at m. 398). This moment is the “subject of much controversy,” but Berlioz refers to a famous historical anecdote to assure readers that what seems to be an “absurd whim” was a moment highly prized by Beethoven:

Yet the composer was said to value it highly. It is said that at the first rehearsal of this symphony, Mr. (Ferdinand) Ries stopped the orchestra, shouting, “Too soon, too soon, the horn has come in too soon!” As a reward for his zeal, he was given a vigorous dressing-down by the enraged composer (*AM*, 14).

Instrumentation is another key mode that Beethoven uses to enliven his thematic treatment and to convey musical imagery. A prime example of this occurs in the second movement, the *Marcia funebre: Adagio assai*, where a particularly poignant expression of grand pathos is created when the restatement of the march theme (m. 238) becomes “solitary shreds” orchestrated with *pizzicato* bass strokes and “a cry” in the winds. To Berlioz, this suggests “a last farewell of the warriors to their comrade-in-arms.” In the third movement, *Scherzo*, Beethoven’s “dark and sombre tone” in combination with the playful title contribute to the poetic idea of ceremonial mourning by

suggesting images of “funeral games repeatedly darkened by thoughts of mourning.” Admittedly, without giving his reader a technical discussion here, one needs to stretch the imagination to hear in the music what Berlioz may refer to as “thoughts of mourning.”

The finale, *Allegro molto*, continues the “same poetic idea” with a scene of “final lamentations.” Berlioz notes the remarkable effect created by the orchestration in this movement, enhancing the effect of melodic variations with novel refinements to the orchestral modes of dynamics, instrumentation and texture. In his *Traité*, Berlioz is more specific about instrumentation

Example 4: *Eroica*, Finale, *Allegro molto*, mm. 31-9

m.31

The musical score for Example 4, *Eroica*, Finale, *Allegro molto*, mm. 31-9, is presented in a full orchestral score format. The score includes parts for the following instruments: Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Cor Anglais (Cor.), Trumpet (Tr.), and Trombone (Tp.). The score is written in a key signature of two flats and a 3/4 time signature. The dynamic markings are *ff* (fortissimo) and *p* (piano). The string parts include markings for *pizz.* (pizzicato) and *arco* (arco). The score shows a dynamic shift from *ff* to *p* and back to *ff* across the measures. The woodwinds and strings play a complex, rhythmic pattern.

in this movement, notably Beethoven's use of the oboe to create "tones of sadness or despair" in the episodic *Poco Andante* (beginning at m. 349, variation six on the main theme). In his essay, he specifically refers to a passage (mm. 31-9, musical example 4), where contrasting timbres (the strings answered by the woodwinds and brass) on the same note (B-flat) create subtle hues that paint the "difference between blue and purple."

In the finale, Berlioz also admires Beethoven's ingenious variation treatment of the main theme, which he identifies as a "very simple fugue theme" (begins as a bass line at m.12) that the composer "superimposes" on "two other themes, one of them very beautiful," followed by one that is organically "mined." Important to Berlioz is how Beethoven's composite or "mined" theme grows from the main theme into a "singing theme" (beginning in m. 76 as the third variation), "more touching and incomparably more graceful than the original, which rather resembles a harmonic bass line and indeed serves as such very well" (*AM*, 15). Moreover, Berlioz notes that this expressive melodic theme foreshadows later cumulative melodic and expressive developments. These occur when the symphony concludes following the "last regrets" to the hero with a final variation (variation seven, beginning at m. 381) that recalls the "singing theme." Here we see Berlioz's value of *mélodie* in a symphonic form to create at once a poetic retrospection and a transformative experience: following this slower reappearance of the melodic theme, Beethoven turns away from the elegy towards a "brilliant peroration" that crowns this "musical monument" with a "terse" but "enraptured hymn to glory" (in the coda, *Presto*, beginning at m. 431).

Berlioz's essay on the Third Symphony marks his first real application of his concept of the *idée poétique* to Beethoven's symphonies. The "poetic idea" emanates from Beethoven's original combination of the various modes of action to create musical imagery, which, to Berlioz, conveys

the social experience of grief within the formal discourse of a classical oration and the disposition of antique poetry of Homer and Virgil.<sup>86</sup> We may also understand Berlioz's romantic conception of Beethoven's poetic idea as a reflection of Hugo's second age of poetry, the epic tragedy of Homer. In this way, the *Eroica's* symphonic form expresses antique beauty in a novel poetic form.

### III The Fifth and Seventh Symphonies

In the Fifth and Seventh Symphonies, Berlioz finds pure originality in Beethoven's use of the entire range of "modes of action." Berlioz shifts his focus to Beethoven's inventive orchestral techniques by discussing the modes – instrumentation, the point of origin of sounds, the degree of intensity of sounds, and the multiplicity of sounds – that pertain to Beethoven's creation of instrumental color, texture, and timbre. To this effect, Berlioz underlines his ideal of the poetic in music, first established in his "Aperçu" (C18), by illustrating how Beethoven's novelties effect drama in ways that reflect Hugo's notion of the modern poetic as mixed modes of expression that unfolds in a dramatic-lyric form. **Drama** is created by Beethoven's expanded forms within a wide variety of moods and expressions created largely by original treatments to melodic motives, enhanced by shifting dynamics and punctuating rhythms that generate momentum and that sweep across the various instrumental sections. Beethoven's bold dramatic moods also frequently disregard the rules of propriety as singular expressions of "sentiment," in favour of a mixture of exaggerated expressions, combining beauty with the grotesque, to create a modern expression of "nature." This bold dramatic expression is intensified in combination with lyricism and melancholy.

---

<sup>86</sup> This definition of its character fits modern descriptions of classical symphonies as forms that "limited themselves to...a purification of feelings." Alfred Einstein, *Music in the Romantic Era* (New York: Norton, 1947), 42.

**Lyricism**, for Berlioz, is found in Beethoven's improvisatory-like treatment of melodies, enhanced by orchestration, notably the use of novel instrumental doublings, transparent orchestral textures, and solo instruments that emerge from forceful orchestral unisons. To Berlioz, these combinations of orchestral forces and texture enhance Beethoven's melodic manipulation to create diverse expressions. In these two symphonies, for Berlioz, the true mastery of Beethoven's originality is reflected in his mixture of the dramatic and the lyrical, which ignites metaphorical experience in terms of highly dramatic expressions.

The Fifth Symphony: C minor, Op. 67 (1807-8) <sup>87</sup>

The Fifth Symphony surpasses previous models by its great originality that seems “to spring solely and directly from Beethoven's own genius.” To Berlioz, this symphony exemplifies his ideal of modern music, promoted in his essay as an “impassioned style” that is “beyond and above any instrumental music hitherto written.” Berlioz the composer highlights Beethoven's ingenious handling of expanded orchestration, notably with the addition to the finale of three trombones, piccolo, and a contrabassoon. He chiefly discusses how four modes of orchestration – instrumentation, the point of origin of sounds, the degree of intensity of sounds, and the multiplicity of sounds – combine to animate Beethoven's original treatment of the four technical modes (melody, rhythm, harmony, and modulations), ultimately to convey an expression that arouses passions in listeners. The symphony is thus a grand assembly of Berlioz's chief technical and aesthetic values. Among the technical modes, Berlioz focuses on Beethoven's treatment of melody by “transformations” and repetition, enhanced by dissonant harmony. To Berlioz,

---

<sup>87</sup> Article C295, *RGM*, January 28, 1838; English translations for this section from *AM*, 19-22.

Beethoven develops these technical modes into highly dramatic moods or sublime lyricism chiefly by his command of an enormous instrumental force. As such, Berlioz's essay on Beethoven's Fifth is largely a study in orchestration; not surprisingly, this symphony, above all others, features most frequently in Berlioz's *Traité*. In Berlioz's essay, the Fifth Symphony illustrates modern orchestration that enlivens Beethoven's musical process in terms of dramatic action. Instruments are now personified like characters in a play, and instrumental timbres, tones, and registers are "cast" to create a diversity of orchestral "dialogues" that are treated variously in doublings or set in contrast to evoke various emotions and moods.

For example, in the first movement, *Allegro con brio*, Berlioz describes drama in terms of dialogues and gestures that convey a mixture of "chaotic feelings," which range from a "frenzy that explodes in a terrifying outcry, to an extreme dejection that expresses itself only in regrets and takes pity on itself." Berlioz's descriptions may be applied to the effects of Beethoven's introduction of the main four-note motive (in the exposition), which illustrates "oxymoron" created by the juxtaposition of complementary opposites: three short and furious *ff* eighth-notes combined with rests and fermatas (the "frenzy," mm.1-5, musical example 5) in C minor. The homophonic texture and arresting mood are directly followed by an imitative section, with the melodic motive in the upper strings and use of a contrasting *p* dynamic (mm. 6-17), followed by a brief crescendo (mm. 18-24), a "terrifying outcry" that ends suspended on a fermata. Contrasting with this violent expression, Berlioz hears "regrets" that seem to describe the second theme (beginning in m. 63), announced by a four-note rhythmic motive in the horns (in m. 59) before appearing as a legato phrase in the violins that is imitated by clarinet and flute in E flat major (over the rhythmic motive in the basses). Intermixed with this exaggerated expression, Berlioz also hears "gasps in the

orchestra” and the “dialogue between winds and strings that come and go, sounding ever weaker, like the painful breaths of a dying man.” This description may apply, for example, to the final section of the development (theme 2, mm.210-27, before the retransition in musical example 6), where woodwinds and strings alternate a two-note ‘sigh’ motive that attenuates, like a “dying man,” by use of silence and diminuendo.

Example 5: Symphony No. 5, *Allegro con brio*

*Allegro con brio.  $\text{♩} = 108.$*

Flauti.

Oboi.

Clarineti in B.

Fagotti.

*ff* *p*

*Allegro con brio.  $\text{♩} = 108.$*

Corni in Es.

Trombe in C.

Timpani in C.G.

*Allegro con brio.  $\text{♩} = 108.$*

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Violoncello.

Basso.

*ff* *p* *ff* *p* *ff* *p* *ff* *p*

Example 6, Symphony No. 5, *Allegro con brio*, mm. 210-27  
210

Instrumental doublings also contribute to the symphony's titanic force, bolstering "the degree of sounds," notably illustrated in this movement throughout the coda (beginning m. 376). To this end, Berlioz asserts that Beethoven's orchestration enacts the transformations and continuous manipulation of the melodic motive (largely by variation and repetition) in terms of a dramatic musical process.

Lyricism characterizes the second movement, *Andante con moto* (Berlioz's *Adagio*), largely by Beethoven's melodic combination of "transformations..undergone by the first theme" with the "stubborn recurrence of a deeply sad and simple phrase... given to the winds," which

returns “unchanged and in the same key throughout the movement, no matter what transformations are undergone by the first theme.” The principal melody is enhanced by Beethoven’s instrumental unison doubling, which vivifies the richness of tones, adding dimension to the sound and expression.<sup>88</sup> Of the many excellent effects that result from Beethoven’s choice of unison doubling, Berlioz singles out two that illustrate new combinations of instruments used in unisons that reinforce the various characteristic orchestral timbres: the high pedal point in the flutes (mm. 98-106, the second variation of the principal theme), which animate his bold harmonies; and the use of sustained clarinets (mm. 49-56, first variation of the principal theme) to enrich the “*élégie sublime*.”<sup>89</sup>

The “stubborn” recurrent woodwind phrase to which Berlioz refers occurs in the codetta (mm. 11-15) that follows the initial statement of the principal theme. Contrary to Berlioz’s statement, this phrase is not strictly repeated or “unchanged” throughout the movement. Instead, it reappears slightly altered by ornamental elaboration or fragmentation: in mm. 59-64 with an embellished introductory sixteenth-note figure; in mm. 194-9; and in the coda (mm. 218-23) with an altered introductory triplet figure. However, Berlioz hears the reappearance of the codetta as a repetition that emerges amid Beethoven’s transformations of the principal theme in four variations and restatement (m. 185). Moreover, fragments of the simple woodwind theme collide with the principal theme in the coda of the movement, where they are transformed together into a

---

<sup>88</sup> Berlioz’s compositional interest in this effect extends into his *Traité* where he includes the opening passage (m.1-11) to illustrate that the mixing of the viola timbre with cello, in a unison melodic line, deeply enhances the cello tone “in roundness and clarity.” *T*, 74.

<sup>89</sup> Berlioz’s focus on melodic enhancement by orchestration is also indicated in his interest in Beethoven’s instrumentation of a canonic restatement of the principal theme for woodwinds, beginning m. 185; however, he feels that this effect is lost amid Beethoven’s forceful texture. *AM*, 20.

short composite fanfare theme (*ff*, m. 242-7) that seems to announce the onset of unsettled events.<sup>90</sup> Yet Berlioz does not discuss this treatment of the codetta in terms of motivic unity, but instead as an original expression that touches *l'âme de l'auditeur* (the soul of the listener), thus emphasizing poetic originality over formal cohesion.

In the *Scherzo*, Berlioz establishes that Beethoven's interplay of instruments, use of unconventional harmony, and unsettled *piano/mezzo-forte* dynamic shifts, enhanced with a lively rhythm maintained by the timpani, contribute to the creation of "mysterious, darkly menacing sounds." This ominous mood is contrasted by the Trio section, where new sounds result from the demands Beethoven makes on the inherent limits of an instrument and by his excessive doubling of parts. In the *Scherzo* reprise, Beethoven builds an interesting type of accompaniment by exploiting the distinctive sound of the bassoon stressed in its very high register and marked *pianissimo* (mm. 259-62, for example). This creates "odd clucking noises" that are particularly attractive in combination with the short viola appoggiaturas.<sup>91</sup>

In the *Scherzo*, Berlioz discusses how Beethoven's treatment of modes allows him to loosen conventional formal autonomy. In particular, he is fascinated by a passage in the reprise of the scherzo (restatement of principal theme, beginning m. 281; the dominant minor ninth

---

<sup>90</sup> Berlioz seems well aware of Beethoven's melodic treatment in the coda, despite no mention of this section in his essay; my observations here reflect my discussion in Chapter IV, where we will see that Berlioz's stated interest in the "recurrent" theme, and his implied awareness of Beethoven's transformation of this theme with the principal theme to create a composite theme is reflected in his own use of a "cyclical theme" and his own creation of a composite "love theme" in his *Roméo et Juliette*.

<sup>91</sup> In his *Traité*, Berlioz cites this movement to illustrate the bassoon's tendency towards the "grotesque" (II, 21;53). Berlioz also remarks on Beethoven's exploiting the double basses in the *Trio* to play a running figure, "bowed with full force," which creates a lumbering roughness that suggests the sound of a frolicking, tipsy elephant. Nevertheless, he concedes that the instrument is also capable of providing an excellent bass to the entire group of winds.

chord that he mentions below is at m. 293) that transforms into veiled *ppp* strings, muted winds and a barely audible cadence in the low register (m. 324). I have included measure numbers with Berlioz's quotation below:

The Scherzo motif reappears *pianissimo* (mm. 245 in the cellos), little by little, silence is restored until nothing is heard but a few notes plucked lightly by the violins (beginning at m. 259) and the odd clucking noises produced by the bassoons playing a high A-flat (m. 293), which is jostled in the same range by an octave G, the root of the dominant minor ninth chord. Then, interrupting the cadence, the strings gently bow the chord of A-flat and seem to fall into slumber while holding it (at m. 324, marked *ppp*). The timpani alone keep the rhythm alive by light strokes from sponge-covered sticks, a faint pulse beating against the immobility of the rest of the orchestra. The notes the timpani play are all Cs, and the key of the movement is C minor, but the A-flat chord, held for a long time by the other instruments, seems to introduce another key (mm. 342-7), while at the same time the lone throbbing of the timpani on C tends to maintain the feeling of the original key. The ear hesitates, it cannot tell where this harmonic mystery is going to end. As the muffled beating of the timpani grows more intense, the violins come back to life (gradually beginning at m. 339), changing the harmony to the dominant-seventh chord – G, B, D, and F – while the timpani stubbornly continue their tonic C. Then the entire orchestra, reinforced by the trombones, now appearing for the first time (m. 370), burst into a triumphal march theme in the major mode, and the finale begins (*AM*, 21).

I include this lengthy quote to illustrate an instance where Berlioz engages in true musical analysis. Here is an extreme orchestral state of audibility where, Berlioz observes, the “ear hesitates.” Following this is the famous transition into the finale, where the timpani enters with Berlioz’s “lone throbbing...on C” (concert pitch G, the dominant that propels to a C major cadence in the finale). Berlioz observes a turning point that ignites a return of the violins “back to life,” where the violins play falling intervals in rising sequences (beginning at m. 339) amid orchestral suspensions until the full orchestra reaches a dominant-seventh chord (m. 370) that then resolves into the *Allegro* finale. Berlioz may have understood this within his aesthetic of mixed modes of expression, as the juxtaposition of limited orchestral audibility with a shift into the frenetic finale. Berlioz would recreate this procedure to create inter-movement links with the

*Scherzo in Roméo et Juliette.*

Drama is sometimes created by Beethoven's clever mixing of the mundane with innovation. Berlioz indicates that Beethoven's novel inclusion of trombones in the Finale announces a type of fanfare theme like a "thunderclap," thereby illustrating the "degree of intensity of sounds" by way of novel instrumentation. He states that this opening theme was criticized for being "ordinary," alluding to its ties to French revolutionary or common military music.<sup>92</sup> Yet, he argues, the opening fanfare theme creates a new effect, and the whole symphony cannot be judged merely on a particular element.

In considering Beethoven's overarching expression, Berlioz has reservations about the Finale in relation to its phenomenology: namely his concern for the effects on listeners of the prolonged intensity that continues from the transition into the finale, which creates a "terrible shock to the listener's senses." This is Berlioz's first instance of alluding to several modes that work in combination to effect this "continued intensity," notably instrumentation, dynamics, staging and expression. Contributing to the physical magnitude of the acoustical effect is the staging, or conditions of the performance hall. In this regard, he implies his concerns with the social effects of performing this symphony in the intimate setting of the Conservatoire where audiences would be "overwhelmed."<sup>93</sup> Surprisingly, his concept of the titanic finale does not consider Beethoven's recall of the second theme of the *Scherzo* in the finale (mm.160-75, in C

---

<sup>92</sup> Similar criticisms were launched at the finale for its trivial use of military music by German critics: see Peter Guelke, *Zur Neuauflage der Sinfonie Nr. 5* (Stuttgart: Metzler; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000), 56-7; Kinderman, 129; Alexander Ulibischeff, *Beethoven—ses critiques et ses glossateurs* (Leipzig: Brokhaus, 1859), 205.

<sup>93</sup> In a later article, Berlioz stated that when Beethoven's symphonies were performed several times in the large Opera hall, the finale created no ill effect at all. Berlioz, "The Current State of the Art of Singing," *Journal des Débats*, Feb. 6, 1853; *ATC*, 94.

minor in the development section). Despite his concerns, Berlioz states that audiences have learned to appreciate Beethoven's Fifth Symphony with "torrents of enthusiasm."

Berlioz at once remains original to his own ideals and focus, while also echoing his German Romantic counterparts in celebrating the novelties of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. Berlioz's own concept of the prolonged effects of the finale indirectly reflects Hoffmann's notion of hearing the last chords continue indefinitely after the symphony is over, underlining his promotion of music as the most infinite of the arts with links to the Absolute (see Chapter I).<sup>94</sup> Today, Beethoven's Fifth is often placed at a crossroads between Romantic expression and classicism.<sup>95</sup> To Berlioz, however, the Fifth Symphony is clearly a watershed work, unprecedented in the novelty of its orchestration, its rigorous use of thematic transformation, and its range of romantic expression into extremes. He seizes the opportunity to play on its popularity with Parisian audiences as an inroad to promoting the Fifth as a Romantic work.

The Seventh Symphony, A major, op. 92 (1811-12)<sup>96</sup>

Like his essay on the Fifth Symphony, Berlioz's essay on the Seventh Symphony discusses Beethoven's original use of the full range of the modes of action to create a diversity of highly dramatic effects and mixed modes of expression. To this end, Berlioz's musical narrative largely focusses on Beethoven's transformations of the technical and orchestral modes in terms of thematic fragmentation (by expansion or contraction) enhanced by ambiguous or

---

<sup>94</sup> E.T.A. Hoffmann, 84-94; Robin Wallace, *Beethoven's Critics*, 45-52.

<sup>95</sup> Kinderman, 131

<sup>96</sup> Original article C298, *RGM* February 11, 1838; English translations from *AM*, 25-9.

unconventional harmonies and innovative orchestration. Moreover, Berlioz's technical and aesthetic discussion is integrated with his focus on "expression." In the Seventh Symphony, the emphasis is on Beethoven's creation of kaleidoscopic dramatic effects, similar to his discussion of the Fifth Symphony, enhanced by a new focus on audience reception.

For Berlioz, Beethoven's original treatment of the modes of action reaches beyond the scope of classical techniques to create a diverse interplay of expressions that arouses intense "fascination and enthusiasm" in the listener. As with the Fifth Symphony, Beethoven's orchestration is for Berlioz the main force that electrifies the novel treatment of the four technical modes to create opposing moods of dramatic action and lyric reflection. The effect is modern poetic expression. This is illustrated, he states, in the opening bars of the lengthy introductory *Poco sostenuto* of the first movement, where a staccato chordal blast is followed immediately by silence from which emerges the long, thin notes of a solo oboe, accompanied only by the clarinet and bassoon. Here the lyrical transparent quality of the oboe melody juxtaposed with Beethoven's dramatic orchestral tutti illustrates Berlioz's aesthetic of mixed modes.

Berlioz is drawn to Beethoven's "ingenious" orchestration that frequently changes timbres, enhancing the "myriad guises" of harmony and the main theme, with its strongly marked ostinato rhythm. For example, Beethoven's orchestration enhances the unusual transition (mm. 53-62, musical example 7) between the introduction and the *Vivace* where, Berlioz states, the "note E, dominant of the tonic A, is brought back and becomes the subject of an interplay of tone colours between the violins and flutes, similar to the one that opens the finale of the *Eroica*."

53

Musical score for measures 53-100. The score is for a full orchestra. The instruments listed on the left are Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Horn (Cor.), Trumpet (Tr.), and Trombone (Tp.). The woodwinds and strings play a complex rhythmic pattern. The woodwinds have dynamic markings of *ff*, *p*, and *ff*. The strings have dynamic markings of *ff*, *sf*, *p*, and *ff*. The score is in 2/4 time and features a key signature of one sharp (F#).

Musical score for measures 101-104. The score is for a full orchestra. The instruments listed on the left are Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Horn (Cor.), and Basses (Bassi). The woodwinds play a complex rhythmic pattern. The woodwinds have dynamic markings of *sempre p*, *cresc.*, and *p*. The strings have dynamic markings of *p*, *cresc.*, and *p*. The score is in 2/4 time and features a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo marking *Vivace. ♩.: 101.* is present above the woodwinds, and *Vivace. ♩.: 104.* is present above the strings.

This single E is unaccompanied, though exchanged between winds (flutes and oboes) and strings (violins) until it finally becomes the first note of the principal theme of the *Vivace*. This allows Beethoven to seamlessly pivot between the two sections (by a half cadence). Berlioz's focus, however, highlights the multifaceted effects of Beethoven's orchestration on the repeated single E (dominant note), which alternates tones and timbres. He notes this passage is similar to the opening passage of the *Eroica* finale (musical example 4) – where similarly there is the interaction of alternating tone colours between violins and flutes on a recurrent dominant note.

In the second movement, *Allegretto*, Berlioz focusses on Beethoven's development of rhythm that generates melody and is enhanced by alterations to instrumentation, which effect a mixture of expressions, moving from "sadness and mystery," a soft "kind of lament," and a "convulsive wail," to patience and resignation. A simple rhythmic motive (that begins in m. 3, played by violas, cellos and bass), "a dactyl followed by a spondee, struck without cease," is the chief source of Beethoven's series of variations, which create diverse and unusual expressions. In particular, the rhythm furnishes the principal theme of a "short episodic fugue with two subjects in the strings" (beginning in m. 183, a fugal development of the principal theme, variation four).<sup>97</sup> This section is followed by a retransition (m. 210) that builds to an unprecedented crescendo (*ff* at m. 214), where Beethoven gradually increases the dynamics and orchestral texture by sonorous instrumental doublings (horns, oboes, and clarinets) and added instruments (notably trumpet):<sup>98</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> Lockwood identifies this movement as a rondo: A'B' A2 B2 coda, with this section as A2. Lockwood, 235.

<sup>98</sup> In his *Traité*, Berlioz cites a later passage in this movement (beginning in m.174) to illustrate Beethoven's novel development of the "*piano* possibilities" of the trumpet: ideal for "vigorous, violent and lofty feelings as well as most tragic accents" (*TI*, 285). In his essay, the significance of the trumpet

The rhythmic phrase keeps rising from octave to octave until it reaches the first violins; they transmit it by way of a crescendo to the winds in the upper regions of the orchestra, where it explodes with full force (*AM*, 27).

Then, in the next instance, he varies the main rhythmic theme from this high dramatic expression into a soft restatement of the “songful lament” (beginning in m. 225, reprise of second theme, Trio-like section) as a continuous rhythmic pulse orchestrated in the basses, against “incompatible rhythms” that “compete harshly one against the other.” Lewis Lockwood calls this movement a “dramatization of spatial form.”<sup>99</sup> Similarly, Berlioz focusses on Beethoven’s treatment of his two themes (the main rhythmic theme and the “songful lament”) by a variety of instrumentation and orchestral textures that creates dramatic expression.

In the *Allegretto*, Berlioz largely focuses on Beethoven’s original approach of treating the strings as the driving force of expression. Lyricism is created largely by letting the ostinato rhythm unfold at a soft, transparent dynamic while also diffusing fragmented thematic material with lightly scored orchestration (see section 3 of the coda, beginning in m. 255), whereby individual instrumental sections colour the increasingly fragmented motives until the final faint tones in the flutes and oboes with *pizzicato* violins fade out into silence. Berlioz includes this passage in his *Traité* to illustrate how the A clarinet lends a lyrical “plaintive” character to the melody. By contrast, Beethoven gradually layers instrumental sections that take the ostinato rhythmic motive “from octave to octave” to create full orchestral force (as in variation 3, beginning at m. 75).

---

is implied in his describing how the “upper regions of the orchestra” create an explosive crescendo, like “tears, sobs, entreaties” that expresses a “boundless sorrow, an all-consuming anguish.”

<sup>99</sup>Lockwood, 235.

Beethoven's innovative harmonic transformations contribute to the symphony's mixed mode expression, particularly, Berlioz notes, by his unusual resolutions or sudden, bold harmonic shifts. For example, in the *Vivace* of the first movement, Beethoven avoids the expected resolution of a  $\text{II6-5}$  chord (AC#E F# in E+) at m. 160-2. Here Berlioz illustrates Beethoven's original treatment of harmony, which creates the poetic effect of a gap in comprehension:

The harmonic effect most criticized by the guardians of the school doctrine, and at the same time the most felicitous, is the resolution of the dissonance in the six-five chord above the subdominant note (A) in the key of E-natural. The dissonant second – a very loud tremolo in the first and second violins – is resolved in a completely new way: the E could have been sustained and the F-sharp raised to G, or else the F-sharp continued and the E lowered to D. Beethoven does neither. Without changing the bass, he joins the two dissonant notes in an octave on F-natural, lowering the F-sharp a semitone and the E a major seventh. The abrupt shift from *forte* to *piano*, at the precise moment of this remarkable harmonic transformation, heightens its distinct character and redoubles its charm (*AM*, 26-7).

In other words, Beethoven's double alteration to both the E and the F# resolve to F natural, which creates a Neapolitan chord ( $\text{bII6}$ ) that next moves to the expected dominant-tonic harmonic motion. Similar to Hugo's idea of complementary opposites, Berlioz hears the 'gap' effected by disruptions to an expected musical process: the momentary delayed motion to the dominant (V of E+, m. 163, by way of the Neapolitan), enhanced by dramatic dynamic shifts from *ff* (the  $\text{II65}$ ) to use of rests and *pp* (on the Neapolitan). Beethoven's incomplete or sudden harmonic resolutions also create lyrical expressions of the indefinite, as moments of "uncertainty" or of the "unexpected" creating and the "impression of dreamy sadness."

Berlioz also illustrates Beethoven's novel treatment of harmony to create dramatic effects in the finale, *Allegro con brio* (mm. 386, bass line alternates E to D-sharp; section 4 of the recapitulation). Here Berlioz revels in how Beethoven's "harmonic boldness" breaks expected rules, yet creates "piquant modulations" that extend a "menacing" double pedal point on B (V of

E) against a D-sharp, before the coda. At times, a D-natural is heard in the high registers against a D-sharp in the lower strings, as part of the seventh chord. Berlioz observes, “one might think this would result in a dreadful dissonance, or at least in harmonic muddle. But nothing of the kind happens, for such is the tonal strength of the dominant that the D-sharp does not adulterate it in any way; one hears only the insistent humming of the E.” From this discord emerges harmonic clarity as a stable (E, V of A Major) harmony. Berlioz’s praise of this effect implies a stab at those who made “corrections” or “improvements” to Beethoven’s score (as discussed in Chapter I): “Beethoven did not write his music *for the eye*.” The effect of Beethoven’s modern expression, Berlioz implies, is to be experienced as an art of listening.

The Seventh Symphony, like the Fifth, illustrates Beethoven’s integration of ingeniously treated modes, notably his radical treatment of rhythm, harmony, and instrumentation, which create a broad range of dramatic and lyrical expression. Berlioz observes that Beethoven’s modern orchestration has transformed the role of the classical orchestra: by his novel approach to the strings, particularly in the second movement; and by his use of solo woodwind instruments, notably the oboe and clarinet. The interplay of Beethoven’s technical innovations combines to create new heights of expression in its broad diversity of mixed modes, ranging from a combination of grand dramatic gesture with lyrical and transparent textures. Largely for Berlioz, the Seventh illustrates musical process as continual and unexpected transformation, created by the “myriad guises” of melody, harmony, rhythm, and orchestration.

#### IV The Modern Pittoresque Sixth Symphony

In his essay on Beethoven’s *Pastoral* Symphony, Berlioz conveys his own broad notion of modern program music – as the descriptive or *pittoresque* – in its unique development of the

four aesthetic principles of modern musical imitation: the effect of the imitation is artistic; it complements the central poetic idea; the fidelity of the direct imitation is appropriate within the context of the work, and as a reflection of the composer's intention; and sentimental imitation is conceived as subjective *expression*. Here he builds on his concepts of the role of musical imitation in creating metaphorical expression, as outlined in his two-part essay, "De l'imitation musicale" (C225 and C226), which precedes his 1837 *Gazette* essays on Beethoven's symphonies.<sup>100</sup> Reflective of Hugo's notion of nature, Berlioz promotes Beethoven's musical expression as representing nature by a mixture of elements – both the mimetic and indefinite – to create analogous impressions.

In the *Pastoral*, Berlioz observes that the elements of musical imitation are largely dramatic effects that range from the musical imitation of a storm and bird calls, to the less explicit suggestions of pastoral life, enhanced by Beethoven's inclusion of poetic titles. These *effets dramatiques* combine with contrasting elements, notably analogous impressions and sensations that Berlioz perceives as Beethoven's personal response to nature. The intermingling of dramatic effects with subjective impressions complements the expression of a central *idée musicale* to create a poetic portrait of the sensual and sublime. To this end, Berlioz promotes the *Pastoral* within his five principles of the poetic in music: 1) a loosening of traditions of musical imitation; 2) a harkening back to past eras, particularly with reminiscences of first era of poetry; 3) the suppression of a chronological narrative by use of poetic "episodes"; 4) contrasting

---

<sup>100</sup> Berlioz understands Beethoven's symphony within his own traditions of French music, which did not follow the German tradition of "characteristic symphony." As discussed in the opening of this chapter, French traditions of musical imitation were largely directed to instrumental music for use in opera, church, or in the salon.

elements of imitation, as direct or analogy, to create mixed mode expression; and, 5) originality as the personal expression of a poetic idea.

Beethoven's original technical and orchestral developments express through music a diversity of images and emotions. These interplay with programmatic elements that indicate the musical inspiration and the poetic interpretation of the music. In this regard, program music is both drama (the interpretation and process) and poetic idea (musical inspiration) to Berlioz, while Beethoven's marriage of the indefinite expression of instrumental music with literary elements represents the height of expressive power. Berlioz's discussion of the Sixth Symphony reflects the broad aims and limitations of program music that characterize his own symphonic compositions, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Ultimately, Beethoven's combination of musical imitation and analogous dramatic effects into multi-levels of sensory and visual imagery creates for him a poetic musical tapestry that opens a new world of imagination:

Of certain other compositions one may say that they represent a broad expanse or infinity itself, because the composer has been able to suggest to the ear, through the breadth of his melodies, the grandeur and clarity of the harmony and the majesty of the rhythm – all of these being set off by contrary effects – impressions analogous to those a climber might feel on the summit of a mountain when beholding in space the splendid panorama suddenly unrolled before his eyes. And here, too, the truth of the image will appear only if the listener has taken the pains to inform himself ahead of time about the subject treated by the musician.<sup>101</sup>

Here Berlioz advocates modern poetic thought as a musical-literary fusion that allows for a wide range of expression ranging from mimesis to musical metaphor. In this light, Berlioz promotes Beethoven's Sixth Symphony as a mixture of literature, poetic references, and poetry unfolding a musical process of kaleidoscopic shifting – between ambiguous moods and atmospheres, the

---

<sup>101</sup> Berlioz, "On Imitation in Music," 45.

literal and mimetic, and different temporalities. To Berlioz, Beethoven's orchestral techniques supercede an analogy to the visual arts in that they "paint" various textures, tones, and timbres, in ways that also capture multi-sensory responses to the programmatic indications, while conveying the romantic concept of nature as a wide canvas of dramatical pictorial scenes, pastoral impressions, and contemplative-lyrical moments.<sup>102</sup>

In Berlioz's "Critical Study," the *Pastoral* is *la musique pittoresque*, defined as the interweaving of a range of physical and expressive styles of musical imitation to invoke visual imagery and poetic imagination. Reflective of Berlioz's concept of the symphony, Richard Will states that the *Pastoral* represents a more general type of "character" symphony that combines multiple *topoi* or affects, and juxtaposes the dualisms of meaning and indefiniteness, the objective and the subjective alike.<sup>103</sup> However, as discussed earlier in this chapter, Berlioz does not emerge from this German tradition; rather, he understands the *Pastoral* as an outgrowth of French traditions of musical imitation.

To Berlioz, Beethoven's instrumentation is the driving force of his modern mixture of modes. He focuses on Beethoven's exploitation of the inherent qualities of particular instruments to create new effects, which may either bolster the expressivity of melodic lines or create unusual accompaniment figures by novel combinations. Reflective of his goals of modern musical imitation as set out in his "De l'imitation musicale," Berlioz values Beethoven's transcendence of mere physical or sentimental imitation to create scenic episodes. These episodes

---

<sup>102</sup> Berlioz, "On Imitation in Music," 37: here Berlioz promotes music above the other arts, since "painting... cannot encroach on the domain of music; but music can by its own means act upon the imagination in such a way as to engender sensations analogous to those produced by graphic art."

<sup>103</sup> Richard Will, "Time, Morality, and Humanity in Beethoven's 'Pastoral' Symphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50 (1997): 271–329.

unfold a series of expressions ranging from the lyrical sublime to the dramatic storm. Important to Berlioz, this rainbow of musical impressions coheres like poetic verses to the symphony's central poetic idea: true nature represented by both man's nature and the pittoresque. In Berlioz's words, "this is Nature as she really is." Here is the modern poetic in music as a reflection of Hugo's notion of nature. To create this mixed mode expression of nature, mimetic expression is raised to an artistic level that contributes to Beethoven's multiple levels of physical and sentimental expression.

Berlioz defends Beethoven's use of mimesis – the birdcalls and the storm scene – by invoking all four of the conditions that he set out in his "De l'imitation musicale." As discussed earlier in this chapter, these mimetic moments are a "complement" to the main poetic idea; they are "worthy" topics; they clearly represent what they intend to portray; and, they lend important contrast to expressions of emotion. For example, Berlioz addresses Beethoven's "direct imitation of the song of birds" that are heard separately and together at the end of the *Andante molto moto* (in m.129), and that he indicated on the score as the nightingale, quail, and the cuckoo (musical example 8).<sup>104</sup> The birdcalls are formulaic mimetic devices, he says, adding that the nightingale is impossible to imitate, the quail and the cuckoo impossible not to. Here Beethoven's physical imitation illustrates two of Berlioz's conditions for modern imitation: as artistically created effects, they also add an appropriate element within the context of the overall poetical musical expression:

If, however, Beethoven is to be accused of childishness for giving us a direct imitation of the song of birds in a scene where all the peaceful voices of heaven and earth and waters are naturally to be found, I would reply that the same objection can be raised when he

---

<sup>104</sup>Berlioz calls this movement an *Adagio*.

imitates just as closely the wind, thunder and lightning, and the lowing of cattle in a storm. And god knows, it has never occurred to a critic to find fault with the storm in the *Pastoral Symphony* (*AM*, 23).

Beethoven's birdcalls mark a significant formal shift, separating the first two symphonic movements from the last three programmatic movements of unbroken narrative. The three

Example 8: *Pastoral Symphony*, *Scene by the brook*, mm. 129-33.

129

The image displays a musical score for the first movement of Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony*, specifically the section from measures 129 to 133. The score is arranged in a system with multiple staves. On the left side, there are several staves for strings and woodwinds. The right side features staves for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), and Cor (Cor.).

Key annotations include:

- Nachtigall.** (Nightingale) written above the first staff on the left, with a *cresc.* (crescendo) marking below it.
- Wachtel.** (Quail) written above the Oboe staff, with a *cresc.* marking below it.
- Kukuk.** (Cuckoo) written above the Clarinet staff.
- Dynamic markings such as *p* (piano) and *arco.* (arco) are present in the lower staves.

The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and articulation marks, illustrating the birdcalls and the overall texture of the music.

birdcalls foreshadow his storm by shifting from the mood of contemplation, with the cyclical or recapitulated themes and slow harmonic rhythms of the first two movements, into a mood of present, linear action of the last three.<sup>105</sup> Berlioz understands this shift as part of Beethoven's mixed modes:

What today we call melody, harmony, the combination of various timbres, instrumental colour, and modulations, the masterly clash of discordant sounds that battle one another only to embrace later the surprises to the ear, the uncommon accents that reverberate in the deepest unexplored recesses of our souls...It is beautiful and all-powerful (*AM*, 25).

Here Berlioz praises the *Pastoral* for its “beautiful and all-powerful” combinations of modes, juxtapositions of opposite sounds and expressions (“discordant sounds,” “surprises,” and “deepest unexplored recesses of our souls”). In this light, Beethoven's bird-calls are an important element that collides and colludes within Beethoven's orchestral tapestry.<sup>106</sup> More specifically, as elements of direct imitation, they create a complementary opposing effect to the mood of contemplation that permeates the movement, created by “the indefiniteness of instrumental music,” and the “impression” of “the composer” who is “lying on the grass, gazing at the sky.”

Berlioz explored a similar juxtaposition of the direct imitation of bird calls with an indirect expression of reverie in his *Symphonie Fantastique*, where a clarinet imitates a bird that foreshadows doom in the coda to his *Marche au supplice* (2 m. after rehearsal 59, before the fall of the guillotine). To Berlioz, Beethoven's realistic birdcalls oppose the “indefiniteness” of the reverie. Similarly, Berlioz's bird song is a plaintive transformation of the symphony's *idée fixe*

---

<sup>105</sup> Will, 325.

<sup>106</sup> Berlioz notes that the highly variable song of the nightingale, however, can never be truly imitated. “On Imitation in Music,” 39-40.

into a dreamy, improvisatory-like melody that contrasts with the bold rhythms and mimetic quality of the march that precedes it. Yet, unlike Beethoven's birds that represent reality, Berlioz's birdcall represents a dream that at once links the past, present and future: it recalls images and memories of the protagonist's beloved; foreshadows impending doom (marked by a realistic jolt of the drum rolls), and marks the immediate drop of the guillotine, followed by the boisterous fanfare. He uses this technique to narrate an interior landscape of a specific programmatically implied protagonist in first person, which differs from what he understands as Beethoven's poetic narrative expression in the third-person within an exterior – but perhaps universally understood – symbolic landscape.

Berlioz praises the orchestration of Beethoven's descriptive *orage* that follows, specifically his orchestral doublings that sweep across various sections (beginning in m. 100) with the first violins doubled with the cellos:

Listen to these gusts of wind heavy with rain, the muffled roaring of the basses and the shrill whistling of the piccolos warning of a dreadful storm about to break. The tempest comes nearer; a tremendous chromatic run, starting from high up, plunges into the lowest depths of the orchestra, seizes the basses and drags them along in its wake as it rises again, shuddering like a whirlwind that sweeps all before it. Next the trombones explode, and the thunder of the timpani redoubles in violence (*AM*, 24).

Two specific passages of the storm movement are cited in his *Traité* to illustrate Beethoven's exploitation of the inherent inabilities of particular instruments. One is the example of the low "rumbling sounds" (beginning in m. 45) that result from Beethoven's ambitious writing for the double basses, which asks them to clearly articulate notes "which they cannot execute" (*TI*, 120). Another example signals Beethoven's use of the piccolo's natural ability to be "loud and penetrating" in its high range, which is especially effective "in fortissimo for violent and incisive effects," such as found in the third section of the "storm" (beginning in m. 93) where the piccolos

replicate the “whistling of a storm not yet fully chained” (*TI*, 236). Beethoven brings instrumental reinforcements to his employ of the “entire mass of the orchestra,” which here includes the forceful layering of trombone and timpani timbres (beginning in m.107) in highly chromatic passages linking diminished harmonies. As we will see in Chapter IV, Berlioz develops a similar instrumental layering technique to emphasize his melodic treatment. In his essay on the *Pastoral* Symphony, Berlioz notes that the instrumental layering in this passage effects a combination of terror and beauty that illustrates “the degree of truth and sublimity that descriptive music can reach in the hands of a man like Beethoven.”

Sentimental expression is developed to modern heights of expression in the “Merry Gathering of Peasants,” where Beethoven’s unusual juxtapositions of sentiments and title suggest a scene of human activity and emotions in the landscape. In particular, Beethoven combines the joyful expression of a legato oboe melody (beginning in m. 91), which is like a “young girl dressed in her Sunday best,” with an unique bassoon accompaniment that merely alternates between the tonic and dominant notes (at m. 95), which seems to characterize an old German peasant. This passage is included in his *Traité* as an illustration of Beethoven’s novel doubling of the bassoon with other wind instruments. In his essay, he discusses how this combination of “characters” creates a humorous effect that is enhanced by various treatments of modulation, harmony, and rhythm: while the melody modulates, the bassoon remains silent, but returns with its accompaniment once the original key returns (m.103). Like a true peasant, the bassoon accompaniment is limited in range but seems enthusiastic in execution, which to Berlioz creates a “splendidly grotesque” effect that “seems to escape the public’s notice almost completely.” This personification of instruments is central to Berlioz’s promotion of Beethoven’s modern

instrumentation (similar to his essays on the Fifth and Seventh Symphonies), which is conveyed in terms of “theatrical casting” – a concept that infuses Berlioz’s *Traité* and his own compositions.

Despite his hesitation to criticize this “poem of Beethoven’s,” he voices some objections to two “stylistic oddities.” One involves the orchestration of some incompatible rhythmic clashes in the “storm” (mm. 21-33). This passage, in F minor, contains swift melodic and harmonic changes with five-against-four rhythms, which signal the growing instability and unpredictability of the ominous storm, and is cut short by an unsettling B-flat minor chord (m. 33). His objection to this may reflect an instrumentation issue he would raise in his *Traité*: in this complex rhythmic passage, the “lumbering sound” of the double basses in combination with their slower rhythm, suggests an image of them running behind the quicker cello part, “unable to merge into a true unison.” His second objection is to orchestral doublings that create discordant sounds, particularly the use of horns in the opening of the *Allegretto* finale (Berlioz’s “The peasants giving thanks for the return of fair weather,” mm. 1-9). This movement opens with a clarinet melody that is built on an arpeggiated C major chord (the dominant), harmonized with dominant harmony. A horn repeats the opening dominant-arpeggiated melody but now the C major arpeggiated melody rides above the sustained notes of the tonic chord (F major). Here Berlioz objects to the dissonance created by the “C chord while the strings hold an F chord.” Despite these questionable passages, Berlioz feels that their inappropriateness is inconsequential within the context of the whole symphony, which is an intoxicating experience of a full range of torrents, soft songs, spirits, and magnificent horrors.

For Berlioz, Beethoven's originality is chiefly expressed in the freedom and the range of expressiveness that he gains by his programmatic development of physical and sentimental musical imitation into a modern expression of mixed modes, to create what Berlioz calls here "the art of sounds," or what we would now consider to be modern program music. The *Pastoral* allows Berlioz to illustrate how the poetic in music as original technical treatment of the nine modes of action creates a picturesque portrayal of nature as a "world of feelings and sensations." Beethoven's mixture of these expressions supports his promotion of the superior expressive power of program music. To Berlioz, Beethoven's modern musical imitation of nature speaks from his deep subjectivity to a diversity of audience perspectives, rather than as an imitation of the isolated and refined representations of nature conveyed in French musical traditions. In the context of Berlioz's aesthetic, this signifies art as a mirror, one that reflects nature and reality. As such, Berlioz promotes the *Pastoral* as an original musical "poem."

The Ninth Symphony in D minor, Op. 125, "Choral" (1824) <sup>107</sup>

Berlioz assesses the "general plan" of the Ninth Symphony as a "vast musical poem" and Beethoven's most original composition, which goes "beyond the point he had reached with the orchestra's resources alone" in his previous symphonies by adding "voices to his instruments." For the first time in the "Critical Study," Berlioz's primary focus is on form, which he projects as a symbiotic relationship between technical developments and unprecedented aesthetic expression. Berlioz's musical narrative emphasizes the importance of lyric melody and thematic transformation in unfolding Beethoven's original musical process. To this end, Berlioz discusses

---

<sup>107</sup> English translations for this section are largely from *AM*, 31-37.

the “plan” of the Ninth as an integration of lyric expression in a dramatic symphonic form, made possibly by two ingenious inventions – the *loi du crescendo* (law of crescendo); and the *pont* or a *passage* (a bridge or transition):

But in order to observe the *law of crescendo* and set off the power of this additional force, was it not necessary to let the instruments by themselves occupy the foreground of the panorama he proposed to unfold?

Berlioz’s “law of crescendo” is a term that refers to the accumulation of texture, force, and expressive effects created by the integration of the vocal and symphonic elements. Beethoven’s symphony is conveyed as an end-weighted structure, in which the melodic material gradually expands and finally culminates in the joy theme, enhanced by the increased force and texture of the voices joining the orchestra. On another level, “law of crescendo” may be extended to Berlioz’s aesthetic value of originality and artistic evolution. In this light, to Berlioz, the Ninth Symphony represents the height of Beethoven’s creative evolution. To this end, Berlioz’s technical discussion focuses on Beethoven’s development of all five key principles of the poetic on a monumental scale: an integration of mixed genres (vocal and symphonic); a mixture of musical traditions ( sacred and secular, representing Hugo’s three stages of poetry); an emphasis on mixed modes of expression; a diversity of theatrical perspectives; and a moral purpose in Beethoven’s overarching poetic idea, which is joy.

For Berlioz, form – as both structure and expression – is largely determined by melodic impulse, specifically Beethoven’s unusual treatment of variation. For example, in the third movement, *Adagio cantabile*, Berlioz underscores Beethoven’s treatment of the *Adagio* melody by otherwise standard processes of variation and ornamentation. Beethoven’s thematic treatment unfolds an “unusual structure” that Berlioz states is more discernable from score study and

repeated listenings:

In the *Adagio cantabile*, the principle of unity is so little observed that it might be regarded as two distinct movements rather than one. The first melody, in B-flat and in common time, is followed by one in D major, absolutely different from the first, and in triple meter. The first theme, slightly changed and varied by the first violins, makes a second appearance in the original key, bringing back the melody in triple time without change or variation, but in the key of G major. After this, the first theme becomes solidly established and no longer allows the rival phrase to share the listener's attention (*AM*, 33).

In this passage, Berlioz states that “the principle of unity is so little observed.” Here it is unclear what Berlioz means by breaking “unity.” As Bartoli observes, Berlioz was well aware of the importance of melodic unity from his studies with Anton Reicha, a practice he himself employs in his own compositions.<sup>108</sup> He may be referring to the treatment of the alternating “rival” themes: one is varied, the other merely modulates. The main *Adagio* theme (B-flat Major, in 4/4, mm. 3-24) appears in two variations (mm. 43-64; 99-120), with the second variation preceded by a transitional passage (E-flat Major, mm. 83-98) and followed by a coda (mm. 121-157). The “rival” theme, marked *Andante moderato* in 3/4 time, appears only twice (D Major, mm. 25-42; G Major, mm. 65-82).<sup>109</sup> Berlioz initially ascribes a variation process to the main melody, but then he describes Beethoven's treatment of this theme in terms of development, which leads him

---

<sup>108</sup> Bartoli, “Beethoven, Shakespeare, and Berlioz's *Scène d'amour*,” 147-8.

<sup>109</sup> Tovey refers to the “rival” theme as an “alternative theme,” while Schenker uses “Zwischenthema.” See Donald Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), vol. 2, 28-35; Heinrich Schenker, *Beethovens neunte Sinfonie, eine Darstellung des musikalischen Inhalts unter fortlaufender Berücksichtigung auch des Vortrages und Literatur* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1912), 375; Schenker, *Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: a Portrayal of its Musical Content, with Running Commentary on Performance and Literature*, translated and edited by John Rothgeb (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), online: <http://mt.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/schenker>. Both Tovey and Schenker describe this movement as a theme and variation form, and note that this form originated with Haydn. Today we would call this an “alternating variation”; see: Elaine R. Sisman, “Tradition and Transformation in the Alternating Variations of Haydn and Beethoven,” *Acta Musicologica* 62 (May–December 1990): 152-82.

to hear the form of the movement as an “*Adagio* and episode,” which together “might be regarded as two distinct movements rather than one.” Thus, the “*Adagio*” is a variation process of the main theme that includes a “rival” theme (mm. 1-82: main theme, second theme, first variation, and repeat of second theme). Yet, midway through the movement (mm. 83-157), Berlioz hears the transition, second variation of the main theme, and coda like an “episode” of melodic development. As such, he hears a disruption of the “principle of unity” as an alteration to the variation process. Here is another example of Berlioz’s emphasis on the sound and effect, rather than on understanding the movement according to a theoretical analysis of its form. As we will see in Chapter IV, his study of this movement is strongly influenced in his own *Adagio* (*Scène d’amour*) in his *Roméo et Juliette*.

In the finale, Berlioz addresses the essential issue of the symphony: the moment when the voices join with the orchestra. To create his “mixed type of music,” Berlioz states, Beethoven links the “two great sections of the symphony” by a *pont* (bridge), a point in the finale where an “instrumental recitative” creates a “bridge” to “chorus and orchestra, whereby the instruments crossed over to join the voice.” Berlioz’s concept of Beethoven’s “bridge” (see Table I) encompasses the two massive introductory orchestral sections: the orchestral introduction (mm. 1-91, D minor to D major) and the orchestral theme and three variations (mm. 92-207). Beginning with the orchestral introduction (mm. 1-91, D minor to D major), he largely focusses on melodic fragmentation, unusual harmony and instrumentation.

Table I: Beethoven’s Symphony No. 9, Finale: Berlioz’s Concept of “Bridge”

*ritornello*, “excessive effect” (*Presto*, mm. 1-8)  
 Recitative in cellos and basses with Recall of three earlier themes, with  
 anticipation of Joy theme (Reminiscences and Recitatives, mm. 9-91)

- Orchestral Theme and Variations  
 (Theme and Three Variations, mm. 92-207)  
 Furious *ritornello* “terrible cacophony”  
 ( Introduction, D minor, mm. 208-15)  
 Baritone solo recitative on “Beethoven’s own words”  
 (Introduction, mm. 216-36)

First he describes an “excessive effect” that creates a “harsh and violent cry of rage” in the *ritornello* (later famously termed by Wagner as the *Schreckensfanfare* or horror passage) in the *Presto* introduction (mm. 1-8):<sup>110</sup>

We have now come to the moment when the voices are about to join the orchestra. The cellos and double-basses utter the recitative...after a *ritornello* in the winds as harsh and violent as a cry of rage. The tonic six-three chord – F, A, D– that opens the *Presto* is disfigured by a simultaneous B-flat appoggiatura on the flutes, oboes, and clarinets. This sixth note of the scale of D minor grates horribly against the dominant and creates an exceedingly harsh effect (*AM*, 34).

The *ritornello*, he states, is a “harsh and violent cry of rage” in the winds on a tonic I 64 (first inversion, Berlioz calls this a I63 chord – FAD), which is “disfigured by a simultaneous B flat appoggiatura on the flutes, oboes and clarinets” because the “sixth note” (B) grates against the dominant (A). Berlioz attempts to explain this “bizarre caprice” with “slandering instrumental harmony” within the context of mixed modes: as if the “composer, before saying through his soloist, ‘Let us sing more pleasant songs,’ wanted in some strange way to give instrumental harmony a bad name. If so, he soon seems to regret it...” This terrible outburst, then, prepares us for the welcome contrast of an instrumental recitative marked “Selon le caractère d’un récitatif, mais in tempo.” Here Berlioz suggests Beethoven’s message of “regret” for the previous discords because the bridge now recalls “fragments of the three earlier movements” (mm. 30-8, of mvt. I;

---

<sup>110</sup> Nicholas Cook, *Beethoven: Symphony No. 9* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 35-6. Cook’s analysis refers to Wagner’s depiction of this chord as a *Schreckensfanfare*.

mm. 48-55, of mvt. II; and mm. 63-4, of mvt. III) that represent “memories close to his heart.” Berlioz notes that these fragments are intermingled with successive phrases of the recitative in the cellos and basses (mm.38-47; mm.56-62; mm.65-76), which eventually transform into the joy theme (anticipated mm. 77-80).<sup>111</sup>

Significantly, Berlioz suggests a notion of inclusion (the fragmented themes represent cherished memories that reconfigure into the joy theme). This concept departs from general analysis of the recalled themes as “cast-offs” that Beethoven rejects until presentation of the joy theme (anticipation, *Allegro assai*, D major, mm. 77-80).<sup>112</sup> Rather, Berlioz parallels Michael Tusa’s recent analysis of Beethoven’s recall device as a compression of the first three movements into the recalled themes that are “integrated,” expanded and eventually combined as the new joy theme.<sup>113</sup>

Berlioz next refers to the second section of the finale, the orchestral theme and three variations on the joy theme (mm. 92-115). The theme emerges “surrounded by exquisite chords, the beautiful theme which the voices will soon sing to Schiller’s *Ode*.” In the three variations that follow (mm. 116-139; 140-63; 164-87), Berlioz describes the effective transformations of the theme by instrumentation (moving the theme from low basses to high violins and winds) and increasing orchestral texture that alters the mood and character of the theme: where “this serene and gentle song grows lively and brilliant as it moves from the basses (variation 1), where it is first heard, to the violins and winds” (variation 3). Next, Berlioz observes a reprise of the

---

<sup>111</sup> Reminiscences of the first movement (mm. 30-8); second (mm. 48-55); and third (63-4).

<sup>112</sup> Marston, 214-8.

<sup>113</sup> Michael C. Tusa, “Noch eimal: Form and Content in the Finale of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony,” *Beethoven Forum* 7 (1991), 130.

“slanderous harmony” found in the previous instrumental *ritornello*, which refers to the

Introduction of the Choral Finale (mm. 208-215):

Then, after a sudden interruption, the entire orchestra takes up the furious *ritornello* mentioned above, and which now heralds the vocal recitative. The first chord is again built over an F that should normally underpin a six-three chord (second inversion, I64) and does so. But this time the composer does not content himself with the B-flat appoggiatura; he adds G, E, and C-sharp, so that *all the notes of the minor diatonic scale* (Berlioz’s italics) are struck simultaneously and produce a terrible cacophony of sounds: F, A, C-sharp, E, G, B-flat and D.... But as for understanding Beethoven’s intention here, I am utterly baffled (*AM*, 34).

As with the first *ritornello*, Berlioz is “baffled” as to the reason behind Beethoven’s fusion of “all the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic intervals.” Moreover, he cannot understand the appearance of this “terrible cacophony” in the two moments preceding the instrumental and vocal recitatives. The Introduction – the bridge – extends into a recitative (mm. 216-36, D major) where a baritone soloist sings “Beethoven’s own words” and then “he sings alone the theme of the *Ode to Joy* with light accompaniment of two wind instruments and the strings.”

The Joy theme now predominates the finale in its “various transformations.” Here Berlioz establishes his definition of thematic transformations, in terms of a variation process that creates “a new and distinct nuance of one and the same feeling.”:

This theme is now in command to the very end of the symphony and is always recognizable, though its aspects change continually. These various **transformations** are all the more engrossing that each variation brings out a new and distinct nuance of one and the same feeling: joy (*AM*, 35).

As we will see in Chapter IV, his understanding of Beethoven’s treatment of variation in the Ninth Symphony is reflected in his own *Roméo et Juliette*. In his essay on the Ninth, Berlioz presents to his readers an episodic musical narrative that conveys his poetic concept of its form, unfolding as multi-faceted expressions of a main theme. As illustrated in Table II, Berlioz’s

descriptions of the thematic “transformations” in the Choral Finale also reveal his own thorough understanding of its structure.

Table II: Beethoven’s Symphony No. 9, Finale: Joy Theme as “various transformations”

Refrain A (D major, mm. 327-330):

“Full of gentleness and Peace” (Lyric)

(Variation 4, mm. 237-68; Variation 5, mm. 269-96)

“More lively” with the “women’s voices”

(Variation 6, mm. 297-330)

Orchestral Episode: “Martial” : meter changes from 4/4 to 6/8 with syncopations

(Episode I, B flat major, mm. 331-543)

“Farewell song of a hero,” “rhythmic sound of his step”

(Variation 7, Tenor solo, “alla Turca”)

Orchestral Interlude: “Fugal theme,” “Crowd milling about, full of ardor”

(Double fugato, mm. 431-543)

Refrain B: Chorus “to sing the joyful hymn with vigor,”

(Variation 8, in 6/8, D major, mm. 543-94)

Double Episode 2 and Refrain C: (“Begins in G”)

*Andante maestoso*, “kind of a chorale,” “Joy has become religious and solemn”

“Orchestra alone that produces an organ-like effect,”

(Episode 2a, G major, mm. 595-564)

Chorus resumes with its “great chords” but “less forcefully”

(Episode 2b, returns to V of D, mm. 627-54)

Refrain C: “Allegro in 6/4 time,” “first theme” with

“the chorale of the preceding *Andante*,”

(Double fugue, Variation 9, mm. 655-762, D major)

Coda: Chorus, “religious and tender alternate with the joyful melody”; “accelerates”

“joy triumphs again, the boisterous joy of the people; orgy and ecstasy”

(Part I, *Allegro, ma non tanto*, mm. 763-842)

Orchestra “flinging out” Joy theme

(Part II, *Poco allegro*, mm.843-940)

As we see from Table II, Berlioz's musical narrative, though poetic in execution, illustrates his deep understanding of the structure of Beethoven's Choral Finale. In this regard, he conveys his romantic notion of form as a dramatic structure. Significantly Berlioz does not refer to the vocal text as a "program." Instead, Berlioz understands Beethoven's integration of Schiller's poem with music as a figurative rather than literal guide to the composer's ideas and subjective impressions; in other words, as a metaphorical representation of human emotional responses. He discusses each variation as part of Beethoven's transfiguring reflection on Schiller's poem, offering a narrative reading of each variation that combines musical terminology with images of theatrical characterizations.

Beethoven's range of sounds, Berlioz states, effectively colours his treatment of the joy theme with rapid shifts in styles, which includes flexible tempos and rhythms, dynamics and articulation, and alterations to orchestral texture and instrumentation. For example, in the opening refrain (mm. 327-330), Berlioz notes that the joy theme is at first "full of gentleness and peace," which becomes "more lively" with the added women's voices (variation 6). The following orchestral episode that Berlioz refers to is described as a "stronger character, more agile, more martial," created by altering the meter from 4/4 to 6/8.

Beethoven's shifts in characteristic styles are noted next, for example, in what is referred to today as the "Turkish March" (episode 1 in B flat major: orchestral introduction, mm. 331-76; variation seven, mm. 337-410; 411-31), where a meter change and syncopation make the theme more martial. This becomes the "farewell song of a hero, departing for battle and confident of victory; you can almost see his armour flashing and hear the rhythmic sound of his step." Here Berlioz hears the tenor soloist as an ancient Greek or Medieval hero who is complete with "his

armour flashing.” This image reflects Berlioz’s non-political conception of expression in the *Eroica*. It also mirrors the contemporary French Romantic sentiments of melancholic longing for the honour and chivalry of past times, reflective of Hugo’s concept of reminiscences as an aspect of *la poésie complète*.

The orchestra is personified in the interlude (double fugato section, mm. 431-543), as a character that “revels” in a fugal theme that is set against the joy theme. Berlioz links the interlude with the following Refrain B (variation 8), where the chorus sings the joyful hymn with vigour,” supported by the woodwinds. Here the theme is “criss-crossed in all directions by a diatonic passage from the whole of the string section in unison and in octaves.” Berlioz implies that Beethoven has developed the traditional sacred style of fugato to create a secular expression that sounds “like a crowd milling about.”

Berlioz lingers on the *Andante maestoso* (and *Adagio ma non troppo*, Double Episode 2, G major/G minor, mm. 595-654), where he describes several original elements that imitate sacred music, as a “kind of chorale.” Initially, this is created by low voices (tenors and basses) and instrumentation (one trombone and low strings). The chorus falls silent for a moment, while the orchestra alone produces an “organ-like effect” reminiscent of the Christian church, created by combining low registers of the winds (“*chalmereau* register”), divided violas, cellos on open strings or double-stopped, and ending on a pedal point of the dominant-seventh of D.

In the final section of the symphony (Coda in D major 2/2, mm. 763-940), Beethoven twice alternates a reprise that is “religious and tender” with the joy melody; or, in the passage that directly follows, where the baritone soloist and chorus expands in both texture and tempo to build an effective a crescendo building to “orgy” and “ecstasy,” driven by the percussion

instruments (mm. 832-42, key of B major). The kaleidoscopic transformations of the joy theme conclude with a final *Maestoso* choral closure expressing joy as “spiritual and religious,” before the final transfiguration where the orchestra alone transforms the joy theme into fragments that it gloriously flings “out in its blazing path” and “which no one can weary of listening to” (mm.920-40, which draws on the ‘Turkish’ theme).

Berlioz examines Beethoven’s “transformations” of the joy theme as a means to unfold his dramatic structure, largely in terms of diverse expressions – both instrumental and vocal – as ‘voices’ or ‘characters.’ Here we see Berlioz’s interest in music to effect a shifting theatrical perspective, which, as we will see in Chapter IV, plays into his *Roméo et Juliette*. Additionally, Berlioz’s concept of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony reflects Hugo’s notion of the new “complete poetry” as a dramatic-lyric form. Similarly, Berlioz observes that the effect of the transformations of the joy theme creates kaleidoscopic theatrical shifts. On one level, Berlioz suggests a theatrical aspect to the variations – as characters – which indicates his growing compositional interests in developing the program symphony as a mixed genre, notably as a new type of musical dramaturgy, superior in form to the theatre.<sup>114</sup> In his essay on the Ninth Symphony, Berlioz conveys the importance of thematic transformations to effect theatrical shifts that crescendo as an accumulation of expressive forces: vocal idioms combined with text and symphonic elements; various genres; lyric, epic, and modern styles that represent a mixture of sacred and secular genres; and all nine modes of action in a cumulation that illustrates his “law of crescendo.”. Ultimately Berlioz’s musical narrative signals his compositional interests in creating a dramatic-

---

<sup>114</sup> On the topic of Hector Berlioz and “dramaturgy,” see Alan Ramaut, “Berlioz et ses livrets ou Berlioz et l’intention dramatique,” *Hector Berlioz: Regards*, 102-133.

lyric form, as a musical progression, integration, and accumulation of all three stages of poetry (lyric, epic, and modern). To this end, Berlioz's central interest in Beethoven's creation of a flexible large-scale symphonic form (drama) mixed with vocal (lyric and epic) idioms focusses on Beethoven's thematic "transformations," which allow him to integrate an expanded orchestral sound palette and voices in a mixture that suggests borrowings from conventions of opera and oratorio (sacred and secular).

Berlioz's focus on form in the Ninth, independent from any "philosophical or religious" conjectures, departs from the general trend of most European reviews of the time of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, which tend to be steeped in poetic metaphor, religious overtones, and biographically-based subjective reactions. Instead, Berlioz promotes the Ninth as a "vast poem" by highlighting the important symbiotic relationship between Beethoven's novel formal structure and its internal workings. This corresponds with the aesthetic of French Romantic poetry, and reflects the spirit of Schiller's *On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry* (1796), which values temporal differences, modes of perception alternating between the real and the ideal, and use of satire or elegy.<sup>115</sup> However, where Schiller's "beautiful form and moral energy" stressed the evaluation of art based on unity, Berlioz's concept of unity in the Ninth is the "law of crescendo," which reflects Hugo's aesthetic of the diversity, or a process of transforming expressions that are linked by the collective subjective voice of the poet— Beethoven's personal narrative. Here Berlioz suggests the idea of universality that was greatly developed in Roman Rolland's early twentieth-

---

<sup>115</sup>Further discussion of Schiller's naive poetic aesthetic is found in Kai Hammermeister, *The German Aesthetic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 21-110; Thomas Sipe, *Beethoven: Eroica Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 87-91.

century writings on Beethoven.<sup>116</sup> To Berlioz, Beethoven's Ninth represents the modern poetic in music, in a form that at once expresses the progressive affirmation of individuality and universality.

## Conclusion

Beethoven's "Romantic" symphonies served as models for Berlioz's promotion of the poetic. Melody gains his attention as the main mode of action. As discussed in this chapter, Berlioz's focus on melody in this regard links him to French musical traditions, notably of Momigny and Lacépède, who promoted melody as a primary means of expression and formal structure. Yet, Berlioz establishes the modern development of this mode in Beethoven's thematic unfolding, which largely directs the shape of music's form: Beethoven's expansive new forms develop by his use of thematic fragmentation and transformation, and thematic recall (as in the finale of the Ninth). The expressivity of his improvisatory-like melodic treatment is enhanced, Berlioz illustrates, by his use of unconventional harmony and complex rhythms most often with hemiolas and syncopations. Essential as well is Beethoven's personification of instrumentation and the staging of a work. Finally, Beethoven's romantic symphonies unfold mixed modes of expression, largely as the grand dramatic gesture combined with the lyric (in the Fifth and Seventh); Beethoven's combination of various types of musical imitation (in the Sixth); and the concepts of *pont* and *loi du crescendo* that facilitate dramatic-lyric form (in the Ninth). These techniques facilitate new forms and a heightened aesthetic experience that suggests boundlessness and titanic force. As we will see, these techniques – and their respective ideals –

---

<sup>116</sup> Romain Rolland, *Beethoven the Creator* (New York: Dover, 1964).

entered into Berlioz's own compositional contributions to the symphonic genre. What is important in this discussion is that Berlioz's interest in Beethoven's compositional elements is primarily as a means to create aesthetic effects: the technical modes in music promote an expression of the poetic.

Poetic music is an organic concept of the whole, which grows out of its own internal contradictions. Berlioz explains the expressive power of Beethoven's musical narrative by highlighting passages where Beethoven skilfully combines his novel compositional techniques with a literary element in such a way that the meaning and significance of one mode or element is heightened in context to its relationship with another. His musical discussion thus underlines the aesthetic principle that form governs both expression and structure alike. The poetic ultimately unfolds in a process of transformation and as a symbiotic relationship between technical devices and poetic content: form manifests as poetic idea and the poetic idea manifests as form. We have reached the topic of the next chapter – Berlioz and *la critique poétique*.

### III: Berlioz as *Critique poétique* of Beethoven: Narrative, Image, and Imagination

Berlioz's narrative unfolds as a literary gloss on Beethoven's musical action.

Furthermore, his vivid imagery transmits many of the musical and philosophical issues associated with the French Romantic reception of Beethoven's symphonic style as *poétique* and the composer himself as the image of the divine poet.<sup>1</sup> Berlioz's imagery interacts on several metaphorical levels, as it does in Romantic literature, notably in the writings of Hugo, Goethe, and Sand. On one level, the imagery circumscribes a field of feeling and attitude that cues the reader to interpret the literary narrative as Berlioz's personal response to the music. The imagery also reinforces the idea that each of Beethoven's symphonies is the manifestation of an individual poetic idea. On another level, Berlioz's imagery helps illuminate his Romantic contemporaries' response to Beethoven, particularly in terms of mixed modes of expression. Imagery whets listeners' imaginations, which sharpens their engagement with Berlioz's technical analysis and imagery brings the emotional, intellectual, and moral implications of Beethoven's symphonic innovations into the spotlight. By encouraging an emotional or sensory response to Beethoven's music, Berlioz raises issues of reception that encourage readers to question their own values, as well as those of their social and cultural environments, however complex these may be. Moreover, his use of imagery enables him to establish a relationship between musical works and ideas, which in turn leads him to the notion that art is created for posterity.

---

<sup>1</sup> Imagery is figurative language, categorized as metaphor, analogy, personification, hyperbole, oxymoron; and elements of style that create, for example, allusion, ambiguity, or irony. In poetry, imagery ideally culminates in a pattern of images – ranging from simple description of visible objects or actions, alliteration, dramatic situation or monologue, metonymy – that contribute to the poetic form as a whole. “Imagery is best defined as the total sensory suggestion of poetry.” John Ciardi, *How Does a Poem Mean* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1981).

Ultimately, through imagery, Berlioz conveys music as the highest form of artistic expression and as a metaphorical experience.

The previous chapter examined Berlioz's musical discussion of Beethoven's compositional techniques according to his criteria of the "nine modes of action," his ideas of program music and the *genre instrumental expressif*, and French musical traditions (notably Lacépède's treatise *La poétique de la musique*). There, I argued that imagery plays an important role in Berlioz's promotion of Beethoven's technical advancements as a means to create "poetic" expressions that link to a symphony's central "poetic idea." This chapter explores Berlioz as *critique poétique* in order to examine more closely how he adapts imagery (his *texte poétique*) to create a bridge that indirectly transcribes the domain of music (his knowledge and experiences) into the domain of journalism by his imaginative reading of Beethoven's music as meaning.<sup>2</sup> To this end, I focus on two aspects of Berlioz's literary narrative: how his use of literary imagery conveys an effect comparable to Beethoven's musical process, largely in terms of a "narrative mode"; and how his use of imagery reinforces his assessments of each symphony, and ultimately reveals his musical aesthetics.

My chapter accordingly unfolds in two main sections. In the first section, I examine Berlioz's use of imagery to create an analogy between musical process and poetic experience. Here I draw on the most pertinent of theories of metaphor to validate Berlioz's adoption of imagery as a means to transcribe the domain of music indirectly into literature.<sup>3</sup> To this end, I

---

<sup>2</sup> Guillaume Bordry, "'Je ne suis pas un homme de lettres': Berlioz, écrivain paradoxal," 103.

<sup>3</sup> A survey of these theories is well discussed in Rodgers, *Form, Program, and Metaphor in the Music of Berlioz*, 42-3; and Vera Micznik, "Music and Narrative Revisited: Degrees of Narrativity in Beethoven and Mahler," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 126, No. 2 (2001): 193-249.

explore Berlioz's literary narrative as a *way of saying*, which conveys his understanding of Beethoven's musical process in terms of a verbal narrative. I then illustrate how Berlioz's notion of Beethoven's musical narrative reflects the new French Romantic literary ideal of the *poétique* – as the subjective expression of poetic fragments that centralize around a poetic idea – and the portrayal of music as a metaphorical language. In the second section of this chapter, I explore *what* Berlioz's imagery transcribes. With references to the "Critical Study" as well as other writings, particularly his *Memoirs*, I will demonstrate by way of a literary "mapping" how his imagery interacts with and culminates in his overall conception of the central *idée poétique* of each symphony.<sup>4</sup> Though each symphony is a unique expression, Berlioz's imagery suggests that the symphonies fall into thematic groups – like collections of poems that are linked by a central metaphor – that represent a central poetic idea and reflect his technical assessments: the traditional style; antique beauty; the dramatic-lyric as High Drama; the modern descriptive style; and the transcendental symphony.

#### Beethoven's Music as Meaning: Metaphor, Narrative, and Poetic Idea

To convey meaning in music, Berlioz particularly favors the use of *conceptual metaphor* (an umbrella term that includes metaphor, simile, analogy, description, and allegory), as the

---

<sup>4</sup>The "mapping" of imagery, particularly used in deciphering conceptual metaphor (metaphor, simile, analogy, description, and allegory), is a critical method used in poetry and discourse that gives significance to the word as an understood expression, idea, or message indicated by how it interacts in the poem or discussion; metaphors and their meanings are significant in the context of the whole. See Raymond W. Gibbs Jr., "When is Metaphor? The Idea of Understanding in Theories of Metaphor," *Poetics Today* 13 (Winter, 1992): 575-606; G. J. Finch, "Metaphor and Poetic Discourse," *Oxford Journals* 44 (1995): 56-70; Gerard Steen, "Analyzing Metaphor in Literature," *Poetics Today*, vol. 20 (Autumn, 1999): 499-522.

closest linguistic term to convey a poetic process that parallels his understanding of Beethoven's musical process. In theories of literature and aesthetics, metaphor is portrayed as a powerful means to capture an aesthetic experience that is beyond the limits of conventional semantics.<sup>5</sup> Metaphor acts as an imaginative stimulus, as a medium between the domains of music and poetry, and as a political symbol. It also creates indeterminate resonances, subtexts of meanings, or what Jerrold Levinson calls "connotational penumbra."<sup>6</sup> Berlioz creates a bridge between the two "disciplinary boundaries" of music and journalism by way of metaphor, which communicates a non-literal meaning of a particular domain of musical experience.

Berlioz's use of metaphor transmits his aesthetic value system by his focus on the same three main elements that concern the study of aesthetics: *art*, or a practice (Beethoven's symphonies); *aesthetic properties*, or a certain feature or aspect that is aesthetic (Berlioz's criteria of the *poétique*); and *aesthetic experience*, as a certain attitude or perception that may be deemed aesthetic (Berlioz's personal response and audience reception).<sup>7</sup> He uses imagery to address these aesthetic domains in at least two ways: he identifies the aesthetic properties in Beethoven's Romantic symphonies; and he validates these properties by illustrating how they

---

<sup>5</sup>Micznik, "Music and Narrative Revisited," 197.

<sup>6</sup> Jerrold Levinson, *The Oxford Handbook of Aesthetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 150. Related, but beyond the scope of this project, is analysis of Berlioz's language by the modern study of linguistics, i.e. the meaning and perception of Berlioz's imagery in terms of perception: the many levels of semiotic meaning, such as morphological, syntactic, semantic, etc. See Rose Subotnik, "Romantic Music as Post-Kantian Critique: Classicism, Romanticism, and the Concept of Semiotic Universe," *On Criticizing Music*, ed. Kingsley Price (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1981), 74-98. Also related, but beyond the current focus, is the topic of narratology in terms of structure: as the primary and secondary parameters discussed by Leonard Meyer, *Style and Music: Theory, History, and Ideology* (Philadelphia, 1989), 14-16.

<sup>7</sup> Aesthetics is the branch of philosophy "devoted to conceptual and theoretical inquiry into art and aesthetic experience." Jerrold Levinson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Aesthetics*, 4-7.

create an aesthetic experience. The difficulty in determining these individual concepts is, as Berlioz himself conveys, that they interact on many levels.

On one level, Berlioz conveys a perception of Beethoven's musical processes in terms of a musical narration. He describes the composer's *pensée intime*, his *vaste imagination* and *émotion poétique* as a "way of saying." In this regard, Berlioz suggests that Beethoven's music is metaphorical by using a method that narratologists recognize as a type of "narrative reading" or "narrative mode."<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, Berlioz's imagery illustrates what narratologists call his "natural impulse" to respond to what he perceives is "said." Within the broadest scope of narratology, then, Berlioz's literary narrative represents a valid means to communicate and depict an understanding of the world, or what Hayden White defends as a method that addresses the general human concern of "how to translate *knowing* into *telling*."<sup>9</sup>

For Berlioz, Beethoven's musical "narrative" unfolds largely through three fundamental characteristics that occupy theories of narrative. Though variously defined, these are: representation (retelling), identification of scenes or events (real or imagined), and the presence of a narrator (or narrators, implied or known). Berlioz most often focuses on the element of the "composer's intimate voice" in terms of Beethoven's tone and style, which parallels modern theories that view "voice" or "discourse" as the most essential element in creating narrative.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Narratology: a field in literature that is as old as Aristotle, but a relatively new field in music, by which musicologists develop and apply theories of literary criticism to music. See Micznik: 193-249.

<sup>9</sup> Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 1-23; Leo Treitler, *Music and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 157-75.

<sup>10</sup> Here Berlioz's concept of narrative differs dramatically from most theories of narratology that are based on a temporal structuring mode (a "narrative mode" requires a logical time sequence that unfolds in terms of plot). Gérard Genette, "Voice," *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. Jane

More specifically, Berlioz praises a particular type of musical “voice” or narrative that reflects his culture and history, and parallels definitions of Romantic “discursive poetry”: a narrative poem that may variously unfold as a lyric ballad, analogy, epic, or poetic drama. A narrator unfolds various images that appear along the way to develop, support, or interpret meaning and tone. Similarly (and as my analysis will illustrate), Berlioz describes each symphony as a diversity of images, dramatic scenes, or non-chronological events, which form a consistent series or continuity that reflects or encapsulates the symphony’s central poetic idea. By using imagery to suggest objects, persons, and dramatic scenes or events that appeal directly to different senses, Berlioz describes Beethoven’s symphonies in ways that resemble an intense response to poetry. He evaluates Beethoven’s symphonies according to the same criteria as “good” poetry – that it contain, according to Shelley, “the principle of its own integrity”– implying that both symphony and poem share in their capacity to bring meaning to life.<sup>11</sup>

The poetic nature of Beethoven’s musical narrative is indicated by Berlioz’s analogies with the epic poetry of Virgil and Homer, the poetic writings of Dante, the lyric ballads of Thomas Moore, and the poetic dramas of Goethe and Shakespeare, as well as by references to famous historical works of art, notably by Poussin and Michelangelo. Here Berlioz’s perception of Beethoven’s “discourse” resembles artistic theories of an “implicit” narrator: though a person

---

E. Lewin (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980), 212-60; Nelson Goodman, “Twisted Tales or Story, Study, and Symphony,” *On Narrative*, 99-115; Seymour Chatman believes that narrative exhibits a “deep structure” created by the unfolding (“discourse-time”) of a plot (“story-time”): Seymour Chatman, “What Novels Can Do that Films Can’t (and Vice Versa),” *On Narrative*, 117-36; opposing this theory is Carolyn Abbate, “Music’s Voices,” *Unsung Voices* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 30-60.

<sup>11</sup> Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Preface, Prometheus Unbound* (A Lyric Drama, 1818) in M. H. Abrams, ed., *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 1748-9.

is absent, the art encourages what Karol Berger calls the “illusion of a human presence behind the work’s rhetoric.”<sup>12</sup> Berlioz makes it clear that Beethoven’s musical narrative divulges no biographical details of the actual man Beethoven; it merely provides the material of his musical expression and thought, in the same way that a writer develops a “personal narrative” to reveal his imaginative thoughts. Beethoven, the man, is distinguished from his musical *persona*.

Berlioz repeatedly describes Beethoven’s symphonies as *poèmes*, which indicates his musical concept of symbiotic form and content in ways that reflect the new French literary aesthetics of the *poétique*: a personal narrative that unfolds mixed modes of expression within a social context (Berlioz’s 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> modes of action), underlying his organic concept of musical form. On an ontological level, Berlioz indicates that, like literary poems, Beethoven’s symphonies are deeply significant experiences, expressions of human interest turned into a poetic form, and therefore prepared for posterity. On a structural level, Berlioz’s metatextual vocabulary indicates his musical conception of form as an organic concept that grows out of Beethoven’s musical expressions of the modern poetic, mixing the dramatic and lyric with ode and elegy.<sup>13</sup> The nature of Beethoven’s “discourse time” unfolds a mixture of tones, meanings, emotions, characters, scenes or non-chronological events that link (ideally) to symphony’s central expression. In this regard, Berlioz’s concept of Beethoven’s musical narrative reflects Hugo’s

---

<sup>12</sup> Karol Berger, “*Diegesis and Mimesis: The Poetic Modes and the Matter of Artistic Presentation*,” *Journal of Musicology*, vol.12 (1994), 407-33. The “implicit narrator” is a theory common to art and literature.

<sup>13</sup> I borrow the term “metatextual vocabulary” from Bordry, who uses this term to describe Berlioz’s use of direct literary references that he weaves into his literary narrative, which suggest his “voice” as translator (“*lecteur*”). Guillaume Bordry, ““Je ne suis pas un homme de lettres’: Berlioz, écrivain paradoxal,” 102.

ideal that a “new garden of poetry ” is created by the collision and collusion of images – *le vague* – that create new forms and reveal poetic truth.<sup>14</sup> Central to the unfolding of Beethoven’s “poems” is the *idée poétique*, an ideal sacred to Romantic poetry whereby subjective experience is transformed into a dramatic situation that reveals something of greater universal significance. Like a poem, the total meaning (the poetic idea) of a Beethoven symphony is distinguished from its inspiration or its technical material (modes 1-7). Therefore, Berlioz’s concept of Beethoven’s poetic form has important links to both French musical and literary traditions.

#### French Romantic Literary Precedents of the *Poétique*

Traditions of the *poétique* in French Romantic literature began as literary depictions of creative inspiration and poetic improvisations driven by a divine force, notably in the writings of Anne Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein (1766-1817), known as Madame de Staël, as in her popular novel *Corinne* (1807). This concept is also found in the writings of one of the most influential figures of French Romanticism, Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869), who felt that poetic improvisations provided the perfect medium for the expression of the infinite. Lamartine upheld as divine the act of contemplation, a state that could be invoked by musical and poetic

---

<sup>14</sup> As discussed in Chapter I, Hugo’s ideal of the modern poetry as drama promoted a mixed-mode style that incorporated epic, lyric, and dramatic elements, and developed themes around a central idea with use of condensed metaphor, as complementary opposites. Hugo upheld Shakespeare’s plays as examples of this diverse style. *Romeo and Juliet*, for example, builds on a mixture of rhyming verse ( for the warring families, with use of double-entendre and crude puns) with lyrical poetry (for the lovers). In content, Shakespeare develops nature images (including light and darkness) largely by mixed imagery: Juliet: “What’s in a name? that which we call a rose/By any other name would smell as sweet” (2.2. 47-8) (metaphor); Juliet: “Good-night, good-night!/ parting is such sweet sorrow” (2.2.201) (oxymoron); in Act III, Scene II: “Beautiful tyrant” (line 80), and “Damned saint”(line 81) (oxymoron); “Despised substance of divinest show” (line 83) (paradox), and “Deceit should dwell in a gorgeous place” (line 89-90) (paradox); and Juliet’s, “My bounty is as boundless as the sea,/ My love as deep; the more I give to thee, /The more I have, for both are infinite” (2.2. 141-3) (mixture of hyperbole and paradox).

improvisations. Contemplation, like a door to creativity, was thought to open a poet's receptiveness to divine inspiration, which was ideally captured by the poet in a form of improvised lyric, effusive and emotional in tone, and usually on themes of love and death. The poems from Lamartine's publication, *Méditations poétiques* (1820), are models of this poetic style, and they create an impression of inspired religious rapture. His poetry attempts to capture verbally music's ephemeral nature, and his poems' inspiration was improvised music, which he fondly called "the literature of the heart." Indeed, there is a sense of musicality in his expansive style, which is suggested by his flexible rhythms and billowy thematic developments; and his underlying spiritual and political message implies a certain harmonic complexity.<sup>15</sup>

Lamartine's aesthetic, steered by emotion and imagination, defined the interchangeability of poetic and musical processes, and persisted in the French Romanticism of the 1830s. There, the outcome was the Romantic literary value of unfettered, emotional expression, often articulated as poetic fragments, which outcome is reflected in Berlioz's value of thematic transformation that effect a spontaneous expression. Since formal design was valued less than aphoristic spontaneity, poetic fragments were often grouped around a unifying poetic idea. Here we see a French literary precedent for both Berlioz's notion of musical form and his relative lack of interest in form in the modes of action. Poetic fragmentation inspired an ideal of what we might call musical-literary polyphony, notably in the writings of George Sand, Berlioz's friend and colleague at the *Gazette*, and in the music of Berlioz and Franz Liszt (who dedicated his compositions *Les Préludes* and his *Années de Pèlerinage* to Lamartine).

---

<sup>15</sup> These are my own observations; for additional discussion of musical elements in Lamartine's literary style, see David Hillery, "Lamartine: The *Méditations poétiques*," *The French Review*, vol. 69 (April 1996): 812-3.

French Romantic writers used imagery and poetic fragments to describe the effects of music, which was most commonly portrayed as a charm that stimulated the senses. For example, Pierre Leroux (a friend of Sand), described music as a spiritual expression, though he implied that music was as equally enchanting as a gifted and beautiful woman: “La musique et la poésie sont les plus hautes expressions de la foi et la femme douée de beauté et de génie est prêtresse, sibylle et initiatrice.”<sup>16</sup> Leroux’s description represents Romantic literary trends that developed from early nineteenth-century descriptions of musical experiences likened to colours and perfumes, notably in Senacour’s novel *Obermann* (1804). However, another trend in French literature also reflects Hoffmann’s influence in its portrayal of music as a metaphysical language.<sup>17</sup> Other influences on music aesthetics are Balzac’s collection of stories *Études philosophiques*: music is a source of rapture in *Massimilla Doni* (1839); it induces spiritual meditation in *Séraphita* (1835); and it possesses the power to either heal or destroy in *Gambara* (1837). Less hyperbolic and more intensely personal, Sand described music’s power to carry her off into an unbound world of memories, sensations, and images of nature. In a letter to Liszt (1837), she stated, “le pays de la musique. Ce doit être le paradis des hommes.”<sup>18</sup> This reminds us of Berlioz’s earliest portrayal of Beethoven’s music as a restorative power (C16), and the state of synaesthesia that he describes in his essay on the *Pastoral*. Like Berlioz (C18), Sand

---

<sup>16</sup> “Music and poetry are the highest expressions of faith and the gifted woman with beauty and genius is the priestess, prophetess and innovator.” *Correspondance*, 63.

<sup>17</sup> Elaine Bony, “The Influence of E.T.A. Hoffmann on George Sand,” *George Sand: Collected Essays* (New York: The Whitson Publishing Co., 1985), 42-52. Sand owned Hoffmann’s complete works, Loeve-Viemars, trans. (Paris, 1830).

<sup>18</sup> “The country of music. That must be the paradise of men.” Sand’s letter of 1837, in Adrian Williams, *Portrait of Liszt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 93.

perceived spiritual qualities in music that make it capable of expressing an “infinite veneration” unfulfilled by poetry. In other words, music can narrate more than words can express, and hence the need for a double musical-literary narrative. To Sand, music was a divine form of communication, or *le langage divin*, transmitting ideas and deep sentiments: “La musique peut exprimer des idées aussi bien que des sentiments, quoi qu’on en ait dit.”<sup>19</sup> She believed that music originated in human speech, but evolved into a form of communication without words. To portray literally this conception of music as a language, she developed a vocabulary for capturing music’s character, role, and effects.

Crucially, and like Berlioz, Sand viewed melody as the primary expressive element in transmitting the message of song. In her *Correspondance*, she writes that the melody is the first element of a musical poem to reach its listeners, even for those who are “ignorant in this divine art.”<sup>20</sup> Sand’s focus on melody links her with folk culture, and to the nationalistic and popular salon genre of the romance. It also connects her with French writers from the Great Revolution, specifically Rousseau, Diderot, D’Alembert, and Senacour. Rousseau praised the ideal of romance in his *Dictionnaire* as “one true clear voice with good pronunciation, singing simply.”<sup>21</sup> In this light, Berlioz’s interest in Beethoven’s treatment of melody as poetic “transformations” not only reflects French musical traditions, but it also aligns him with French literary and cultural traditions.

---

<sup>19</sup> “Music can express ideas as well as feelings, whatever has been said.” George Sand, *Consuelo*, 1: 171.

<sup>20</sup> “Nous autres ignorants dans cet art divin, nous sommes absorbés par la mélodie, par le chant proprement dit, et nous ne saisissons pas du premier coup tous les éléments du poème musical.” *Correspondance de George Sand* 25 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1964-1995), vol. 9, 63.

<sup>21</sup> J. J. Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique*, 613-7; 885; Mongrédien, 242.

Like Sand, Berlioz uses imagery to convey music as the highest form of artistic expression, beside which poetry pales. Accordingly, Beethoven's modern music creates a total sensory experience that his own words fail to transcribe adequately, as in the *Pastoral* Symphony. Similarly (albeit in a more intensely personal way), Sand portrays music in combination with poetry as a relief from suffering, owing to its synaesthetic qualities. She portrays an experience of music as synaesthesia in her novel *Consuelo* (1842-4), as a combination of sounds, visions, and feelings so absorbing that it creates a state that verges on madness.<sup>22</sup> Smelling perfumes, hearing music from an unknown source, and responding physically to vivid memories and imagery combine to convey a sense of pursuing something just beyond one's grasp. Sand compares this to a composer who seeks to capture his inspiration through free musical improvisation. Here we hear echoes of Berlioz's praise of Beethoven's improvisatory-like thematic transformations, notably as in his essays on the Fifth and Ninth Symphonies, and see the link to Lamartine's notion of poetic improvisations – her description of the feeling of anticipation that she experiences while listening to music is then identified as a direct response to the composer's own feeling in his *improvisations étranges*.

This "strangeness" suggests a mystical, psychological element to the phenomenon of creativity, which adds to the aura of divine genius attached to both the Romantic protagonist and his or her creator. This notion is well represented in the writings of Balzac, who refers to the

---

<sup>22</sup> "...elle cherchait dans son esprit le rapport de la musique avec les fleurs...Il y avait longtemps que l'harmonie des sons lui avait semblé répondre d'une certaine manière à l'harmonie des couleurs; mais l'harmonie de ces harmonies, il lui sembla que c'était le parfum. Et cet instant, plongée dans une vague et douce rêverie, elle s'imaginait entendre une voix sortir de chacune de ces corolles charmantes, et lui raconter les mystères de la poésie dans une langue jusqu'alors inconnue pour elle." George Sand, *Consuelo and La Comtesse de Rudolstadt*, 3 vols, ed. Simone Vierne and Renée Bourgeois (Meyland: Editions de l'Aurore, 1983), vol. 2: 132.

creative process as *un royaume idéal*, with the poet's inspiration coming from heaven, thereby mirroring Plato's idea of *furor poeticus*.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, in her novel *Consuelo*, George Sand created the character of a heroine whose spiritual visions are manifest in her art. Significantly, the idealizing of poet and creative process marks a significant change in what society saw as the "ideal man." Gone are the chivalric knight, the sage, the saint, the courtier, and the *honnête homme* of previous eras. Enter the modern artistic genius, epitomized by Berlioz's Romantic image of Beethoven as *poète*.

This image of poet was allied with the ideals of Berlioz's Romantic contemporaries, for whom the terms "genius" and "poet" had important political associations that were deeply rooted in France's literary heritage. By linking Beethoven with this tradition, Berlioz and his literary contemporaries were able to defend what was radical in his music in terms of a Romantic aesthetic that valued originality as part of artistic evolution. To Berlioz and the French literary Romantics, Beethoven was seen as a modern poet, creator of the musical poetic and of symphonic "poems," and as such encompassed all attendant meanings of that title: innovator, genius, moral leader, and divine messenger.<sup>24</sup> Berlioz's use of metaphor to denote this image also symbolizes novelty, since Romantics favoured the often grammatically deviant metaphor as a means to break with traditional linguistic methods.<sup>25</sup> The political undertones of this stylistic

---

<sup>23</sup> Gretchen R. Besser, *Balzac's Concept of Genius: The Theme of Superiority in the 'Comédie humaine'* (Geneva: Droz, 1969), 15-42.

<sup>24</sup> An extensive discussion of the etymology and use of the word *génie* in the nineteenth century is found in the *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, ed. Pierre Larousse (Paris, 1867).

<sup>25</sup> Gerard Steen, "Analyzing Metaphor in Literature," *Poetics Today* 20 (Autumn, 1999): 499-522. Metaphors often strike readers as absurd, which indicates a process of reinterpreting metaphorically in order to understand what the writer means, given the assumption that the speaker is rational. For example, as discussed in Chapter I, Hugo valued Shakespeare's anomalies (e.g., oxymoron, "lead

literary feature resonate in Berlioz's praise of originality, where he commonly uses metaphor to convey the unprecedented aesthetic effects created by Beethoven's compositional "violations" of traditional procedures.

### Berlioz's Literary Narrative: Poetic Style and Meaning

Berlioz's literary style resembles a gloss on Beethoven's musical action. In effect, his poetic text resembles many musical elements that he promotes in Beethoven's symphonies. For example, the tone and style of Beethoven's musical narrative "voice" finds its counterpart in Berlioz's interests in Beethoven's use of combined compositional modes to capture the mode of melody. Berlioz's notion of musical form, based on a thematic scheme, is also reflected in his unique literary style. He begins each essay with a defining image of the symphony. This he treats like a melodic motive by thematic fragmentation, which he develops by combination, variation, or repetition. Affect grows out of this development. Here his literary style reflects his fascination with Beethoven's use of thematic transformations to create a sense of improvisation, which creates a personal "narrative" that unfolds a new perspective on a range of moods: from unsettling suspense and drama (mainly in first movements), to new expressions of contemplation and the sublime (as in most of Beethoven's slow movements).

Berlioz praises Beethoven's mixture of material that is often very contrasting in affect and energy, which may be mixed (like metaphor), layered, juxtaposed (like oxymoron) or placed closely alternating with surprising abruptness (like paradox). Here Berlioz's aesthetic of mixed modes differs from Mozart's clear mixture of *topos* in separate keys, distinguished by a

---

feather") to loosen conventional syntax and plot, and to affront imagination.

transition, and usually balanced in sentiment. Beethoven's musical juxtapositions may variously create a sense of high dramatic tension, ambiguity, or the sublime. To capture these effects, Berlioz's phrases and images likewise seem to contradict one another within the essay at large, thus creating a paradoxical relationship; however, they orbit around a central poetic idea. For example, in his essay on Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, Berlioz mixes analogies of Homer, scenes from Shakespeare's *Othello* and Goethe's *Faust*, descriptions of "sublime elegy" and a "violent paroxysm of emotions," and the image of a "frolicking...tipsy elephant," while emphasizing that the symphony is a unified metaphor for a universal situation: the complex duplicity of life. Reflecting Hugo's aesthetic of modern poetry, Berlioz uses a mixture of imagery to convey the twin concepts of universality and individuality in Beethoven's modern poetic music. In this regard, the presence of mixed modes (complementary opposites) in Beethoven's subjective musical narrative seems to give his music (and Berlioz's literary narrative) universal significance. In the following analysis, I attempt to make sense of Berlioz's imagery as it conveys a meaning in Beethoven's music transcending the technical devices detectable in learned criticism (*la critique savante*).

#### Beethoven's Poetic Idea and Narrative Style: Berlioz's Essays as Thematic Groups

To interpret Berlioz's metaphors, I apply a critical literary theory of poetic "mapping." In particular, my analysis draws on methods common to discursive poetry, in which his imagery is examined in three ways: as expressions, understood by vocabulary and grammar (Berlioz's poetic response); ideas, by content and knowledge of structure (how these relate to Berlioz's technical knowledge of Beethoven's music); and as messages, by pragmatic structure and their function in

terms of context and content (what Berlioz refers to as expression and reception). To this end, I attempt to convey what Beethoven's music means to Berlioz by exploring how his images interact as a whole.<sup>26</sup> To this end, I illustrate how Berlioz conveys that each symphony is narrated or "said" in different ways, expressing separate dramatic situations. At the same time, Berlioz indicates that some symphonies share in a central theme or metaphor, which captures Beethoven's "way of saying."

Therefore, Berlioz's critiques of the individual symphonies also fall into the same five groups established already in Chapter II in relation to their technical features, each group of which shares a similar central poetic metaphor and narrative style. I have designated the five groups by the following titles, which are similar to those used in Chapter II, but are now made more specific from the perspective of imagery: the Traditional, the Antique Beautiful, High Drama, and the "poetic forms" of the Modern *Pittoresque*, and the Transcendent. Like shared themes in a collection of poems by one such as Hugo, these groups are organized by representative thematic links that serve as guides to what Berlioz perceives the symphonies to mean, and his experience of that meaning. As already seen in Chapter II, the titles to these groups are not precise (because the total meaning of the symphony, like a poem, resists being reduced to a single statement), but they represent the central poetic situation that Berlioz understands as the inspiration of Beethoven's dramatic presentation. In other words, they represent his poetic idea.

The first group, the "Traditional," includes Beethoven's First, Second, Fourth, and Eighth Symphonies. Here Berlioz sometimes encounters original poetic elements and movements that

---

<sup>26</sup> Gibbs, "When is Metaphor? The Idea of Understanding in Theories of Metaphor": 575-606.

anticipate the poetic as it appears in Beethoven's later symphonies; but Berlioz is disappointed that the elements and movements are unevenly presented, or that they default to redundant classicisms. Therefore, these symphonies on the whole do not qualify as "poems," for they lack the personal musical narrative of a diversity of poetic expressions that cohere to a central poetic idea. In a class by itself, Beethoven's *Eroica* exemplifies the "Antique Beautiful." This category conveys Berlioz's experience in the classical terms of antique poetry, notably the epic works of Homer and Virgil. Berlioz's imagery conveys his concept of Beethoven's musical narrative largely as a single declared style, expressive in tone and in sentiments associated with late eighteenth-century musical-rhetorical traditions.

Beethoven's mature symphonies (according to Berlioz, the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Ninth) illustrate three types of modern musical narratives: one that reflects Berlioz's notion of the *genre instrumental expressif*; modern descriptive music; and thirdly, the transcendental. Importantly, Berlioz avoids a debate on the polarity between program and absolute music.<sup>27</sup> Instead, both types meet his criteria for modern music as metaphorical experience. His imagery encourages an engagement with Beethoven's formal musical processes in terms of a dramatic, psychological process that unfolds around a central metaphor. In the Fifth and Seventh Symphonies, the central metaphor of "Modern Dramatic" represents Berlioz's experiences of musical paradox and ambiguity, created by Beethoven's dramatic ideas and extreme emotional expressions. The "Modern Pittoresque" represents Berlioz's response to the programmatic Sixth

---

<sup>27</sup> This debate emerged in the later half of the century. See Mark Evan Bonds, "Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth-Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 50 (Summer-Autumn, 1994), 387-420; Sanna Pederson "A.B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity," *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, vol. 18 (Autumn, 1994): 87-107; Rodgers, *Form, Program, and Metaphor in the Music of Berlioz*, 8.

in terms that reflect Hugo's notion of "true nature," as a diverse and complementary mixture of the mimetic with the indefinite. The Ninth represents the height of Beethoven's artistic evolution with imagery that depicts man and nature in a state of transcendence.

#### Beethoven Traditional Symphonies: The First, Second, Fourth, and Eighth Symphonies

As seen in Chapter II, the compositional techniques used in this group of symphonies depict for Berlioz a limited originality. As *critique poétique*, he also finds in them only limited expressive originality; even where present, the poetic elements in this group do not adhere to a cohesive, central poetic idea. In response, Berlioz's use of imagery, likewise, seems either to project Beethoven's promising development of *sentiment*, a refined expression that does not meet the criteria of mixed mode expression; or else, it projects a series of random, fragmentary observations that seem to have no larger point, no central poetic idea. This assessment is also reflected in the brevity of his essays on the First and Second Symphonies, and his limited use of figurative language. He describes them largely with adjectives that suggest in these works a homogeneous, youthful optimism. Within the context of his Romantic aesthetic, however, his lukewarm assessments of these symphonies appear to be tempered by a wish to promote Beethoven: on the one hand, Berlioz seems to praise Beethoven's music as "charming," "cheerful," and "energetic"; on the other, this same vocabulary suggests a less enthusiastic response, ranging from emotional detachment ("no particular distinction," "bland"), or polite interest ("admirably wrought"), or even impatience and distaste for what he perceives as a lack of pure originality ("musically childlike," "conventional"). He also draws analogies between these two symphonies and the style of Mozart and Haydn, implying that these symphonies are the

works of a promising and talented student who has yet to discover his own “voice.”<sup>28</sup> Berlioz is more engaged with the first three movements of the Fourth Symphony, where he finds expressions of peace and torment, of love and violence that compare with Dante’s *Inferno*. He also praises the *Andante scherzando* of the Eighth Symphony, which seems to have fallen “into the composer’s head full-blown from heaven.” These poetic moments of originality are conditional, however, offset as they are by inconsistency, rough edges, and throwbacks to traditions, what Hugo calls the “shackles of conventions.” As such, these symphonies do not reflect Berlioz’s notion of modern poetic form as an organic musical process that conveys a double message of universality and individuality through the portrayal of the diversities of nature and a subjective psychological transformation.

### The First Symphony

The shortest and least enthusiastic of Berlioz’s essays concerns the First Symphony. Almost devoid of imagery (and hence the brevity of my own analysis), it elicits a polite but hollow response. Berlioz immediately assesses this symphony as a clever imitation of the style of Mozart. He then expands upon this central image as he discusses each movement in adjectives equated with restrained classical elegance. To this effect, Berlioz portrays the symphony largely within the concept of traditional beauty, as an expression of goodness and light (as discussed in Chapter I).<sup>29</sup> Berlioz acknowledges limited originality with descriptive phrases

---

<sup>28</sup> Further support for my claim is found in Berlioz’s association of Haydn with “music only,” while Beethoven expounds *pensée poétique*: C120 ( *RGM*, 1835).

<sup>29</sup> If we recall from Chapter II, the *Andante* is a movement full of “charm,” with a “graceful” theme; while the “delightfully playful” *Scherzo* is the “only real novelty” in the symphony.

that appear deliberately to evoke the style of Mozart.<sup>30</sup> On the whole, Berlioz is nearly dismissive: the symphony is “admirably wrought music, clear and lively, but rather bland, at times cold and even small-minded.” Since Beethoven’s First Symphony was rarely performed in Paris – it was even absent from Conservatory programs between 1834 and 1844 – Berlioz may have assumed that his readers would not contest his acerbic appraisal.

### The Second Symphony

Berlioz defines the central character of the Symphony more positively, though as an expression of limited human experience. He builds on this image with adjectives, metaphors and analogies that evoke uncontested youthful exuberance, peacefulness, and optimism: the first movement’s slow introductory *Adagio molto* expresses “virile energy”; the *Scherzo* is “openly cheerful and playful in its fantasy,” with the energy of “warriors” who are nonetheless “*exempt de violence*” (free of violence); and in the first *Allegro con brio*, “one can sense only the youthful ardor of a noble heart that keeps intact the finest illusions of life. The composer still believes in immortal glory, love, and self-sacrifice.” Balancing the energetic spirit is the “touchingly solemn” introductory *Adagio molto* (Berlioz incorrectly calls this a *Largo*) that “inspires respect” and the “happy and serene” character of the main theme of the second movement (*Larghetto* –

---

<sup>30</sup> On the topic of Mozart reception in France, see: Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris, 1834-1880*; Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism*; Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*, 19-61. To Berlioz, Mozart generally represents classical traditions; a larger discussion of Mozart reception is beyond the scope of this discussion; however, significant exceptions to this reception are illustrated in the Young Romantic interest in several of Mozart’s late works that were perceived to convey personal subjectivity by the contravention of rules, notably *Don Giovanni* and the Piano Concerto in D minor, K. 466. On this position, see Joseph Kerman, *Concerto Conversations* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 105-11.

Berlioz incorrectly refers to this as an *Andante*) is “a pure and ingenious song...embellished with rare elegance by delicate runs,” creating “a lovely image of innocent happiness, scarcely clouded by a few melancholy accents.” This is not the dramatic and colourful language of paradox and ambiguity, or the metaphysical portrayal of the *poétique*, but rather, a metaphorical description of a delicate, childlike, tuneful and elegant style, couched in the same vocabulary he might have used to describe a capricious fantasy of Mozart, or a pastoral symphony of Haydn.

In his description of the final bars of the *Scherzo*, Berlioz captures one of his most engaged moments in the longest sentence in the entire essay, where his narrative action moves forward quickly as if making a crescendo:

*A entendre ces divers instruments qui se disputent des parcelles d'un motif qu'aucun d'eux n'exécute en entier, mais dont chaque fragment se colore ainsi de mille nuances diverses en passant de l'un à l'autre, on croirait assister aux jeux féériques des gracieux esprits d'Obéron.*<sup>31</sup>

Here – positioned at the climax of his essay – he presents a reference to Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, drawing on the image of “Oberon’s graceful sprites at play.” This evokes images of Shakespeare’s famous fairies: tiny, winged forest creatures with magical powers. Far from the fairies of Elizabethan folk beliefs or the malevolent human-sized fairies of earlier times, Shakespeare’s fairies are merely “shadows” who may play pranks on mortals.<sup>32</sup> This image engages readers in Beethoven’s musical process, notably in the final passages of the

---

<sup>31</sup> “To hear the instruments challenging each other over fragments of a motif which none plays in its entirety, each portion shimmering with a thousand colors as it passes from one instrument to the other, you would think you were watching Oberon’s graceful sprites at play.” (*AM*, 13).

<sup>32</sup> As Puck explains, “If we shadows have offended,/ Think but this, and all is mended./ That you have but slumb’red here/ While these visions did appear,/ And this weak and idle theme,/ No more yielding but a dream” (*V*, I, II. 412-7).

A section (as discussed in Chapter II), where the main staccato figure passes between various instrumental sections, alternating with a short, lyrical legato statement. To Berlioz, these tiny motivic fragments that flit through various, lightly scored orchestral sections, are analogous with tiny translucent fairies, capricious and ephemeral, with wings in thousands of diverse colours. This is a poetic moment in music: Beethoven's music, described in Chapter II as a musical process, is here conveyed as a magical, metaphorical experience. Berlioz also uses Oberon's image in recognition of the "flashes of wit," those poetic moments that indicate a maturing of Beethoven's style. Yet, on the whole, Berlioz's fairy images are subdued or fleeting moments in the essay.

Elsewhere, these benign fairytale figures pull together previous imagery that Berlioz uses to characterize the symphony as light-hearted, peaceful, vigorous yet delicate, and as a "lovely image of innocent happiness." Oberon's fairies also bolster Berlioz's concluding image, in which he compares the symphony to an adorable child of "irresistible spirit" who is "cheerful and playful in its fantasy." Beethoven's delightful fairy-realm of poetic orchestration, by extension, is but the image of promise.<sup>33</sup>

On the one hand, Berlioz's narrative bestows praise; on the other, it lacks the full engagement typical of his descriptions of Beethoven's mature symphonies. In the context of

---

<sup>33</sup> Berlioz echoes the type of positive imagery found in many examples of Romantic literature, notably in the popular English poetry that circulated in France as translations and republications. Mansel, *Paris Between Empires*, 58-61; 159-62; 261. The theme of a child's innocent vision of immortality is common in Romantic literature, as in William Blake's *Songs of Innocence and Experience* (1789), and Wordsworth's famous "Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood" (1807), which depict childhood visions of heaven in happy dreams and sunny skies. However, such Romantic poetry interweaves a child's glorious idealism with the dark realism and melancholy of the adult world: Wordsworth presents opposing characters who rejoice, remember, and reveal personal perspectives as a commentary on faith. As in Hugo's notion of mixed mode expression, it is the poetic dualism that Berlioz finds lacking in Beethoven's Second Symphony.

Berlioz's aesthetic of the poetic, his cheerful narrative veils a limited response. There is, however, none of the biting sarcasm and bathos that one finds in his writings against the trivialities of Italian opera.<sup>34</sup> He merely conveys a reserved personal response to a style that for him lacks the hyperbolic contrasts of mixed modes that convey diversity of realism and deeply subjective psychological transformation. Yet, his "Critical Study" cloaks the symphony in terms that convey greater personal enthusiasm than is found in his earliest articles on the Second Symphony (April, 1834, C47; C50), where he describes it as a "vastly expanded Mozartean model." This illustrates his goal to promote Beethoven as a Romantic composer, which was important because this symphony was so popular with Parisian audiences.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, to Berlioz, Beethoven's Second Symphony is ultimately regressive.

#### The Fourth Symphony

The musical character of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony is for Berlioz either generally lively, brisk and cheerful, or imbued with a "heavenly sweetness" that is "full of joy" and "contemplative." His response on the whole is disengaged, although he describes certain musical passages in terms of the modern poetic by way of imagery that indicates mixed modes. The latter is illustrated, for example, in Berlioz's use of poetic imagery to describe Beethoven's "ingenious" crescendo in the first movement *Allegro vivace* (mm. 307-35, as discussed in

---

<sup>34</sup> Ellis, "The Criticism," *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, 161-2.

<sup>35</sup> Kraus, *Beethoven-Rezeption in Frankreich*, Table 5, 111.

Chapter II).<sup>36</sup> To Berlioz, the effect creates ambiguity by an ominous “cloud veiling” the harmony and unity of settled tonality, until the musical action seems to dissipate, like “a river whose peaceful waters” vanish from a “subterranean bed.” Suddenly, with “delicious freshness,” the musical action all at once emerges, transformed into a “furious foaming cascade.” On several levels, Berlioz’s poetic imagery conveys a metaphorical experience directly linked to an understanding of Beethoven’s musical action. For example, his description of a “subterranean bed,” an underground source of “peaceful waters,” evokes Beethoven’s unsettled and remote harmonies, which create a mood of anxiety associated with lurking danger. However, the sudden emergence of a “cascade” suggests surprise, a sudden burst of sound, and activity that presents an image of conditional danger, one that fits into the expressive context of this movement, largely described as “energetic and playful.” The image of a “cascade” also reflects a technical understanding of Beethoven’s thematic activity, which builds the crescendo by a rapid “downpour” of a series or sequence of motivic fragments (as discussed in Chapter II). These water images are not as intense as Berlioz’s descriptions of Beethoven’s “true nature” in the *Pastoral* Symphony, however, where nature evokes sublime multisensory responses; nor does the effect of anxiety contribute to a larger expression of deep subjectivity that underlines a large message of universality or individuality. In his “Critical Study” essay, Berlioz praises this as a select but important passage, indicating that Beethoven’s crescendo “scarcely has a rival,” and yet which is on a “smaller scale” than the “tremendous, final explosion” at the end of the *Scherzo*

---

<sup>36</sup> Here, if we recall from Chapter II, Beethoven gradually develops motivic fragments, “incomplete bits of phrases,” by use of remote harmonies, silence, and timpani. Berlioz describes the initial “mysterious developments” of thematic fragments, which are initially treated by “vague” harmonies, and “indefinite coloring,” created by the “murmur” of the strings, silent timpani, and *pianissimo*.

of the C-minor Symphony No. 5. It is, Berlioz suggests, a poetic moment that creates images of natural energy, movement, and light. Berlioz's response is engaged, but only within a larger limited response to the movement as a whole.

This limited sensory response is in direct contrast with Berlioz's reaction to the dramatic situations evoked by the second movement *Adagio*, which he describes as "consummate art" that grips the listener with "feelings that finally become painful in their intensity." Berlioz's paradoxical description of awe and pain reaches a climax in an analogy that compares Beethoven's music with a dramatic vision of Dante's hell. In a later version of *A Travers Chants* (1862), Berlioz compared this passage to the Archangel Michael's sigh. Though my dissertation focuses on Berlioz's early study of Beethoven, I include this later image in my discussion to illustrate the significance of paradox in Berlioz's musical aesthetic:

*Rien, en effet, ne ressemble davantage à l'impression produite par cet adagio, que celle qu'on éprouve à lire le touchant épisode de Francesca di Rimini, dans la Divina Comedia, dont Virgile ne peut entendre le récit 'sans pleurer à sanglots,' et qui, au dernier vers, fait Dante 'tomber, comme tombe un corps mort. (VM, 293-4).<sup>37</sup> Ce morceau semble avoir été soupiré par l'archange Michel, un jour où, saisi d'un accès de mélancolie, il contemplait les mondes, debout sur le seuil de l'empyrée. (ATC, 31)<sup>38</sup>*

Berlioz's double analogy – Dante's lovers in hell below and St. Michael grieving in the highest part of heaven – indicates the importance of mixed mode expression (as hyperbolic paradox) in Berlioz's aesthetic of the poetic in music. In contrast to the goodness and light that prevail as images in Beethoven's First and Second Symphonies, here Berlioz finds analogous impressions

---

<sup>37</sup> "Indeed nothing resembles more closely the impression produced by this *Adagio* than one's experience of reading in the *Divine Comedy* the touching episode of Paolo and Francesca, which Virgil (in the poem) cannot hear without sobbing and whose last line causes Dante to *collapse in a dead faint*."

<sup>38</sup> "This movement seems like a sigh breathed by the Archangel Michael when, overcome by an attack of melancholy, he stood on the threshold of the empyrean contemplating the cosmos." *AM*, 18.

of shadows, the taboo, and the grotesque that mark Hugo's aesthetic of nature. In response, Berlioz expresses his romantic concept of form – that the “consummate art of the structure” of this movement “defies analysis.” This end result, in contrast to an emphasis on the adherence to a traditional musical structure, illustrates Berlioz's criteria for a poetic form, as Beethoven's artful combination of contrasting elements to create an expression of the sublime.

On another level, Berlioz's reference to the *Divine Comedy* links Beethoven's image with the immense figure of Dante (1265-1321), often referred to as “the supreme Poet” (*il sommo Poet*), famous for raising Italian poetry to epic and philosophical heights. Berlioz's reference links this movement to Dante's conviction that art trumps creed, and that one earns immortality through worthy actions on earth.<sup>39</sup> Structurally, Dante's allegorical poem suggests that Beethoven's *Adagio* shares in a similar type of narrative, one that juxtaposes poetic elements, notably the themes of love and suffering, to create a dramatic situation or “theatrical spectacle.” In the *Divine Comedy*, Dante-as-persona narrates a series of poems, which unfold a sort of travelogue through the nine circles of Hell. Of these, Berlioz draws on a particular scene from Canto V of the *Inferno*, where Dante experiences Circle Two of the Inferno, the first level of Hell, led by Virgil, the poet of ancient Rome.<sup>40</sup> Here, Dante observes how the rapturous love of Paolo and Francesca – which meets a violent end at the hands of a vindictive husband – persists even amidst the hellish screams of the damned in the Inferno.<sup>41</sup> Berlioz suggests that a similar

---

<sup>39</sup> John Ciardi, *Preface* to Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. John Ciardi (New York: New American Library, 2003), ix-xvii.

<sup>40</sup> Virgil is the first guide to ultimate knowledge, which is God, and represents human reason; but since reason is finite, he stops at the top of Purgatory.

<sup>41</sup> Francesca, asked what lured her to her peril, replies: “The double grief of a lost bliss / is to recall its happy hour in pain.” Dante responds, “I felt my senses reel/ and faint away with anguish. I was

dramatic scene unfolds in the *Adagio*, where two paradoxical expressions intermingle to create a sense of the sublime so intense that it becomes painful.

Berlioz's analogy with Dante infuses metaphorical meaning in Beethoven's musical process. The mixture of technical modes discussed in relation to this passage in Chapter II combines here with a metaphorical, musical narrative that is similar to Dante's scene, whereby the melody, "angelic" and "irresistibly tender," represents the theme of love that binds together the two lovers (represented by the two accompaniment figures, mm. 26-34); and the theme of suffering in hell may be culled from the opposing affect created by the ominous sounding descending harmonies (passage of recomposition at mm.50-54).<sup>42</sup> On another level, this sense of action and motion ties in with Berlioz's previous use of natural imagery in this symphony, which takes on deeper meaning in association with Dante's environment, reflecting the progression of a psychological state as it transforms through the seven levels of hell.<sup>43</sup>

Berlioz envelopes the central paradox of eternal love and grief by describing the total effect of the *Adagio* as a "a sigh breathed by the Archangel Michael when, overcome by an attack of melancholy, he stood on the threshold of the empyrean contemplating the cosmos" (AM, 18). Berlioz's image is original, but it refers to the traditional religious depiction of St. Michael as a warrior-angel and administrator of cosmic intelligence, beseeched in time of emergency to

---

swept/ by such a swoon as death is, and I fell,/ as a corpse might fall, to the dead floor of Hell." Dante, 50-1.

<sup>42</sup> Here I stress that, to Berlioz, the affect is an impression, in contrast to previous musical rhetorical traditions that perceived allegory in music in terms of *topos* or gestures that portrayed a particular sentiment, i.e. the "lament" figure represented by discord and descent in Bach's Fugue in A flat major, BWV 901.

<sup>43</sup> Each circle reflects the self-destructive behaviour of the sinner, as Dante tell us (*The Inferno*, Canto III, 123), "their dread turns wish: they yearn for what they fear." Dante, 34.

relieve human suffering. The Feast Day of St. Michael typically celebrates the alleviation of weeping, sighing, and woe. Berlioz transfers these human sorrows to St. Michael, suggesting the abandonment of all hope, and a despair of cosmic proportions. Berlioz's imagery thus suggests many levels of meanings within a farrago of literary and religious themes, which convey that Beethoven's *Adagio* is the summit of poetic expression: "Only in one of the giants of poetry is there anything to compare with this sublime page by this giant of music."

By using dramatic paradoxical images, Berlioz foreshadows his later discussions of Beethoven's mature symphonies. Still, this movement provides but a brief sanctuary within what Berlioz perceives as a fundamentally uneven narrative. Unlike Beethoven's mature symphonies, the Fourth Symphony expresses neither triumph nor transcendence: his praise for the poetic elements of the first two movements gives way to the same tepid praise he bestowed upon the First and Second Symphonies. The final two movements do not fully meet his criteria of mixed modes as the artful combination of complementary opposites that create a kaleidoscopic perspective and intense passion. For example, the *Scherzo* integrates admirable "unexpected" melodic accents with rhythms described as creating "charm," and "pleasure"; and, in the trio, the violins toss off "little phrases" like "teasing sallies." Berlioz is most disappointed with the "gay and sprightly" finale, which integrates "conventional" classical techniques with rough edges as "angry outbursts." To Berlioz, these movements lack the aesthetic criteria of originality and poetic expression. Moreover, in relation to the previous movements, the uneven and limited expression of these final two movements seems out of context, and therefore they neither complement nor contribute to the larger unfolding of the symphony as a central poetic idea.

## The Eighth Symphony

My study partially supports Katherine Ellis's observations that Berlioz portrays the Eighth Symphony as a Romantic work.<sup>44</sup> However, a close reading of Berlioz's use of imagery reveals facetiousness and an ambivalence that suggests that he considers the Eighth more conventional than not. His descriptions of the Eighth Symphony (mostly a sparse mixture of adjectives) resemble those of the First Symphony. This observation corresponds with his comment that the former barely surpasses the latter in "breadth of form;" thereby, his thin use of imagery suggests a corresponding thinness of Beethoven's poetry. On another level, Berlioz's response mirrors his understanding of Beethoven's musical processes: as explored in Chapter II, Berlioz acknowledges technical skill in the Eighth Symphony (melody, orchestration, and rhythm), yet this praise is instantly undermined by playful irony or frank disappointment that Beethoven's original developments are deflated by "harsh moments" or clichés. Hence the lack of imagery in Berlioz's essay.

The "composer," as repeatedly invoked here, is a Haydnesque figure rather than a Romantic poet. In the first and third movements, the composer unfolds a controlled, balanced expression of sentiment, rather than a Romantic drama. In the first movement, the "composer" expresses capriciousness, interrupting a "cheerful" mood with "sad thought." Berlioz dismisses the third movement, a "minuet of the shape and tempo of Haydn's," as a form that has "stifled" the "composer's" originality. Berlioz also implies that the "composer" and his originality are vacant, as in the purely technical discussion of harmony in the finale (as discussed in Chapter II),

---

<sup>44</sup> Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France*, 107.

described only as “curious.” As in the First Symphony, Beethoven’s distinctive personal “voice” is not yet present. In response, Berlioz’s metaphorical engagement with the music is slim.

The second movement *Allegretto scherzando*, the “composer,” or Beethoven as *persona*, is praised for a poetic form, like “one of those works of art that have neither model nor counterpart; they fall into the composer’s head (i.e., Beethoven’s) full-blown from heaven. He writes it down as if dictated at one stretch, and we can only listen in amazement.”<sup>45</sup> However, based on his supportive imagery, one detects sarcasm in this statement. For example, in this movement, Berlioz describes the “composer’s” heavenly inspiration emerging as a combined melodic, harmonic and orchestral effect (as discussed in Chapter II, this passage begins as a *punta d’arco* “dialogue” in the strings, mm. 1-13) that is “gentle, innocent, and gracefully indolent, like a tune two children sing while gathering flowers in a meadow on a fine spring morning.” Its “cool” melody has an urge to “flutter,” yet the “listener” does not notice the asymmetry, which is overshadowed by the unusual “harmonic tapping effects” created by woodwind accompaniment. Through imagery, Berlioz draws a parallel between Beethoven’s small melodic fragments orchestrated like a dialogue and two singing children; on one level, this implies that Beethoven’s theme is underdeveloped.

Berlioz’s imagery then correlates Beethoven’s pleasing and consistent harmonic treatments of melody in the *Allegretto scherzando* with an idyllic pastoral backdrop; therefore his harmony reflects the eighteenth-century musical traditions of a consistent “delightful” sentiment,

---

<sup>45</sup> Berlioz erroneously identifies this as an *Andante scherzando*.

or a bucolic scene in the style of a Haydn.<sup>46</sup> These descriptions also infer that Beethoven's orchestral "tone" painting is light-bodied, and it creates graceful musical gestures. In effect, then, Beethoven's "flash of divine inspiration" colours a "scene" that, according to Berlioz, may suggest the *fêtes galantes* depicted in the French rococo paintings of Antoine Watteau (1684-1721).<sup>47</sup> But Berlioz's playful irony gives way to blunt disappointment, which he directs at a conventional Italianate *tremolo* motive that simply ends the second movement with "willfulness." This comment on the musical action suggests a contrasting image that links with that of the "two children," by insinuating that here the "composer" acts like an obstinate child.

Thus, as with the First, Second, and Fourth Symphonies, Berlioz conveys a dispassionate response by his limited use and type of imagery, which reinforces his technical discussion (in Chapter II) that portrays Beethoven's Eighth Symphony as an uneven and rather childlike work that objectively expresses "new, brilliant" ideas, intelligently developed, but that is overly in debt to classical models.

#### Beethoven as Poet of Antique Beauty: the *Eroica* and the Traditions of Virgil

Berlioz uses a variety of imagery to convey that the central poetic idea of the *Eroica* Symphony is an expression of *beauté antique*, which unfolds as a consistent expression of the ceremonial mourning for a "hero." Berlioz's notion of "antique beauty" is illustrated in his letter

---

<sup>46</sup> For further discussion of Haydn and the picturesque, see: Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar: Music, The Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn* (Ashgate: Aldershot, Burlington, 2001).

<sup>47</sup> Watteau is credited with inventing atmospheric landscapes and posed gestures of characters depicting *fêtes galantes*, charming pastoral scenes of aristocrats in graceful poses.

(June 20, 1838) to George Sand, suggesting that she write a new type of poetic drama: “de neuf et de poétique dans son sentiment de l’art où la vérité de la passion et la passion modernes sont toujours allié à la beauté antique.”<sup>48</sup> In his letter, Berlioz does not further define this term, however this letter illustrates one of several cases where Berlioz aligns both references to and images of the epic “antique” art of the past with the notion of “beauty.” Another example is found in Berlioz’s essay on the Pastoral, where he links the “antique” poems of Virgil with a depiction of “beauty.”<sup>49</sup> Here Berlioz reflects Hugo’s notion of the “beau antique” as traditional beauty.<sup>50</sup> In his letter, Berlioz reflects Hugo’s aesthetic of the new “complete poetry,” encouraging Sand to create an original modern drama by incorporating reminiscences of the past with expressions of “modern passion.” Similarly, in his essay, Berlioz intermingles images of antiquity and “antique sorrow” with descriptions of Beethoven’s “absolute beauty” to suggest that the central poetic idea of the *Eroica* is a modern expression of antique beauty.

In his essay, this poetic idea, he explains, is indicated by Beethoven’s programmatic title of the symphony (on Berlioz’s unidentified edition), “*Heroic Symphony to Celebrate the Memory of a Great Man.*”<sup>51</sup> Here Berlioz turns the symphony into a programmatic work by the standards

---

<sup>48</sup> Berlioz letter of June 20, 1837, reprinted in David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, vol. 2 (University of California Press: Berkeley; Los Angeles, 1999), 154-5; George Lubin, “Drame perdu pour une étoile sans emploi,” *Hommage à George Sand*, edited by Leon Cellier (Grenoble: University of Grenoble, 1969), 18. My translation: “What’s new and poetic in the sentiment of art, where, the truth of passion and modern passion are always allied to antique beauty.”

<sup>49</sup> Poems of the ancient world, beautiful and justly admired...”(*AM*, 24).

<sup>50</sup> Hugo, *Cromwell*, 72. Here Hugo discusses how the modern dramatic-lyric creates unprecedented expressions of the sublime, for example, by combining the grotesque with antique beauty.

<sup>51</sup> Despite a lengthy search, this is an undisclosed source, which does not appear in the Kinsky catalogue. See Chapter I. Most likely, it was an unauthorized French or English edition; and it may have been published by Troupenas, who employed Berlioz as music copy editor.

defined in his “De l’imitation musicale” (as discussed in Chapter II). In the *Eroica*, the title establishes the significance of programmatic elements on the poetic idea of the symphony, which is “the funeral rites of a hero.” Berlioz’s programme for the symphony complements the music’s deep and serious character, which expresses “melancholy memories” and suggests images of “ceremonies impressive in their grandeur and sorrow.”

Yet Berlioz deflects any associations of the “hero” with modern military events. Instead, he stresses elements in the *Eroica* that express a consistent mood of despair that is “serious and dramatic,” and that narrates an “ancient sorrow.” In this regard, antiquity in the *Eroica* is largely represented by elements of musical narrative that Berlioz links with musical traditions of imitation.<sup>52</sup> Ideally, traditions of musical imitation created a unified expression (typically military, hunting, or pastoral) in accordance with an accompanying text and/or specified representational content that encouraged an affect (or *topoi*)— usually idyllic, violent, or emotive — implied by the title.

Although Berlioz links the *Eroica* to French musical traditions, he also praises Beethoven’s original developments, notably his thematic treatment and orchestration (as seen in Chapter II). In this regard, Berlioz portrays the *Eroica* in a way that resembles French traditions of representing antique beauty in art and literature. In theories of art, antique beauty represents

---

<sup>52</sup> As discussed in Chapter II, Berlioz was aware of this tradition, notably promoted in Comte de Lacépède’s musical treatise, *Poétique de la musique* (Paris, 1785), describing a symphony that “paints” tones. This tradition in France was generally known as *symphonies à programme*, a popular large-scale vocal-instrumental composition that developed during the French Revolution, and was notably represented by Etienne Méhul’s *Le Chant national du 14 juillet* (1800). Berlioz understands this symphony within French traditions, which differ from the German tradition of “characteristic symphony.” For a discussion of German traditions, see: Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven*, 3-4; Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon’s Roar: Music, The Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2001).

idealized humanity, or a beauty that surpasses nature. To allow modern painters a way to capture an impression of this ideal beauty, and yet at the same time to allow for individual expression, the French Academy promoted a “selective theory of imitation.” Flemish Baroque painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) discussed this theory in his essay *De Imitatione Statuarum* (1608), stating that antiquity was best represented by imitating only a few selected models, which were expected to bear the “full weight of the prestige accorded to antiquity.”<sup>53</sup> Rubens’s *St. George and the Dragon*, 1606-7 (see figure1), is a glorious spectacle of Christian mediaeval antiquity, yet one expressed in a forceful personal style, prized by the French Romantic painters for its use of bold colours and its dramatic contrasts of light and shade, which create a process of “motion and emotion” that “spills over the edges” of the canvas.<sup>54</sup> Romantic artists were inspired by Rubens’s energy, his focus on light and colour rather than form, and his synthesis of elements of “antique beauty” with his own personal signature that conveyed the thrill of violent action. Eugene Delacroix (1798-1863), a well known contemporary of Berlioz, similarly developed assertive colour and light effects to create a personal and violent expression of antique beauty (often classical myth), as illustrated in his painting *Perseus and Andromeda* (1850-1). Here we see the Romantic aesthetic criterion of originality, created by the use of mixed modes (or

---

<sup>53</sup> Paul Smith and Carolyn Wilde, *A Companion to Art Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 100.

<sup>54</sup> H. W. Janson and Dora Jane Janson, *The Picture History of Painting* (N.Y.: Harry Abrams, 1975), 171.

Figure 1: Peter Paul Rubens, *Saint George and the Dragon*<sup>55</sup>



paradoxes) that break structural paradigms, notably the traditional polarized gender roles played out in this rescue legend. On many levels, the traditional main heroic figure of Perseus fighting the dragon is inverted and diminished (for example, by posture, use of recessive colours, vague perspective, and relegation to the background), while the *femme fatale* Andromeda is

---

<sup>55</sup> Peter Paul Rubens, *St George and the Dragon* ([wikipedia.org/wiki/Saint\\_George\\_and\\_the\\_Dragon\\_\(Rubens\)](http://wikipedia.org/wiki/Saint_George_and_the_Dragon_(Rubens)), accessed 11/29/2010). All images appearing in this project are public domain.

transformed into the central focus of the painting (enlarged, placed upright, and illuminated by bold colours) as an erotically charged nude in bondage (figure 2).<sup>56</sup>

Figure 2: Eugène Delacroix, *Perseus and Andromeda*<sup>57</sup>



These paintings illustrate several artistic criteria that correspond with Berlioz's promotion of the *Eroica*. the transformation of traditional techniques and images of antiquity synthesized into an original and unconventional personal style; bold new expressions of violence and dramatic action; and form as an organic, expansive process. These paintings also illustrate how Berlioz's

---

<sup>56</sup> Janson, 224-6

<sup>57</sup> Eugène Delacroix, *Perseus and Andromeda*  
([www.reproarte.com/picture/Eugene\\_Delacroix/Perseus+and+Andromeda](http://www.reproarte.com/picture/Eugene_Delacroix/Perseus+and+Andromeda), accessed 11/29/2010)

portrayal of the *Eroica* reflects the “selective” tradition of portraying antique beauty in art: he avoids any direct rhetorical correlation between Beethoven’s *Eroica* and any one art or literary form; instead, he selects a few antique images, and these culminate in an overall impression. Berlioz’s use of imagery reflects this art theory, which he develops as an interdisciplinary mixed mode that integrates references to both musical traditions and antique literary models, notably the epic poetry of Virgil and Homer. In this regard, Berlioz reflects Homer’s famous quote, “*ut pictura poesis*” (“as is painting, so is poetry”).<sup>58</sup> To this end, he portrays the *Eroica* as a multi-media expression of antique beauty, which underlines his promotion of music as multidimensional and interdisciplinary expression that supercedes all other arts, i.e., “*ut pictura musica.*”

As in French traditions of representing antique beauty in art and literature, Berlioz uses imagery to create “impressions” of Beethoven’s music as reflecting antiquity, notably in terms of an antique poem. To outline direct correlations between Beethoven’s musical narrative and any one artistic model, whether epic poetry or rhetorical oratory, would present the *Eroica* as an antiquated form of musical imitation that directly represents a text or a single sentiment. Importantly, Berlioz conveys the symphony as a modern representative of antique beauty through imagery that conveys both the effectiveness of Beethoven’s expression and formal nature of Beethoven’s musical narrative style and tone. For example, in style, Beethoven’s narrative expresses “certain kinds of beauty” in which the “springs of poetic emotion are hidden and inscrutable.” In tone, it is “elevated,” “graceful,” “deeply moving,” and a “noble inspiration.”

---

<sup>58</sup> Smith and Wilde, 99. Berlioz’s interdisciplinary experience is different from his multi-sensory experience of synaesthesia, later described in the *Pastoral*, nevertheless which overwhelms him.

Using very general literary terminology, Berlioz describes the symphony as an “epic work” of “sinewy” style that unfolds in part through Beethoven’s use of classical rhetorical forms, represented by the “exordium” and “peroration.” In short, the symphony is a “poetic form” in both its “conception and execution.” Like nature in the painting traditions of antique beauty, Berlioz’s often vague descriptions suggest distant images and faint brush strokes that set the tone and create a backdrop for his central images of antiquity.

The main models in Berlioz’s portrayal of antique beauty in the *Eroica* are Virgil and Homer. To Berlioz, Virgil signified the epitome of “epic passion.” In his *Memoirs*, he recounts that in his youth Virgil’s poems “kindled my smoldering imagination.” Indeed his lifelong passion for Virgil frames his professional life. His compositional career began with *La Mort d’Orphée* (1827), based on Virgil’s *Orpheus et Eurydice*; towards the end of his life he turned to Virgil again in *Les Troyens* (1858, based on the second and fourth book of the *Aeneid*). No wonder, then, that he uses analogy from Virgil to express his admiration for the *Eroica*, which, as a dramatic expression of epic proportions, conformed to his ideal of “antique beauty.”

Berlioz’s references to Virgil create an obvious analogy between Beethoven’s musical narrative and epic poetry, indicating Berlioz’s engagement at climactic points in the symphony. For example, the second movement is a “highly tragic funeral march...like a translation into music of Virgil’s beautiful lines on the funeral procession of young Pallas” (*AM*, 14). On one level, Berlioz suggests the formality of antiquity in Beethoven’s musical process as an elevated poetic idea comparable to the following lines of Virgil: “Many trophies from the battle of Laurentis are borne,/and the spoils of war are brought in a long line./Then the warhorse, Aethon, stripped of his trappings,/follows weeping, great tears rolling down his face.” On another

level, Berlioz's reference suggests the modern poetic in Beethoven's creation of original musical impressions of Virgil's epic-poetic literary description of mourning by his modern treatment of thematic fragmentation. As discussed in Chapter II, the march theme reappears (in the passage beginning m. 238) as "the bare, broken, solitary shreds of this mournful melody," interrupted by rests, and supported by *pizzicato* accompaniment in the basses. Beethoven's shredded melody is coloured by various rhetorical-like musical expressions of *pathos* (low orchestration, pointed harmony, soft dynamics, and use of silence), which represent the technical modes of orchestral range, frequency, and degree of sound.

At climactic moments, Berlioz often develops imagery to convey a multi-media experience that projects the musical action as a "theatrical spectacle," particularly by casting the orchestra members as the "actors." For example, in the second movement Beethoven's "instruments" are the "warriors" who "utter a cry" for their "comrade-in-arms." Similarly in the *Scherzo*, the orchestra depicts a scene, like many of those in Homer's *Iliad*, where the "warriors" celebrate "funeral games repeatedly darkened by thoughts of mourning," at the grave of their leader.<sup>59</sup> In this way, Berlioz illustrates how the multidimensional quality of music goes beyond expressions of art and literature alone. Here we encounter Beethoven's originality.

Beethoven's modern developments are the focus of Berlioz's discussion of the finale,

---

<sup>59</sup> Another example occurs in the first movement, *Allegro*, where Berlioz notes a singular expression: "On ne peut réprimer un mouvement d'effroi à ce tableau de fureur indomptable. C'est la voix du désespoir et presque de la rage. L'orchestre se calme subitement à la mesure suivante; on dirait que, brisé par l'emportement auquel il vient de se livrer, les forces lui manquent tout à coup" (*VM*, 280). One can barely restrain a shudder at this spectacle of uncontrollable fury. Here is the voice of despair, almost of rage. One may wonder, why this despair, why this rage? The cause is not revealed. In the next measure, suddenly, calm comes over the orchestra as if exhausted by the outburst to which it has just given way, its strength suddenly fails (*AM*, 13).

indicated largely by a shift from the orchestra as “actors” to a focus on the modern image of Beethoven as *persona*, described sequentially as the “composer,” “hero,” and “poet.” In one sense, the change of subject or protagonist elevates the role of the composer to that of implied narrator of the musical action, as if the curtains have parted to reveal the behind-the-scenes creator and director, if you will. In another, this shift reflects changes in mood that result from Beethoven’s development of thematic material by “refinements in tone.” For example, in the finale, Berlioz is aware of the “composer’s” original developments of a fugue theme (begins at m. 12) with two counter themes. One is a “singing theme” (beginning in m. 76 as the third variation) that increases the fugue’s expressivity, and in response, Berlioz confers on Beethoven the role of implied narrator of music that invokes final memories of the “hero...(who) calls forth many tears.” Finally, Berlioz indirectly posits Beethoven as the “poet,” who shifts the “final lamentations” into an “enraptured hymn to glory” (in the coda, *Presto*, beginning at m. 411). To this effect, the narrator as *persona* suggests an analogy between Beethoven’s musical process and a psychological process of grief (from elegiac mood to social prayer), created by a modern element of mixed-modes that alters the theatrical perspective of an expression that is generally formal and social.

In his appeal to the public to appreciate the antique beauty of the *Eroica*, Berlioz’s use of imagery that refers to classical antiquity serves three main functions. First, it conveys Berlioz’s response to the *Eroica* as linked to musical traditions, a technical masterpiece that unfolds a consistent and formal expression of ceremony. Next, it establishes that Beethoven’s musical narrative “paints” tones and affects in an elevated style that is analogous to the idealized forms of beauty found in the ancient classical epic traditions of Virgil and Homer. There are additional implications, too. By aligning the symphony (and the hero) with antiquity, Berlioz effectively

removes it from a more volatile political present. By holding up the *Eroica* as an impressive “monument” of epic and historical significance – “more beautiful” than “some of his other compositions” – Berlioz makes himself an advocate for a type of classical revival found in the modern expression of antique beauty. True art, he implies, is timeless.

### III Beethoven as Poet of High Drama: the Fifth and Seventh Symphonies and Shakespeare

Beethoven’s Fifth and Seventh symphonies were his most popular and frequently performed works in the *Société des Concerts* series between 1828 and 1849.<sup>60</sup> Berlioz plays on this by addressing the significance of these symphonies as models of modern Romantic expression, or what he terms the *genre instrumental expressif* (Aperçu, C18).<sup>61</sup> As discussed in Chapter II, Berlioz’s technical discussion illustrates how the Fifth and Seventh symphonies fall into this genre, largely by virtue of Beethoven’s highly active and varied thematic fragmentation, and of his expanded and original orchestration. Through imagery, Berlioz proposes that these original compositional techniques create a new type of musical narrative, which exceeds the expression of human emotions found in other art forms. Instead, Beethoven’s Fifth represents music as an “indefinite language,” a metaphorical expressions of “higher ideals” and of a “sublime life.” Here Berlioz reflects Hoffmann’s promotion of Beethoven’s romantic music as a link with the infinite.

For Berlioz, Beethoven’s Romantic musical narrative is a dense form, one that fuses

---

<sup>60</sup> Kraus, 127. The Seventh, Fifth, and the Sixth Symphonies were the most performed and popular, respectively.

<sup>61</sup> See chapter I; Rushton, *Roméo et Juliette*, 90.

practical and specifically poetic aspects of technique and expression to parallel the shape, tone and style of Romantic poetry. Beethoven's original thematic treatment and his enlarged symphonic structure and orchestration create new forms by means of poetic fragmentation, a mixture of metaphors (emotional expressions and ideas), and a subjective personal narrative. The overall effect is a form that reflects his "vast imagination," to create an intensely subjective expression of his "intimate thoughts" and of "all the poetry and brilliance and passionate inspiration of his vigorous youth." Unlike the formal musical narrative of the *Eroica*, or the unevenly presented narrative of Beethoven's traditional symphonies, Beethoven's Fifth and Seventh symphonies reflect the predominant Romantic expression of the indeterminate, reflecting Hugo's notion of this as the infinite, the fantastical, and the grotesque found in man's dark nature, taboo, or mad excess (the complementary opposite of traditional beauty as light and moral goodness, as discussed in Chapter I). This, Berlioz indicates, is created by mixed mode expressions that are at once "delicious" and "forbidden," mysterious and terrifying, full of dark irony, and love combined with "boundless sorrow, an all-consuming anguish." Beethoven develops these themes by his creation of a subjective narrative "voice," which is expressed musically by combinations of extreme dynamic ranges with silence, by mixing the dramatic with the lyrical, and by use of an episodic style with shifts in time, surprising turns of plot, and juxtaposed characters to build dramatic tension. This complex tapestry of themes hinges together around a poetic idea of high drama, represented by expressions of tragedy, theatrical illusion, or dramatic impression. To portray Beethoven's musical narrative in this regard, Berlioz draws analogies with Shakespeare.

In his essays on the Fifth and Seventh Symphonies, Berlioz's enthusiastic Romantic vocabulary conveys a sense of drama and breathlessness, with swift shifts and outbursts of

opposing images (sunshine and night, lava and angels, love and death) in poetic fragments. Such poetical enthusiasm typifies his encounters with Shakespeare, which are recollected in his

*Memoirs* as fantastical and overwhelming experiences:

This sudden and unexpected revelation of Shakespeare overwhelmed me. The lightning-flash of his genius revealed the whole heaven of art to me, illuminating its remotest depths in a single flash. I recognized the meaning of real grandeur, real beauty, and real dramatic truth, and I also realized the utter absurdity of the ideas circulated about Shakespeare in France by Voltaire...(M, 66-7)

Here Berlioz marks the Romantic reception of Shakespeare that rejected the eighteenth-century literary fashion, represented by Voltaire, which criticized Shakespeare's plays for disregarding classical unities, for using paradoxical imagery, for mixing various modes of speech, and for juxtaposing genres that created incomprehensible forms.<sup>62</sup> French Romantics, encouraged by Hugo, turned away from the isolated expressions contained in a single form to focus instead on the liberating effects created by the coexistence of opposing principles, such as mixed metaphors and genres. Essentially, Shakespeare's use of oxymoron and thematic fragmentation allows him to dart from one metaphor to another, arousing listeners' alertness and imagination to a speedy completion of the sense and imagery. This is illustrated in the famous balcony scene of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*: "But, soft! what light through yonder window breaks?/It is the east, and Juliet is the sun./Arise, fair sun, and kill the envious moon,/Who is already pale with grief,/ That thou her maid art far more fair than she" (2.2.4-8). Here Shakespeare mixes two

---

<sup>62</sup> Voltaire initially pronounced his dislike of Shakespeare in his *Lettres philosophiques XVIII* (1726): "I am going to say a rather risky thing, but a true one: the merit of this writer ruined the English theatre (...)." In his "*Essai sur la poésie épique*" (1728), Shakespeare's "bizarre and gargantuan ideas" were further attacked as "boorishness." Voltaire continued – in his *Letters concerning the English Nation* (1743) – to deem Shakespeare a master of the grotesque, a "fruitful Genius" having "not so much as a single spark of good taste." See Daniel Albright, *Berlioz's Semi-Operas: Roméo et Juliette and La damnation de Faust* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2001).

complementary images: in one breath, Romeo compares Juliet's striking loveliness with the dawning sun, and in the next, the moon is personified and sick with jealousy.

Berlioz builds a metaphorical bridge between the shape and the poetic expressions of Beethoven's Fifth and Seventh Symphonies and the narrative style and the poetic ideas of Shakespeare's late plays, *Othello*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Hamlet*. In this regard, he conveys the significance of music as metaphorical experience by avoiding a direct literal representation or structural correlation with any one literary form (such as a particular play). Instead, he correlates the powerful effects of Beethoven's Fifth and Seventh Symphonies with similar aesthetical effects created by Shakespeare's plays. This adds a subtext of imagery and meanings for readers. It also shows the insight of Berlioz's analytical and critical study of Shakespeare, which modern scholarship supports.<sup>63</sup> The unexpected variations in Beethoven's musical syntax and phrase lengths, as well as the spectrum of his variable musical dialectics challenge the listener's attention: it is not easy to follow such extreme expressive changes. Berlioz's analogies with Shakespeare illustrate that one may make sense of these unconventional elements – and more fully experience their powerful aesthetic effects – if one interprets Beethoven's music as the unfolding

---

<sup>63</sup> For example, literary critic A. C. Bradley states that Shakespeare is most noted for his highly concentrated, turbulent, asymmetrical and varied structures, with their extreme variations in syntax and sentence length. A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy: Lectures on Hamlet, Othello, King Lear and Macbeth* (London, 1904; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1991), 85; Margaret di Grazia discusses how Shakespeare creates ambiguity by using slang or by misusing common words, often with opposite meanings. Margreta De Grazia, "Shakespeare and the Craft of Language," *Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001): 50-6. See also: Wolfgang Clemen, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art: Collected Essays* (London, New York: Methuen, 2005), 150; Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (New York: Norton, 2005); Russ McDonald, *Shakespeare's Late Style* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), 43-6; Susan Snyder surveys historical accounts of dramatic genres to illustrate various ways that Shakespeare's plays defy the paradigms by mixing the rudimentary opponents of tragedy and comedy. Susan Snyder, "The Genres of Shakespeare's Plays," *Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*: 83-8.

of a dramatic personal narrative that mixes violent drama, dreamlike illusion, and the taboo realms of the supernatural in a romantic mélange.<sup>64</sup>

Importantly, this poetic diversity took on significance as a model for radical modernism that reflected the changing face of society, and underlined the significance of the poet. Hugo promoted Shakespeare as a genius of historical significance who created great works of originality by circumventing rules. Berlioz's earliest writings reflect Hugo's image of Shakespeare (as discussed in Chapter I) in his promotion of Beethoven's image as a suffering, misunderstood genius. This image also persists in Berlioz's compositional ideas. In his *Le retour à la vie, Mélologue faisant suite à la symphonie fantastique* (1832), Berlioz draws parallel portraits of Shakespeare and Beethoven as models of "génie." They are eminently Romantic by the paradox of their genius, which is both a blessing and a curse: Shakespeare is a "fallen giant in a world of dwarfs," and Beethoven a genius of divine inspiration, who must suffer, unappreciated by the world.<sup>65</sup> We find the same parallel portrait woven into the fabric of Berlioz's essays on the Fifth and Seventh Symphonies, where Beethoven, like Shakespeare, is the voice of a new age, a powerful poetic innovator, and a symbol of youthful aesthetic rebellion.

---

<sup>64</sup> Berlioz letter of June 20, 1837. Correspondence with Sand also confirms Berlioz's understanding of Shakespeare as a "drame terrible," a term used by George Lubin in his interpretation of Sand's reply to Berlioz in a letter of 1837, where she states: "il le vit (ce drame) dans l'atmosphère shakespearienne dont s'entoure la malheureuse interprète de Shakespeare." Lubin, "George Sand et Hector Berlioz: Drame perdu pour une étoile sans emploi," *Hommage à George Sand*, edited by Léon Cellier (Grenoble: University of Grenoble, 1969), 20-1.

<sup>65</sup> Berlioz, *Le retour à la vie, Mélologue faisant suite à la symphonie fantastique* (Paris: Schlesinger, 1832), 11-12; complete score (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900-7), online: public domain, [imslp.org/wiki](http://imslp.org/wiki). Shakespeare is a "colosse tombé dans un monde de nains." Beethoven, "en planant dans les cieux, conserve encore des souffrances de la terre un mélancolique souvenir...inapprécié."

## The Fifth Symphony

For Berlioz, Beethoven's Fifth Symphony illustrates a new type of intensely subjective musical narrative that unfolds a highly dramatic poetic idea of despair, one of a magnitude resembling moments from Shakespeare's tragedy *Othello* and Goethe's *Faust*. By placing Beethoven and the Fifth Symphony under the auspices of these literary figures, Berlioz establishes the Romantic aesthetic on many levels. Shakespeare and Goethe were known as controversial "poets of despair," criticized by some contemporary *littérateurs* for their melancholy pessimism.<sup>66</sup> To the Romantics, the two were of near-mythic significance; and Berlioz thereby raises Beethoven's stature to titanic proportions. On another level, these literary figures reveal Berlioz's personal penchant for high drama as a fusion of dark tragedy, lyrical grandeur, and elements of the macabre. Shakespeare and Goethe provide characters and scenes that allow Berlioz to convey suggestions and impressions (of violent tragedy in the first movement, and shadowy visions in the third), which reflect his understanding of Beethoven's musical intention and meaning. Berlioz develops these literary references by a free process of association within the broader scope of his kaleidoscope-like imagery, which ultimately suggests that Beethoven's Fifth defies direct verbal representation (either of a movement or of the symphony on the whole) within any one particular literary form. Moreover, Berlioz begins with an introductory image of despair – "the chaotic feelings that overwhelm a great soul when prey to despair" – that he develops, expands, and intensifies over the course of his essay (much like Beethoven's introductory thematic motive),

---

<sup>66</sup> George Sand, "L'Essai sur le drame fantastique," *Deux mondes*, Dec. 1, 1839. R. Bourgeois, "Les deux cordes de la lyre' ou Goethe jugé par George Sand," in *Hommage à George Sand*, 93-9; Sand, "Daily conversations with the very learned and highly skilled Dr. Piffoël" (1837), *Journal intime*, trans. Marie Jenney Howe (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1984), 74-5.

making the form of his essay like a gloss on Beethoven's musical action.

In the first movement, Berlioz describes Beethoven's dramatic musical expression like a theatrical tragedy. To guide readers to an understanding of the full impact of this expression, he embeds rich descriptive imagery about the progression of tragedy in episodic accounts of the rising musical action. This builds on a three-tiered series of images of gradually increasing intensity to prepare readers for the full trajectory of Beethoven's narrative. These move from the most traditional, to tragedy, and then to high dramatic violence, which parallels Beethoven's modern mixed modes of expression.

Initially, readers are presented with imagery portraying the most controlled realm of "concentrated despair that shows the outward appearance of resignation," comparable to the classical expressions of pathos or grief found in the *Eroica*.<sup>67</sup> Next, readers are guided out of this realm into Shakespeare's *Roméo et Juliette* and a realization that Beethoven's tragic expression exceeds even "Romeo's dark and mute grief on learning of Juliet's death." Finally, in the last phrase of the sentence, Berlioz makes a comparison with a particularly violent scene from one of Shakespeare's mature tragedies, *Othello*, with its multiple paradoxes and themes of deception, the dark arts, love, revenge, and murder. It is here (in the first movement) that readers meet the full force of Beethoven's violent dramatic expression of unleashed human rage:

*C'est tantôt un délire frénétique qui éclate en cris effrayants; tantôt un abattement excessif qui n'a que des accents de regret, et se prend en pitié lui-même; tantôt un débordement d'imprécations, une rage inouïe. Écoutez ces hoquets de l'orchestre, ces accords dialogués entre les instruments à vent et les instruments à cordes, qui vont et viennent en s'affaiblissant toujours, comme la respiration pénible d'un mourant, puis font place à une*

---

<sup>67</sup> "Le premier morceau est consacré à la peinture des sentiments désordonnés qui bouleversent une grande âme en proie au désespoir; non ce désespoir concentré, calme, qui emprunte les apparences de la résignation" (*VM*, 300).

*phrase pleine de violence où l'orchestre semble se relever, ranimé par un éclair de fureur; voyez cette masse frémissant hésiter un instant et se précipiter ensuite tout entière, divisée en deux unissons ardents comme deux ruisseaux de lave (VM, 300-1).<sup>68</sup>*

Here Berlioz describes despair as a wide range of emotional responses: frenzy, regrets, painful gasps, and the explosive image of “two streams of lava.” The complex unfolding of Beethoven’s rising musical action, climax, and falling action is created by his thematic treatment and orchestral “dialogues.” Berlioz equates the overall effect of these musical developments with Shakespeare’s catastrophic scene depicting Othello’s rage, Desdemona’s pleas, and the dark, mystical character of Iago, whose penchant for the black arts and acts of revenge are masked by his two-faced deception. Beethoven’s link with Shakespeare builds upon the latter’s image as a controversial dramatist, which Berlioz reinforces by describing Beethoven’s orchestral “dialogue,” or musical narrative, in theatrical-literary terms: like the depiction of a character in a scene of events, the music expresses moods that range from “a terrifying outcry” and “regrets,” to “gasps” and “full violence.”

The musical experience of the second movement *Andante con moto* (termed *Adagio* by Berlioz) resembles a combination of the melancholy expression in the *Allegretto* of the Seventh Symphony with the grace of the *Adagio* of the Fourth. Berlioz notes that these three movements share a similar technical combination in the use of a main theme that undergoes many thematic transformations (in the strings), accompanied by *pizzicato* accompaniment, and which is followed

---

<sup>68</sup> “At times it is a frenzy that explodes in a terrifying outcry, at times an extreme dejection that expresses itself only in regrets and takes pity on itself. Listen to the gasps in the orchestra, to the chords in the dialogue between winds and strings that come and go, sounding ever weaker, like the painful breaths of a dying man. Then their place is taken by a phrase full of violence, as if the orchestra were revived by a flash of anger. Note this trembling mass as it hesitates for a moment, then dashes headlong, splitting into two fiery unisons like two streams of lava (*AM*, 19-20).”

by an unchanging wind phrase. In the *Andante* of the Fifth, these technical similarities lead Berlioz to experience a similar emotional expression of contemplative resolution; and yet, these similar techniques here are treated in a manner that transforms the symphony's theme of human misery, the paradox of love and melancholy, into an expression of the sublime, a poetic experience that attests to the superior expressive power of music: "an impression impossible to describe, and surely the most intense of its kind I have ever experienced."

In the *Scherzo*, Berlioz shifts the theatrical spectacle to the most flamboyant expression of supernatural evil. But in so doing, he rejects the French interpretation of the fantastic as moral parable, and turns instead to the darker imagery of German Romanticism.<sup>69</sup> To describe Beethoven's *Scherzo*, Berlioz draws on Goethe's *Faust*, with its murky images of demonic powers, sexual taboos, and narcissistic nihilism. Here Berlioz's imagery links to the previous fantastical images, notably Iago and the vague undercurrents of the *Adagio*'s penumbral realm. In particular, Berlioz's analysis of the A section of the *Scherzo* uses fantastical vocabulary and a quick, journalistic rhythm, in response to Beethoven's "ominous" orchestral effects, combined with his sudden *piano* and *mezzo-forte* dynamic shifts. Note how Berlioz accents his key images with a sudden leap: from the first image of Beethoven's strange, hypnotic sounds – the "magnetic gaze" that suggests the superstitious image of the "evil eye" – into the terror of Goethe's poetic drama *Faust*:

*Le scherzo est une étrange composition dont les premières mesures, qui n'ont rien de terrible cependant, causent cette émotion inexplicable qu'on éprouve sous le regard magnétique de certains individus. Tout y est mystérieux et sombre; les jeux d'instrumentation, d'un aspect plus ou moins sinistre, semblent se rattacher à l'ordre*

---

<sup>69</sup> Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France*, 48-52; Didier, "Berlioz et Faust," *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* (Paris: Revue Trimestrielle, Juillet-Sept., 2004): 561-73.

*d'idées qui créa la fameuse scène du Blocksberg[sic], dans le 'Faust' de Goethe (VM, 303).*<sup>70</sup>

Scene nineteen, “Walpurgis Night” (the Blocksberg scene) in Part I, to which Berlioz refers, signals a spectrum of fantastical themes that range from mysticism to madness, and draw on Nordic and German legends, folklore, superstition, and moral taboos. Here Goethe spins a fantastic world where medieval witches gather in the dark on the summit of a Blocksberg mountain in an orgiastic celebration of Satan, as Faust and Mephisto watch. The Blocksberg scene is the most difficult for readers to understand, partly because its focus is displaced away from the central character.<sup>71</sup> This scene is a diversion from the main action – what critics term an “Intermezzo” or *entr'acte*. It comprises a realm of its own with separate thematic content, and functions as a metaphor for the vaporous fantastical realm that exists between Faust’s real world and the devil’s hell. Berlioz develops this metaphorical notion of scherzo as a nebulous connective form between other movements (or worlds) in the “Queen Mab” *Scherzo* of his *Roméo et Juliette*.

Berlioz was obviously aware of the structural significance of Goethe’s “Walpurgis Night,” and saw the extreme expression of Beethoven’s *Scherzo* as a manifestation of the same Romantic impetus. When Berlioz describes the transition from the *Scherzo* to the finale, he compares it to a

---

<sup>70</sup> “The *Scherzo*’s first measures have nothing alarming about them, yet they produce unaccountable sensations like those that one feels under the magnetic gaze of certain individuals. Everything is mysterious and dark; the rather ominous interplay of instruments seems akin to the range of ideas created in the famous *Blocksberg* scene in Goethe’s *Faust*” (*AM*, 20).

<sup>71</sup> Goethe’s poetic writing stylistically reflects this thematic change with a more dynamic and quickened sense of rhythm that literary critics categorize as “strained.” Giro von Wilpert, *Goethe encyclopedia* (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1998); H. Arens, *Kommentar zu Goethes Faust I* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1982).

movement from the fantastic to the rational. And, crucially, just as Beethoven's "triumphal march theme" bursts forth with an entry of trombones, Berlioz's own journalistic shift in topic acts like a "thunderclap," pulling readers out of the nightmarish mood and into the finale's song of rejuvenation: "this immense song of victory, in which the soul of the musician-poet, freed from earthly fetters and sufferings, seems to spring up radiant toward the heavens" (*AM*, 21). This imagery is in blatant opposition to earlier images of misery and evil, and indicates that Berlioz approves of the violence of Beethoven's transition. Berlioz describes the finale in colossal terms: an uncontested masterpiece, "beside which very few works could be put without being crushed."<sup>72</sup> With this, he calls up all previous forceful imagery, and confirms Beethoven as poet.

Berlioz's essay builds on dramatic episodes; it shifts in time; and it vacillates between the realms of reality and fantasy, using surprising turns of plot and the juxtaposition of characters to create tension. Berlioz's essay also takes into consideration the fact that it was extremely challenging for the listener to follow Beethoven's extremes in expression. Berlioz's imagery therefore offers a way into Beethoven's modern symphonic expression. By personifying the orchestral action as a series of scenes, and by referring to a variety of "characters" (Othello, Desdemona, Iago, or Faust's witches), Berlioz's imagery plays into his concept of the Fifth as a powerhouse that supercedes all other forms of dramatic expression.

### The Seventh Symphony

Berlioz's introduction begins like an "symphonic slow introduction," which this symphony possesses, along with various kinds of imagery and theatrical drama. Variety in imagery, paradox,

---

<sup>72</sup> "...auprès desquelles bien peu de morceaux pourraient paraître sans en être écrasé." *VM*, 307.

and references to theatrical illusion are used to project the Seventh Symphony as a high dramatic expression of despair transformed. He immediately introduces this poetic idea in one of his essay's main themes, the symphony's reception. This theme conveys his own dramatic struggle to close the gap between the closed-minded audiences who resist the symphony (excepting the popular *Allegretto*) and an appreciation of the entire work as a "masterpiece." His essay develops this drama by a series of juxtapositions – expansiveness and intolerance, love and grief, fantasy and reality – that are doubly directed at Beethoven's paradoxical musical expressions and at contemporary reception, the latter as ironic commentary. He transforms his essay's theme of reception into a subtext of meaning that enriches a second theme of theatrical illusion, which he portrays with dramatic situations, theatrical spectacles, and specific references to Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and *Hamlet*; and he further juxtaposes the genres of comedy and tragedy in ways that mirror his conception of Beethoven's thematic treatment to create "myriad guises" of meaning.

Throughout his essay, and developed like a fragmented soliloquy, is the sense that Berlioz's descriptions of despair resonate with his own frustrations as a composer. Like a changing camera lens, Berlioz's essay shifts from a primary perspective on Berlioz as the concerned journalist, to Berlioz the composer, to Beethoven the narrator, to the reader, and to audiences in general. First he addresses his reader, suggesting that the popularity of the *Allegretto* is merely conditioned behaviour on the part of small-minded individuals who are "ever ready to reject any musical idea a bit out of the ordinary." Such a dim approach, Berlioz explains, obstructs appreciation of the other movements in their contribution to the symphony as a whole. As he develops this theme of reception, he addresses the unpredictable tastes of contemporary

audiences; the controversy of program music; and the conventions of harmony imposed by the “guardians of the school doctrine.”

Berlioz also develops the concept of “reception” as a motive that he interweaves with a series of theatrical terms that convey an impression of the Seventh Symphony as high drama. For example, in the first movement, Berlioz compares Beethoven’s thematic treatment of a rhythmic motive as a unifying device to a lead actor who holds “centre stage.” This image also posits Beethoven as narrator.

Berlioz’s two main themes – reception and the theatrical – culminate in a reference to Shakespeare. This reference to beat all references can be understood as the essay’s climax, combined with the climax of Berlioz’s aesthetical experience of the symphony:

*Là-dessus la mélodieuse plainte, émise avec plus d’énergie, prend le caractère d’un gémissément convulsif; des rythmes inconciliables s’agitent péniblement les uns contre les autres; ce sont des pleurs, des sanglots, des supplications; c’est l’expression d’une douleur sans bornes, d’une souffrance dévorante...Mais une lueur d’espoir vient de naître: à ces accents déchirants succède une vaporeuse mélodie, pure, simple, douce, triste et résignée ‘comme la patience souriant à la douleur.’ Les basses seules continuent leur inexorable rythme sous cet arc-en-ciel mélodieux...(VM, 326).<sup>73</sup>*

Berlioz’s prose unfolds in rhythmically-paced poetic fragments as a personal response that echoes Beethoven’s own rhythmic and “melodic rainbow.” Berlioz captures his experience of this passage (beginning m. 27 to “hope” in m 102) in a play-by-play that begins with quick, short motives expressive of fleeting and multi-faceted emotions; these are followed by more extended and lyrical antecedent phrases; and the section culminates in an image of paradox with his

---

<sup>73</sup> “Thereupon the melodious lament, now stated more energetically, becomes a convulsive wail, and incompatible rhythms compete harshly one against the other. These are tears, sobs, entreaties; they express a boundless sorrow, an all-consuming anguish. But after these heart rending strains a glimmer of hope appears: a nebulous melody, pure, simple and sweet, sad, resigned *like patience smiling at grief*. The basses alone keep up their inexorable rhythm beneath this melodious rainbow...” (AM, 27).

quotation from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*: "like Patience on a monument smiling at grief."<sup>74</sup>

This famous quotation is a songlike verse spoken by the character Cesario (Viola disguised as a man), and it conveys the impassioned melancholy-sweetness of Viola's undeclared love.

Berlioz's use of this phrase is an apparent acknowledgment of a similar unifying structural technique found in Shakespeare's play, which interlinks a range of themes, characters, and modes of speech. Shakespeare's romantic comedy is built upon characters who relentlessly pursue their self-centred whims amidst a series of distressing events. Those events, however, appear light-hearted and delightful to audiences, who perceive the ludicrous spectacle of it all. Paradoxically, the audience can be amused by Sebastian's grief or Viola's mourning. The complexities of the plot spotlight the comedy of human nature by revealing the contrasts between the real and the artificial. One might add that the last laugh is Shakespeare's, who does not entirely veil his mockery of an audience that laughs as it recognizes its own fallibilities.

Berlioz may have integrated this aspect of the play's double entendre in at least two ways. First, he does not convey his impression of Beethoven's symphonic movement as an overt expression of comedy or farce; rather, he suggests that Beethoven's musical narrative is a commentary on the dark humour of human behaviour. Additionally, Berlioz ties the play's broader theme of infatuation based on limited knowledge with his own initial suggestion that the current popularity of the *Allegretto* is artificial.

Returning to Beethoven's musical action in the *Allegretto*, Berlioz further develops the

---

<sup>74</sup> Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, (Act II, scene 4, line 116), "A Room in the Duke's Palace", Cesario (Viola) to the Duke: "Viola. A blank, my lord, she never told her love:/ She let concealment, like a worm I' th' bud,/ feed on her damask cheek; she pin'd in thought,/ And with a green and yellow melancholy,/ She sat like Patience on a monument/ smiling at grief. Was not this love indeed!"

image of a struggle “between anguish and resignation.” In his discussion of the second movement, he inserts a verse from Thomas Moore, which Berlioz probably knew from Byron’s *The Giaour* (1813): “One fatal remembrance, one sorrow that throws/ Its black shade alike o’er our joys and our woes.”<sup>75</sup> Since Berlioz was an avid fan of Byron, one wonders why he did not quote directly from *The Giaour*, a poem in fragmented style that spins an exotic romance of fantasy, love, revenge. On the other hand, this poetic quotation resonates with Berlioz’s earlier themes of veiled emotions, hidden thoughts, and the combined images of love and suffering. This association is supported by Berlioz’s personal response to Moore’s poetry, which dates from his earliest writings on “suffering” (1829). Berlioz responded to Moore while under the spell of both his first encounter with his bride-to-be, the Irish actress Harriet Smithson (who had performed the part of Ophelia), and Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*. This double encounter caused him a fervor of combined love and longing that he saw reflected in Moore’s poems, *Irish Melodies*. He immediately responded by composing a “heartrending farewell” titled *Élégie* (in his set of songs, *Neuf mélodies irlandaises*, Op. 2, 1829). He describes this song as a “poignant truth of melodic expression, combined with such sinister harmony.”<sup>76</sup> This parallels his portrayal of the *Allegretto* as the “heartrending strains” of a “songful lament.” In Berlioz’s aesthetic, this parallel also supports the importance of melodic development in designing expression.<sup>77</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup> This particular quotation by Moore is included in Byron’s poem; however, Berlioz probably read Louise Swanton-Belloc’s translation of Moore’s collection *Les amours des anges, et les Mélodies irlandaises* (Paris, 1823).

<sup>76</sup> “(D’)accidents mélodiques, plongés dans un tel orage de sinistres harmonies.” *M*, Chapter XVIII, 67. See also Alan Ramaut, “le Thomas Moore d’Hector Berlioz,” *Hector Berlioz: Regards*: 213-221.

<sup>77</sup> The importance of melody in Berlioz’s aesthetic is discussed in Chapter II; French traditions of *Mélodie*, are notably represented in *l’Encyclopédie méthodique* de Framery et Ginguéné, and *Le Traité*

In his essay on the Seventh Symphony, Berlioz further develops his personal connections between Moore's poems and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in at least two ways. First, Moore's verse calls up the image of a lyrical-dramatic soloist, which mirrors Berlioz's previous image of a lead actor, and his opening and recurrent motive of dramatic soliloquy. This motive also closes his discussion of the second movement, where he casts the orchestra as a lead actor who recites a soliloquy in a dramatic death scene. Finally, this imagery crescendos into a Shakespearean quote from *Hamlet*:

*...l'orchestre, comme fatigué d'une si pénible lutte, ne fait plus entendre que des débris de la phrase principale; il s'éteint affaîssé. Les flûtes et les hautbois reprennent le thème d'une voix mourante, mais la force leur manque pour l'achever: ce sont les violons qui la terminent par quelques notes de pizzicato à peine perceptibles; après quoi, se ranimant tout-à-coup comme la flamme d'une lampe qui va s'éteindre, les instruments à vent exhalent un profond soupir sur une harmonie indécise et... 'le reste est silence' (327).<sup>78</sup>*

The quotation "the rest is silence" comes from Hamlet's last soliloquy (Act V, scene 2, line 347). In his last words, Hamlet questions man's insignificance and his inability to control his fate after death. Berlioz's quotation thus invokes the play's themes of suicide, love, and revenge. The phrase also recalls his previous imagery on themes of suffering, violent death and human mortality, out of which rise all eternal stories. Therefore, Berlioz suggests that Beethoven's "boundless" and "all-consuming" Seventh Symphony goes beyond the poetic expression of a single literary tragedy.

---

*de mélodie de Reicha.*

<sup>78</sup> "(T)he orchestra, as if exhausted by its arduous struggle, is reduced to playing only fragments of the main theme; then it collapses and dies away. The flutes and oboes take up the theme again but in a faint voice; they are too weak to complete it (m. 255). It is the violins who do so with a few barely audible pizzicato notes, after which the winds, reviving suddenly like the flame of a dying lamp, breathe a deep sigh over an indecisive harmony and – *the rest is silence*" (AM, 28).

Berlioz's diverse use of metaphor and analogy create abstract implications, which may bring us closer to experiencing Beethoven's music as metaphorical. Particular to the Fifth and Seventh Symphonies, Berlioz reflects Hugo's claim that Shakespeare opened a "new garden of poetry." Berlioz's own analogy with Shakespeare conveys how Beethoven opens a "new universe of poetry" (*M*, 76). This conclusion supports my argument that Berlioz's metaphorical reading of Beethoven's music as meaning is valid as a particular type of creative analysis: one that establishes a new "poetic" musical aesthetic, documents the reception history of Beethoven within the culture and history of French Romanticism, and indicates Berlioz's compositional interests.

#### IV. Beethoven Poet of Modern Symphonic "Poems": the Sixth and Ninth Symphonies

Berlioz promotes the Sixth and the Ninth as "poems" that create new worlds of expression. His technical focus illustrated how Beethoven's orchestration successfully integrates various levels of physical musical imitation with indefinite expression to create a kaleidoscopic shifting between ambiguous moods and atmospheres, and different temporalities. As such, he illustrated Beethoven's development of two different categories: the modern descriptive or *pittoresque* in the Sixth Symphony, largely as a mixed modes that conveys a subjective perspective of nature; and the modern dramatic-lyric form of the Ninth Symphony, largely as a diverse mixture of genres that ultimately creates an expression of the infinite. As *critique poétique*, Berlioz describes these two symphonies as modern musical "poems" in terms of Hugo's criteria of "absolute" poetry – they are both personal and collective expressions. Moreover, Beethoven transforms musical traditions into metaphysical experiences of synaesthesia, as a heightened simultaneous mixture of visual, auditory, and sensory perceptions. As a result, he

upholds the Sixth and Ninth Symphonies as models of modern music's superior expressive power over all other arts.

In his essays on the Sixth and Ninth Symphonies, Berlioz's esteem for Beethoven's technical transformations is conveyed through two unique poetic concepts of the natural and the spiritual, within a process that hinges on man's relationship with nature – or on his own interior nature. Here we experience the seasonal and sensual naturalistic realm in the Sixth and the transfiguration of the earthly to aspire to the spiritual unity of man with nature in the Ninth. For example, in the Sixth Symphony, Berlioz describes “those enchanted forest glens!...the river, father of waters, which winds its way in majestic silence toward the open sea!” as well as the “terrors” of the Storm scene. In the Ninth Symphony, he hears “gentle impressions evoked by Nature that were so dear to Beethoven—its smiling and serene aspects—the purity of the air, the first rays of a spring dawn” in the second movement *Molto vivace* (33); and the “roaring like the sea at the approach of a storm” in the first movement *Allegro ma non troppo, un poco maestoso* (32). Though technically Berlioz establishes that the Ninth Symphony is not programmatic, nevertheless he interprets both works poetically as mirrors of nature. In this regard, Berlioz reflects Hugo's romantic notion of nature as expressing both reality (the mimetic) and man's inner nature (the indefinite). Beethoven's nature is a paradoxical land full of life, motion, and multi-sensory experiences, which Berlioz conveys as “a scene where all the peaceful voices of heaven and earth and waters are naturally to be found,” or as drama and violence experienced in “wind, thunder and lightning, and the lowing of cattle in a storm.” Central to this landscape is man, expressed either by the personification of instruments (in the Sixth) or by the human voice (in the Ninth). Like nature, man also represents an inherent paradox, which Berlioz portrays by a

diversity of characters and behaviour. According to Berlioz, Beethoven's *persona* is a bridge between the naturalistic and spiritual world, an implicit fictional "composer" (in the Sixth) who is ultimately transformed into the image of a divine poet (in the Ninth).

Berlioz, as *critique poétique*, weaves together a narrative that incorporates themes of man and nature in combination with his interpretation of Beethoven's programmatic elements in the Sixth Symphony, and cues from the use of voices with poetry in the Ninth, which ultimately reflect his main compositional interests. In the *Pastoral* Symphony, his technical focus on orchestration ("painting in tones") is poetically likened to a contemporary painting of antique beauty, creating a pantheistic mixture of past and present. Pagan and Christian symbols depict the vastness and power of Nature, where man is free to pursue his own nature, and achieves a peaceful balanced state. In this realm, Beethoven appears as both fictional man and mythical god. By contrast, Berlioz's narrative of the Ninth illustrates his technical interest in form represented structurally as a union between orchestra and voices. The form is poetically portrayed as a transformation of the voice of diversity through mixed genres into a spiritually united voice of universal joy. The coexistence of subjectivity and diversity in the poetic character of Beethoven's symphony represents the crown of Beethoven's achievements, and this propels Beethoven's image as the "composer" into the realm of the divine.

#### VI. *Pastoral* Symphony: the Modern Pittoresque

In his essay on the *Pastoral*, Berlioz's use of human and pastoral images reflects a Romantic view of nature as a supernatural realm that mirrors the inner psyche. This is comparable to the French Romantic reception of Beethoven's *Pastoral*, most notably in the "Essai sur la

symphonie pastorale de Beethoven” (1833) and *Lettres d’un voyageur* (1838) by George Sand.<sup>79</sup>

A closer look at Sand’s response to Beethoven’s music helps to conceptualize Berlioz’s own poetic response within the context of French Romanticism. My aim here is not to determine whether Sand influenced Berlioz or the contrary, but to show the deep kinship between their sensibilities and creative responses to Beethoven’s symphony.

Listening to Beethoven’s *Pastoral* led Sand into poetic reverie and apocalyptic visions, which she captures in her “Essai sur la symphonie pastorale de Beethoven” (1833). Here, she interprets Beethoven’s Nature imagery in divine symbolism within a dreamlike and mystical voyage: she joins flocks of white and black birds ascending to heaven; she becomes a black bird, joining the others, but remaining lower, while the angels and white birds fly higher. It is the Last Judgement, tears fall from the heavens and cleanse her of her blackness, and she is called to join the white birds. However, her dream ends as the symphony ends. Sand’s writings on Beethoven’s *Pastoral* speaks widely of its power to resonate with images arousing sensations and memories, which Sand scholars agree points to her idea of music as descriptive language.<sup>80</sup> Her description of music illustrates her awareness of rhythm, melodic or thematic prominence, and harmonic undertones of colourations, sensations, and undercurrents of memories. It also appears to

---

<sup>79</sup> George Sand, “Essai sur la symphonie pastorale de Beethoven,” *Lettres d’un voyageur* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1971), 110-14; quoted in Powell, 131.

<sup>80</sup> On the topic of music in Sand’s writing see:; Beatrice Didier, “George Sand critique musical dans ses lettres,” *Presence de George Sand* 12 (Oct. 1981): 22-27; *George Sand écrivain: “Un grand fleuve d’Amérique”* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998); David A. Powell, *While the Music Lasts* (London: Associated University Presses, 2001); Marie-Paule Rambeau, *Chopin dans la vie et l’oeuvre de George Sand* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985).

closely resemble the journalistic literary style of Berlioz.

Sand's writings on the *Pastoral* illustrate several Romantic literary elements also reflected in Berlioz's essays on the Sixth and Ninth Symphonies, notably how an emotional response is captured in a type of lyrical discourse and personal narrative that expresses a "metaphysical conceit."<sup>81</sup> Stylistically, this is a combination of literary techniques that include wit, imagery, subtle argument, paradox and poetic reverie. This French Romantic literary style is similarly illustrated in Berlioz's poetic narrative on the *Pastoral*.

In his essay on Beethoven's *Pastoral* Symphony, Berlioz uses much visual imagery, as if he were viewing a painting. His technical focus on Beethoven's orchestral effects is translated metaphorically into visions of an immense and powerful landscape, where man is free to explore in his natural state, alone "by the brook" in contemplation of the "thousands of soft impressions," or together with the "merry mountaineers" in "raucous" celebration. Berlioz fills his view of this realistic landscape with reference to several renowned visual artists, poets, and mythical figures. Thus Beethoven is situated among a select group of geniuses who illustrate the civilizing importance of originality,

---

<sup>81</sup> Here Berlioz reflects a common Romantic idea in poetry that nature reflected the poet's imaginative visions of the spiritual world: a scene usually parallels an emotion or personal issue central to a poem. This notion of landscape developed in revolt against the scientific philosophers of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, who viewed reality as a mechanical world. Romantic "nature poetry" was ideally meditative and metaphysical. See, for example, Brookner, *Romanticism and Its Discontents*, 62-4; Kermode, "The Image," *Romantic Image*, 52-8; Albert Beguin, *L'âme romantique et le rêve: essai sur le romantisme allemand et la poésie française* (Paris: J. Corti, 1939); Jacques-Philippe Saint-Gerard, "Métaphores, Correspondancières du début du XIXe siècle: Linguistique, Style, Synthèses," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 26 (Fall-Winter, 1997-1998): 1-23.

defined here as the “limitless freedom of invention.”<sup>82</sup> Here Berlioz reflects Hugo’s promotion of artistic originality. Beethoven’s modern expression of the pittoresco – like Hugo’s ideal of mixed modes in the new poetry – subsumes traditions of the mimetic with the indefinite to create a true representation of nature.<sup>83</sup> Beethoven eclipses all artists, however, as the poet-Titan of modern art, which surpasses the expressive power of all other arts by creating the intoxicating sensual effects of synaesthesia. This, to Berlioz, is “Nature as she really is!”

The ‘true nature’ of Beethoven’s pittoresco music is immediately established in Berlioz’s opening statement that juxtaposes his two main themes – one that represents a view of the natural landscape, the other of man – implied by reference to two innovative artists: “This astonishing landscape seems as if composed by Poussin and drawn by Michelangelo.” Berlioz’s linking of these two particular artists and the two artistic domains of composition and painting with Beethoven’s musical “landscape” suggests several meanings, particularly in regards to Beethoven’s romantic image as poet, and in regards to his modern program music as an interdisciplinary art form. To understand the broad significance of Berlioz’s imagery, I apply a process of poetic mapping that first explores these paired references individually.

French Romantics admired the French Baroque painter Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) for his development of traditions of antique beauty within realistic landscapes of a

---

<sup>82</sup> Frederick Burwick and Jurgen Klein, *The Romantic Imagination: Literature and Art in England and Germany* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), 34-5; *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, Sixth Edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

<sup>83</sup> See Chapter I, 38-40.

typically austere beauty, as illustrated in “*The Grapes from the Promised Land*” (representing “Autumn” from his “The Seasons” series, 1660-4; example 3).<sup>84</sup>

Figure 3: Nicolas Poussin, *The Grapes of the Promised Land*<sup>85</sup>




---

<sup>84</sup> Poussin’s works were viewed by the general public in the Louvre, which had been opened during the French Revolution. Romantic artists, notably Jacques-Louis David, were inspired to revive Poussin’s style in order to portray scenes of serious issues and social consciousness. Poussin did not follow the general preference of his age for decorative art that portrayed courtly frivolity; rather Poussin’s paintings typically depict looming storms, expansive space, and life among classical ruins. See Anthony Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin* (London: Pallas Athene Pub., 1995); Walter Friedländer, *Nicolas Poussin: A New Approach* (New York: Abrams, 1964).

<sup>85</sup> Nicolas Poussin, *The Grapes of the Promised Land* ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File: Four-seasons-autumn, jpg.](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Four-seasons-autumn.jpg), accessed 11/29/2010).

Central to Poussin's graceful autumn landscape are the Israelite spies, returning from Canaan (the promised land, from the Book of Numbers) with a bountiful harvest of grapes. Poussin's season (Autumn) denotes a nostalgic vision of harmony between man and nature – nostalgic because the paradox of life places such a balance forever beyond our grasp. In this regard, Berlioz may imply that both Poussin and Beethoven reflect the Romantic sentiment of melancholy longing for the beauty of an idealized past. Poussin's landscapes are typically allegorical, a "philosophical reflection on order in the natural world."<sup>86</sup> Though Berlioz does not refer directly to *The Grapes of the Promised Land*, this painting illustrates Poussin's stylistic signature in his mixture of both pagan mythology (the myth of Bacchus) and early Christian symbols (as part of the Christian Eucharist). By this reference, Berlioz may infer that Beethoven's landscape is similarly a precarious balance between man and nature, a mercurial realm of "great clouds" and "terrifying cataclysm," and the "delight" of "thousands of soft impressions of reflected sound and light." Berlioz's reference to Poussin also plays in to his portrayal of the *Pastoral* as a paradoxical landscape that juxtaposes past and present within a pantheistic ideal. Here again, we hear echoes of Hugo's advocacy of the new poetry as the evolutionary culmination of the preceding ages of poetry in the pantheistic spirit of the modern age.

Berlioz's second opening theme of man is alluded to in his reference to a "drawing" by the Renaissance revolutionary Michelangelo (1475-1564), through which Berlioz appears to imply several subtexts of meaning. Michelangelo's drawings were often the source of his creative ideas and developing technical style. Berlioz's reference to

---

<sup>86</sup> Blunt, 85.

Michelangelo's "drawing" thus suggests that Beethoven's *Pastoral* is similarly a wellspring of originality. More specifically, here the view is of man, since Michelangelo's drawings focus primarily on human figures, as illustrated in his *Libyan Sibyl* (example 4).

Figure 4: Michelangelo, Drawing of the *Libyan Sibyl*<sup>87</sup>



Berlioz grew to revere Michelangelo during his stay in Rome in 1830, following his award of the *Prix de Rome*. He spent many hours installed in a pew of St. Peter's, alternately looking down to read Byron or looking up to absorb the visions of Michelangelo's gigantic masterpieces above him (*M*, 139). Dubbed by his contemporaries as *Il Divino* (The Divine

---

<sup>87</sup> Michelangelo, *Libyan Sibyl* ([http://wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Michelangelo\\_libyan.jpg](http://wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Michelangelo_libyan.jpg)., accessed 11/29, 2010).

One), Michelangelo upheld the artist as a superhuman who mirrors God but also competes with Him. These elements are illustrated in the *Libyan Sibyl*, which depicts Man in a process of transformation, particularly from male to female characteristics. Similar to Poussin's portrayal of antique beauty, Michelangelo also employed mixed modes, notably as a mixture of classical antiquity (Hellenistic) with Christian themes (the Libyan Sibyl foretold the coming of Christ), synthesized in his own experimental style. Berlioz's reference infers similar images of transformation, and these directly reflect his technical discussion (seen in Chapter II) of Beethoven's distinct combination of the nine modes of action in the *Pastoral* to unfold an organic musical process of shifting temporalities and creative improvisation. Berlioz's analogy reflects his clear technical understanding of the *Pastoral*, similar to artists who study Michelangelo's drawings as a means to gain insight into his tools, techniques, and stylistic evolution.<sup>88</sup> On another level, Michelangelo's drawings reflect his own poetic philosophy of man's superiority in nature.<sup>89</sup> In this regard, Berlioz's analogy suggests that Beethoven's *Pastoral* similarly expresses a view of man's divine nature because of his creative superiority. Additionally, Berlioz transfers his personal esteem of Michelangelo into his essay on the *Pastoral*, by which he infers that Beethoven is also an artistic Titan.

Berlioz redoubles the impressions of vastness, energy, and titanic power suggested by his reference to Poussin and Michelangelo by juxtaposing them with antithetical images of decorative, mimetic, and small-scaled artwork, which he rejects:

---

<sup>88</sup> Hugh Chapman, *Michelangelo* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2006).

<sup>89</sup> On the topic of Michelangelo's idea of man's divine and superior nature, see: Chapman, 32-98.

The creator of *Fidelio* and the *Eroica* now sets out to depict the peace of the countryside and the gentle ways of the shepherds. But let there be no mistake: these are not the beribboned, pink-and-green shepherds of Florian, much less those of Lebrun, the composer of *Le rossignol* (the Nightingale), or those of Rousseau, composer of *Le devin du village* (The Village Soothsayer).

Here Berlioz cites art that was popular during the reign of Louis XVI, referring, respectively, to the artificial world depicted in the pastoral romance fables and plays of Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian (1755-1794), notably his pastorate-play *Estelle et Némoin*; the representational bird-calls in a one-act opera, *Le rossignol* (1816, The Nightingale) of Louis-Sébastien Lebrun (1764-1827); and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's simple, small-dimensioned opera of 1752. Rousseau's *Le devin du village* is particularly important as a famous work that was "sung by everyone in France" – including, apparently, by those at the court of Louis XV. A precursor to *opéra comique*, his diminutive opera extols the virtues of simple common folk over the corruption of the aristocracy. *Le devin du village*'s fame included an introduction written by Gluck in the form of a letter addressed to Queen Marie Antoinette, which praised the composition as "remarkable."<sup>90</sup> Berlioz, while a great admirer of Gluck, felt nothing of the sort, and described *Le devin* as nothing but "little songs, little roulades, little rondos, little solos, little pastorals, and all the little drolleries of which his little intermezzo is made up" (*M*, 52-3). Mocked and cursed by the Young Romantics, *Le devin du village* disappeared from the stage by the late 1820s. Berlioz attended its last performance at the *Opéra*, which he stated left him "feeling quite as much indignation as amusement at so grotesque a piece of irreverence" (*M*, 53). Diminutive art, which represented rudimentary forms with trivial expression to create but a dull and

---

<sup>90</sup> Alan Goodwin, *The New Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge: CUP, 1979), 85-7.

limited response, is thus projected as the antithesis of true art.

Berlioz enriches his opening themes of visual vastness and vibrancy with imagery that portrays multisensory experiences of synaesthesia, similar to those portrayed in the writings of Sand. This is illustrated, for example, in the first movement. “Pleasant sensations inspired by a cheerful landscape” suggests a lively feast of the senses – “Great clouds appear and hide the sun enchanting melodies,” “a fragrant morning breeze blows” and “flocks of birds pass chattering overhead.” Collaboratively, such moments coalesce into Berlioz’s image of Beethoven’s landscape as a kaleidoscope of visions and sensations.

To experience this in Berlioz’s poetic narrative, I include his original French:

*Mais le poème de Beethoven!...ces longues périodes si colorées!...ces images parlantes!...ces parfums!...cette lumière!...ce silence éloquent!...ces vastes horizons!...ces retraites enchantées dans les bois!...ces moissons d’or!...ces nuées roses, taches errantes du ciel!...cette plaine immense sommeillant sous les rayons de midi!...L’homme est absent!...la nature seule se dévoile et s’admire...Et ce repos profond de tout ce qui vit! Et cette vie délicieuse de tout ce qui repose!...le ruisseau enfant qui court en gazouillant vers le fleuve!...le fleuve père des eaux, qui, dans un majestueux silence, descend vers la grande mer!*<sup>91</sup>

His vivid imagery of Nature portrays joyous vibrancy and expansive energy, which is emphasized by exclamations of short poetic fragments uttered as if breathless with awe.

In the fourth movement, Nature transforms into a malevolent threat, represented in the *Pastoral* as a sudden peal of thunder that ushers in the fearful storm. Berlioz’s

---

<sup>91</sup>ATC, 42. “But this poem of Beethoven’s! These long phrases full of color! These speaking images! These perfumes! This light! This eloquent silence! Those vast horizons! Those enchanted forest glens! Those golden harvests! Those wandering patches of pink cloud! That vast plain dozing beneath the noontime sun! Man is absent! Nature alone, unveiled, displaying her charms for herself. The deep repose of all that lives! And the delightful life of all that is in repose! The little brook that runs babbling like a child toward the river! The river, father of waters, which winds its way in majestic silence toward the open sea!” (AM, 25).

response indicates that he cannot adequately express the effect of this sublime moment in words:

*Je désespère de pouvoir donner une idée de ce prodigieux morceau; il faut l'entendre pour concevoir jusqu'à quel degré de vérité et de sublime peut atteindre la musique pittoresque entre les mains d'un homme comme Beethoven. Ecoutez, écoutez ces raffales de vent chargées de pluie, ces sourds grondements des basses, le sifflement aigu des petits flûtes qui nous annoncent une horrible tempête sur le point d'éclater (VM, 314-5).<sup>92</sup>*

Berlioz grabs readers' attention here with the twofold command "listen!" as he engages an immediate imaginative response to Beethoven's gusts, roaring, whistling and warning. The sublime, he suggests, is created by the gap between reality and imagination, created by the experience of this "horrible tempest" that eludes artistic representation and yet, paradoxically, can yield in Beethoven's hands a benign and magnificent art form.

Man, like Nature, is also portrayed by Berlioz as a paradoxical element, represented by a diversity of characters and by shifts in expressions, from peace to wild outbursts. As a reflection of his main compositional interest in Beethoven's orchestration, Berlioz portrays humans as personified in the orchestra. For example, in "Merry Gathering of Peasants," a mood of peace is conveyed by the "gentle way of shepherds," who relax in the fields, express gratitude, or play melodies on their reed pipes. Here Berlioz describes a diversity of characters in Beethoven's cheerful realm of folk celebrations, personified by a range of expressions from the humorous "grotesque" to the cheerful and lyrical. Humour is inherent in the punctuating rhythms of the bassoon: "Beethoven, no doubt, wanted to

---

<sup>92</sup> "I despair of giving an idea of this stupendous movement; you must hear it to appreciate the degree of truth and sublimity that descriptive music can reach in the hands of a man like Beethoven. Listen to these gusts of wind heavy with rain, the muffled roaring of the basses and the shrill whistling of the piccolos, warning of a dreadful storm about to break" (AM, 23).

depict a good old German peasant standing on a barrel and playing some dilapidated instrument from which he wrings with difficulty the two main notes of the key of F, the tonic and dominant” (AM, 23). The bassoon is cast as an “old” character, in contrast with the oboe, who “like a young girl dressed in her Sunday best,” sings “a naive and cheerful musette.” Yet man, like nature, is also given to wild outbursts. This is represented, for example, in Berlioz’s description of how the cast of characters increases as the dance becomes more vigorous (a result of Beethoven’s rhythmic changes into duple meter). Here the “coarse air” becomes “raucous and a little mad” as it announces “the arrival of mountaineers in heavy wooden shoes.” The triple reprise returns, he states, and the folk festivities crescendo into a wild state: “The crowd mingles and grows more excited; the women’s hair flies loose about their shoulders, the merry mountaineers become noisily tipsy; people clap their hands, shout and rush about – it is wild, a frenzy” (AM, 23).

Man is also represented by Berlioz’s personification of Beethoven – as narrator, as a man by a brook, and as a mythological god in the image of man. In the second movement, a “Scene by the brook,” Beethoven appears as a man reclining by a babbling brook, gazing at the sky in deep spiritual reverie:

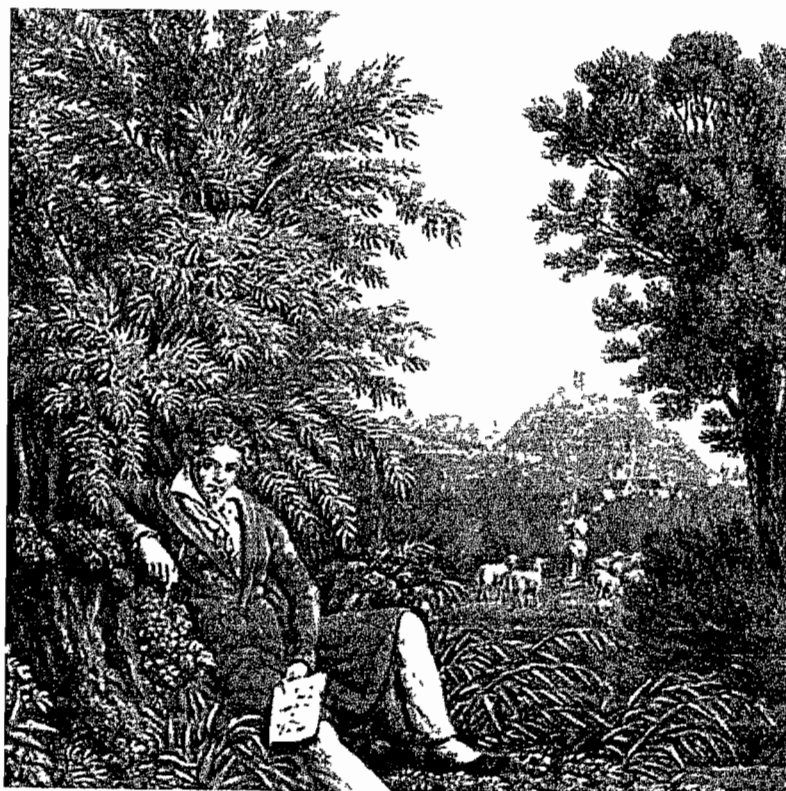
*Contemplation...L’auteur a sans doute créé cet admirable adagio, couché dans l’herbe les yeux au ciel, l’oreille au vent, fasciné par mille et mille doux reflets de sons et de lumière, regardant et écoutant à la fois les petites vagues blanches, scintillantes du ruisseau, se brisant avec un léger bruit sur les cailloux du rivage; c’est délicieux ( 312).<sup>93</sup>*

---

<sup>93</sup> “Surely, when he created this wonderful *Adagio*, the composer must have been lying on the grass, gazing at the sky and listening to the wind, entranced by thousands of soft impressions of reflected sound and light, watching and listening to the sparkling waves of the brook that break gently on the pebbles of the bank. It is a delight (AM, 22).”

Here Beethoven-the-man is depicted in a personal moment of divine communion with the music of nature. This image reflects an iconographic image of Beethoven, popular in the 1830s, which portrayed Beethoven sitting by a brook, composing with pen and music paper (as illustrated in example 5).<sup>94</sup>

Figure 5: Anonymous, *Beethoven Composing the Pastoral by a Brook*



---

<sup>94</sup> Alessandra Comini, *The Changing Image of Beethoven A Study in Mythmaking* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 85-6; Anonymous, *Beethoven Composing the Pastoral by a Brook*, 1834, colour lithograph for the *Zurich Musikgesellschaft* of 1834. This image is public domain. ([www.lib.byu.edu/genericnote\\_copyright.html](http://www.lib.byu.edu/genericnote_copyright.html), accessed 11/29, 2010).

The image of Beethoven by the brook conveys the movement's dreamy and sensual expression, which resonates in Berlioz's later image of the Pastoral as a beautiful dream that causes an intoxicated stupor. Beethoven's personification as creator within Berlioz's reading of the Pastoral Symphony also leads readers to an unconscious impression of the creative process itself.

Beethoven's image as 'creator of naturalistic beauty' reaches a climax in Berlioz's concluding encomium to modern art. Berlioz recalls and transforms previous imagery, now interwoven like motivic fragments that reiterates the values of artistic brotherhood and innovation: "Poems of the ancient world, beautiful and justly admired as they are, seem to pale next to this miracle of modern music! Theocritus and Virgil were great singers of natural beauty," but they have been superseded by Beethoven's victory of the modern "art of sound." (*AM*, 24):

*Voilez-vous la face, pauvres grands poètes-anciens, pauvres immortels; votre langage conventionnel, si pur, si harmonieux, ne saurait lutter contre l'art des sons. Vous êtes de glorieux vaincus, mais des vaincus! Vous n'avez pas connu ce que nous nommons aujourd'hui la mélodie, l'harmonie, les associations de timbres divers, le coloris instrumental, les modulations, les savants conflits de sons ennemis qui se combattent d'abord pour s'embrasser ensuite, nos surprises de l'oreille, nos accents étranges qui font retenir les profondeurs de l'âme les plus inexplorées. Les bégaiements de l'art puéril que vous nommiez la musique ne pouvaient vous en donner une idée; vous seuls étiez pour les esprits cultivés les grands mélodistes, les harmonistes, les maîtres du rythme et de l'expression. Mais ces mots, dans vos langues, avaient un sens fort différent de celui que nous leur donnons aujourd'hui. L'art des sons proprement dit, indépendant de tout, est né d'hier; il est à peine adulte, il a vingt ans. Il est beau, il est tout-puissant; c'est l'Apollon Pythien des modernes. Nous lui devons un monde de sentiments et de sensations qui vous resta fermé. Oui, grands poètes adorés, vous êtes vaincus: Inclyti sed victi (*ATC*, 42-3).<sup>95</sup>*

---

<sup>95</sup> "Cover your faces, ye great poets of old, ye poor immortals. Your conventional language with all its harmonious purity cannot compete with the art of sounds. You are glorious in defeat, but defeated

In this quotation, Beethoven's *Pastoral* is depicted as "modern music" that outshines the poems of his predecessors on several metaphorical levels. He twins Beethoven's music with the image of powerful light that is now developed as his central idea. The image of powerful light recalls Berlioz's previously suggested images, notably the initial image of Michelangelo, who, as *Il Divino*, represents the superhuman with divine creative powers. Like a triumphant finale, Berlioz ties together his previous motives on artistic tradition and modern expression to support his claim that Beethoven's music supersedes all precedents. It opens up a newly discovered "world of feelings and sensations" that is "beautiful and all-powerful." These claims recall his previous images of Beethoven as the omnipotent creator and prepare readers for the elevation of Beethoven into the celestial realm. The *Pastoral* Symphony is an example of the "Pythian Apollo of modern days," the modern symphony prevailing as the greatest of the arts.

Berlioz's establishment of Beethoven's modern program music as the Pythian Apollo also suggests a myriad of associations supporting Beethoven's romantic image of the poet-Titan: Apollo was a mythical god, notable for his unmatched strength to control the spirited sun-chariot and for his domain as the god of poetry and music, as well as leader of the Muses; furthermore, he established his massive power by defeating Hercules

---

nonetheless! You never knew what today we call melody, harmony, the combination of various timbres, instrumental color, and modulations, the masterly clash of discordant sounds that battle one another only to embrace later, the surprises to the ear, the uncommon accents that reverberate in the deepest unexplored recesses of our souls. Of all this, the stammering produced by the childish art you used to call music could never give you any idea. For the cultivated spirits of your time, you were the sole melodists, harmonists, masters of rhythm and expression. But in your languages, these words had a meaning totally different from that which we give them today. The art of sounds...It is beautiful and all-powerful. It is the Pythian Apollo of modern days. We owe to it a world of feelings and sensations that were closed to you. Yes, ye great and beloved poets, you are vanquished: Glorious but defeated" *AM*, 25.

at Delphi, which granted him control over the divine oracle and her familiar, the snake Python.<sup>96</sup> Berlioz's image thus suggests Beethoven as the eternal, uncontested genius whose landscape reflects both the "divine" human associated with Michelangelo and the classical, mythical figures in Poussin's wild landscapes. The iconic image of Beethoven as Apollo also underscores their shared identities as Titans, exploiting Apollo's mythical fame as a pastoral or nomadic god (sometimes portrayed sitting under a tree by a rushing brook contemplating poetry or the divine, or playing his lyre).<sup>97</sup> Berlioz's analogy of Apollo thus recalls the image of Beethoven in Berlioz's discussion of the "*Scene by the Brook*," and it ties together his previous nature imagery, granting Beethoven divine stature as poet-god.

#### The Choral Symphony: an Immense Musical Poem

Whereas Berlioz's poetic narrative about Beethoven's Sixth Symphony displayed pantheistic imagery and subjective expression, his goal in his essay on the *Choral Symphony* is, by contrast, to explore the novelty of its form without subjectivism, reliance on biographical details, or suggestions as to what personal ideas may have inspired Beethoven. Subjectivity, he states, creates ideas open to everyone, "all philosophical or religious thought, and thus equally full of meaning and beauty for the Fervent Christian as for the pantheist or atheist" (*AM*, 31). His technical discussion (in Chapter II) lauds the

---

<sup>96</sup> James Hall, ed., *Hall's Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art* (London: John Murray Ltd., 2001), 123.

<sup>97</sup>Hall, 25-9.

Ninth Symphony as an “immense” poetic form that transcends all previous works as a new world of expression in a dramatic-lyric form. In his literary narrative, Berlioz conveys the Ninth Symphony in terms that reflect Hugo’s five key principles of modern poetry: as a combination of genres; a harkening to past musical traditions; a musical process that unfolds “episodes”; hyperbolic expression of the sensual and the sublime; and an original personal expression of a central poetic idea.

Going beyond the sensual realistic world of the *Pastoral*, Berlioz portrays the Ninth Symphony as a mixture of the sensual and the sublime that unfolds a poetic idea of transcendence. Nature is portrayed by theatrical perspectives that shift from initial images of external landscape (in the first two movements) into the realm of man’s interior self (in the third movement). Berlioz portrays the inherent duality of nature in the first two movements (*Allegro ma non troppo, un poco maestoso* and *Molto vivace*). In response to Beethoven’s bold harmony, crossing and intertwining of passages, and powerful orchestration (seen in Chapter II), Berlioz casts the first movement in dramatic images of terrifying darkness and the tremendous energy associated with the roaring sea and ominous storms.<sup>98</sup> In contrast, Berlioz finds that the second movement *Molto vivace* (Berlioz uses *Scherzo*) is a pastoral ideal of serenity and light. Here he hears Beethoven harkening to the subjective expression of Hugo’s first age of lyric poetry, through ode or pastoral hymn. And yet, Beethoven’s artistry transforms this poetic lyrical style into blossoms, pure air,

---

<sup>98</sup> The *Allegro maestoso* opens into a “profoundly tragic” song that “gradually swells and rises, roaring like the sea at the approach of a storm.” The *Scherzo* sparkles with “verve” and the trio expresses “rustic joviality.” Its “ravishing” oboe melody “blossoms out” into a new key. Berlioz perceives that Beethoven’s “graceful” and “unexpected” expressions represent Nature, “so dear to Beethoven – its smiling and serene aspects – the purity of the air, the first rays of a spring dawn.”

and the “first rays of a spring dawn.” Berlioz implies that Beethoven transforms the dramatic in combination with the lyrical into an unrivaled modern expression of nature, as experiences of the sublime and the sensual. Beethoven’s nature mirrors the mixed elements of life which thus dually conveys impressions of reality and the subjective response to it. In the context of Beethoven’s poetic idea of transcendence, these two movements set into motion Berlioz’s analogy of Beethoven’s musical process as a progressive affirmation and expression of self-discovery.

In the third movement, *Adagio molto e cantabile*, the external view of nature shifts to an exploration of man’s inner nature, by Berlioz’s personification of the orchestra. Here Berlioz suggests that Beethoven harkens to Hugo’s concept of the second age of poetry – the collective epic voice of tragedy and early Christian art – through the symphony’s intertwining expressions of tender melancholy, passionate dejection, and religious meditation:

*Quant à la beauté de toutes ces mélodies, à la grâce infinie des ornements dont elles sont couvertes, aux sentiments de tendresse mélancolique, d’abattement passionné, de religiosité rêveuse qu’elles expriment, si ma prose pouvait en donner une idée seulement approximative, la musique aurait trouvé dans la parole écrite une émule que le plus puissant des poètes lui-même ne parviendra jamais à lui opposer (VM, 348).<sup>99</sup>*

The *Adagio* provides Berlioz with an ideal model for his promotion of artistic liberty. His technical discussion of this movement (seen in Chapter II) praises Beethoven’s disregard for the “principle of unity” by his asymmetrical treatment of two melodies, which

---

<sup>99</sup> “As to the beauty of all these melodies, the infinite grace of their adornment, the feelings of tender melancholy, passionate dejection, and religious meditation that they express, if my prose could even come close to intimating all this, Music would have found in the written word a rival that the greatest of poets himself will never be able to fashion” (*AM*, 33-4).

organically develop an original double variation structure. By disregarding traditional constraints, Beethoven creates the Romantic sublime as a mixed mode that mirrors Beethoven's personal subjectivity, and speaks to the core of human experience in a poetic form. Moreover, the inherently indeterminate nature of Beethoven's instrumental music allows it to supersede all other art forms in the intensity of this passionate experience. In the hands of Beethoven, instrumental music is transformed into ineffable sensations that enrapture Berlioz in "its powerful spell." As we will see in Chapter IV, Berlioz's understanding of Beethoven's *Adagio* – independent from the text, but linked to its central expression – is reflected at the heart of his *Roméo et Juliette* Symphony, where the transcendent expressive power of instrumental music is redoubled by its marriage with voices.

In the finale, *Presto/recitative*, Berlioz's imagery conveys the transfiguration of individual voices into a collective expression of transcendence. Now we reach the height of Hugo's modern poetry as an expression of the absolute. Berlioz projects Beethoven's thematic developments in terms of an evolutionary process that harkens to past ages, intermingles with the present, and transcends to the infinite. This process is possible because of Beethoven's structural innovation of a *pont* (an instrumental/vocal recitative that creates a "bridge" that joins the two musical genres), which effects the *loi du crescendo* (the law of crescendo, or the rising tide of action). For Berlioz, the *pont* is the crux of the Ninth Symphony that allows Beethoven to connect beauty with the grotesque in a modern way. Corresponding with Hugo's notion of mixed modes, the "terrible cacophony" of the furious instrumental *ritornello* submits to the bass vocal recitative that

recalls fragments from the previous three movements, “like so many memories dear to his heart.” With this original musical recollection comes a dramatic narrative shift that moves away from expressions of ambiguity to a theatrical perspective that centres on the voices, as man personified.

Berlioz casts Beethoven’s multifaceted thematic “transformations” of the joy theme as diverse characters that encompass the three ages of poetry, free from the constraints of time, place, or chronology. Just as Hugo promoted an organic process of thematic development of poetic verse to incite a “more incisive, more brilliant quality” to the central poetic idea (as seen in Chapter I), so too, Berlioz attributes a similar poetic significance to Beethoven’s variations: “These various transformations are all the more engrossing in that each variation brings out a new and distinct nuance of one and the same feeling: joy” (*AM*, 35). In this regard, Berlioz’s imagery reflects his compositional interests in a form created largely by melody. Berlioz hears Beethoven’s variation treatment as the universal voice of diversity, representing antiquity and modernity, culminating in a monumental expression of joy. Among Beethoven’s variations, Berlioz hears “the farewell song of a hero” (beginning in m.343), which recalls the poetic age of epic tragedy, and suggests an ancient Greek warrior wearing brass or bronze armour that flashes in the sun as he marches in victorious glory. A fugato episode (beginning in m.431) is “like a crowd milling about, full of ardor,” which suggests that the various intertwined musical themes are analogous with the sounds of public social activity. Religious imagery is used next to convey the *Andante maestoso* with chorus (“*Seid umschlungen, Millionen!*” beginning in m. 595) as “a kind of chorale” that is “religious,

solemn, and boundless,” and whose skillful orchestration creates “organ-like” effects. By the same token, a preceding section “relies on a naive gaiety” and begins with four “religious and tender” solo voices that introduce the chorus and a contrasting transformation of joyful expression from earthly to divine:

... la joie reprend son empire, la joie populaire, tumultueuse, qui ressemblerait à une orgie, si, en terminant, toutes les voix ne s'arrêtaient de nouveau sur un rythme solennel pour envoyer, dans une exclamation extatique, leur dernier salut d'amour et de respect à la divine joie. L'orchestre termine seul, non sans lancer encore, dans son ardente course, des fragments du premier thème dont on ne se lasse pas (VM, 352-3).<sup>100</sup>

Berlioz's literary phrasing mirrors the energy and dynamic expression of this final musical passage: he, too, extends his own literary phrase by moving continuously, drawing readers in to the symphony's “majestic dimensions” enlivened with a variety of images ranging from the “boisterous joy” of an “orgy,” its “solemn rhythm,” and “ecstatic love” culminating in “joy.” Here we experience the full magnitude of Beethoven's modern dramatic-lyric style. By casting Beethoven's variations as characters, Berlioz alludes to the notion of music as meta-theatre, where realistic dramatic action and poetry are combined and transformed into pure metaphorical expression. Importantly, the musical development of theatrical traditions is strongly reflected, as we will see in the next chapter, in his own *symphonie avec chœurs, Roméo et Juliette*.

Similar to that in his essay on Beethoven's *Pastoral*, Berlioz's conclusion to the Ninth Symphony recalls and transforms his opening thematic images of man and nature in

---

<sup>100</sup> “The boisterous joy of the people, which would resemble an orgy if toward the end the voices did not all stop once more on a solemn rhythm to offer an ecstatic shout— their last manifestation of love and devotion to religious joy. The orchestra concludes alone, but not without flinging out in its blazing path fragments of that first theme, which no one can weary of listening to” (AM, 35).

two principal ways. First, his images centre on the portrayal of a multi-sensory aesthetical response to the innovative marriage of instrumental music with poetic elements. These images and expressions then culminate logically in the final striking image of Beethoven as one so completely satisfied with “the monument he had just erected” that he declares, “*Vienne la mort maintenant, ma tâche est accomplie.*” (Let Death come now, my work is done.) Here, Berlioz suggests Beethoven as a dramatic *persona* in a theatrical scene who utters, as if it were part of a Shakespearean soliloquy, Berlioz’s own personal assessment of the symphony. As if expanding thematic fragments, Berlioz combines these images to indicate that the infinite in this symphony exists in its mixed expressions of glorious vastness, combining the human and the divine, of eternity and mortal, measured time. All is subsumed in Beethoven’s final image as the poet-god of this “immense musical poem.”

## Conclusion

Each of Berlioz’s individual essays in “A Critical Study of Beethoven’s Nine Symphonies” represents his multidimensional aesthetic experience as a massive effect, which unfolds in an innovative form of journalistic poem. His rich use of imagery allows him to convey his belief that Beethoven’s Romantic symphonies offer a world of individual thought and experience.<sup>101</sup> Berlioz’s imagery allows him to get closer to the

---

<sup>101</sup> As Jacob Bronowski stated, in literature we “enter the contraries of the human predicament more fully...(What) distinguishes literature from other forms of knowledge is that it cannot be understood unless we understand what it is to be human.” Bronowski’s idea helps to explain a crucial aspect of Berlioz’s essays on Beethoven’s Nine Symphonies that is original, innovative, and historically significant, which is that his literary narrative conveys his expertise on music, literature, and human nature with a sense of the fullness of life; in addition, his prose resonates with his implicit motivations for writing, originating in his own experiences as a struggling composer. Jacob Bronowski, *The Identity*

truth than he could in factual prose; the writing is, as a result, more meaningful. For readers unable to hear Beethoven's symphonies, Berlioz's essays enabled them to share in that passionate experience vicariously. The great popularity of his essays is therefore partially explained by his narrative style, which creates what was metaphysically described by Samuel Taylor Coleridge as an activity that "in ideal perfection, brings the whole soul of man into activity."<sup>102</sup> Technically, Berlioz achieves this by his selecting specific and cohesive images – motives, as it were, that he transforms by fragmenting, expanding, combining and juxtaposing, and which he often casts as theatrical *personas* that act as characters in scenes. Furthermore, Berlioz's literary narrative mirrors Beethoven's dramatic musical action through poetic imagery that reflects his understanding of Beethoven's compositional techniques. This brings an organic vitality to his praise of Beethoven's originality and to his understanding of Beethoven's symphonies as poetic ideas.

My discussion so far illustrates that Berlioz's "Critical Study," beyond its analysis of Beethoven's symphonies, is his musical manifesto. In his development of a new type of double musical-literary musical critique, Berlioz promotes Beethoven's symphonies as models of modern Romantic music. Berlioz's study of Beethoven illustrates a concept of symphonic form that is specific to French Romanticism in its valuing the disintegration of classical procedures, order, and unity, a form which supersedes previous modes of artistic

---

*of Man* (New York: Natural History Press, 1971), 82.

<sup>102</sup>Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, Chapter XVI, *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 1594.

expression in the metaphysical, or hyper-sensual experience of synaesthesia.

As *critique savant*, Berlioz illustrates how Beethoven's expansive new forms are largely generated by his flexible and organic development of expressive melodies as thematic fragmentation, transformation, and recall. In this regard, Beethoven's thematic material is conceived as the main impetus for creating form. Beethoven's improvisatory-like melodic expression creates a sense of creative energy and inspires a myriad of developmental possibilities when treated in combination with innovative instrumentation, unconventional harmony, abrupt modulations, complex rhythms (most often hemiolas and syncopations), and shifting dynamics. As composer, Berlioz considers Beethoven's radical formal musical process in terms of social concerns (the staging of a work or its reception), and aesthetic expression, largely as mixed modes or the combination of the grand dramatic gesture with the lyric. Berlioz's assessment of Beethoven's symphonies illustrates his own musical aesthetic of symphonic form as a musical process that unfolds a metaphorical expression, or a central poetic idea. Here Berlioz expresses his notion of form as a symbiotic relationship between structure and expression.

As *le critique poétique*, Berlioz amplifies the importance of Beethoven's technical rule-breaking in creating metaphorical experience, by using metaphor to describe how Beethoven's formal musical process unfolds in terms of a personal narrative that invokes a diversity of expressions – theatrical illusion (the Seventh), dramatic scenes (the Fifth), and experiences of synaesthesia (the Sixth) or the Infinite (the Ninth) – that link to a central metaphor (poetic idea). This discussion allows me to examine next the influence of Berlioz's relentless study of Beethoven's music on the nature and structure of his own

innovative symphonic form, *Roméo et Juliette*, particularly as it reflects his critical promotion of originality, aesthetic expressions of the dramatic-lyric to create shifting theatrical perspectives, experiences of the sensual and the sublime, and, ultimately, modern music as the personal metaphorical expression of a central poetic idea.

Chapter IV: Beethoven's Influence on Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette*

Berlioz's "Critical Study" establishes his aesthetic criteria of the poetic in music, by illustrating how Beethoven's original developments of the nine modes of musical action combine to create dramatic-lyric forms that unfold a diversity of mixed-mode expressions around a central poetic idea. To this end, Berlioz promotes Beethoven's symphonies as models of his new romantic concept of "poetic form" in music, as a symbiotic structural-expressive concept in which the structure facilitates the dramatic-lyric action. This chapter explores the impact of Berlioz's almost decade-long study of Beethoven, as both critic and composer, on his own compositional contribution to the symphonic genre, *Roméo et Juliette* (1839), written concurrently with his "Critical Study."<sup>1</sup> My discussion explores how Berlioz's musical-literary critical discussion of Beethoven's symphonies also provides a means to understand his own music. Using Berlioz's evaluative methodology for his "Critical Study," I illustrate that he synthesizes many of Beethoven's symphonic techniques and their respective expressive effects in his own compositions. In this regard, we see Berlioz developing the same five inter-related key principles that he praises in Beethoven's symphonies: 1) the combination of genres, largely as the intermingling of lyrical vocal idioms with a dramatic symphonic structure (dramatic-lyric forms); 2) a loosening of traditions by innovations; 3) emphasis on melody, as thematic transformations or variation procedures enhanced largely by orchestration; 4) a mixture of all compositional and

---

<sup>1</sup> Berlioz reworked *Roméo et Juliette* throughout his life, beginning with its conception around 1829 to its final form and second published edition of the full score in 1857, with a vocal score published in 1858. See Holoman, *Berlioz* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 260; Holoman records publication details in *Catalogue of the Works of Hector Berlioz* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), 200-1.

expressive modes – to create hyperbolic expressions of the sensual or sublime; and 5) an original combination of these elements that unfolds “episodes” around a central poetic idea. To Berlioz, the mixture of these principles in Beethoven’s music creates the modern poetic in music. Likewise in Berlioz’s music, these elements culminate in his aesthetic value of “absolute” poetry. *Roméo et Juliette* represents Berlioz’s ideal of a dramatic-lyric form in music, one that creates metaphorical experiences by a kaleidoscopic perspective. This mixture is the challenge, the difficulty and the glory of the music of Berlioz. It is my hope that my discussion will provide an inroad to understanding Berlioz’s music from the perspective of his own musical aesthetic as revealed in his study of Beethoven.

Berlioz knew that his *Roméo et Juliette*, like Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, was an innovative vocal-instrumental form that would “surely be misunderstood.”<sup>2</sup> This reflects his experience of early nineteenth-century Beethoven reception in France, particularly the “divergent opinions” on Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony that ranged from “monstrous folly” to “glimmers of expiring genius”(AM, 31). Similarly, Berlioz’s *Roméo et Juliette* has faced a wide range of reception from its first performance at the Paris Conservatoire on 24 November 1839 up to the present day.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the modern analytical perspectives are divided. Central to the

---

<sup>2</sup> Berlioz, Preface, *Roméo et Juliette*, NBE, 2; Rushton, 87. On the topic of the reception of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, see Nicholas Cook, *Beethoven: Symphony No. 9* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; reprint 2000), 26-49; 65-105.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Berlioz was accused of relying on a program as a sign of compositional weakness and of betraying the expressive powers of “absolute” music by attempting to “paint physical objects and to express abstractions.” Cone, *Fantastic Symphony*, 46. Schumann defended Berlioz in the same manner that E.T.A. Hoffmann’s reception of Beethoven promoted his music as a divine language. Yet, in 1857, even Wagner misconstrued Berlioz’s subtle integration of text and music, when he criticized Berlioz’s “scenic-dramatic motives” in the love Scene as “unchanged, in their original disposition,” without having refined the “empirical details” into “concrete emotional content, which alone may be distinctly conveyed in music.” Wagner quoted in Cone, 46.

controversy and variety of modern analytical approaches to Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* is the central problem of connecting the program to the musical form, particularly in the case of the instrumental *Scène d'amour*. Programmaticists, for example, stress formal literal correlations between text and music. Jacques Chailley offers a semantic analysis that draws convincing correlations between the order of musical themes in Berlioz's Prologue and Shakespeare's play.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Ian Kemp devises a detailed table of comparisons between Berlioz's musical process and Shakespeare's poetic structure.<sup>5</sup> Representing a sub-group of programmatic methodology is Daniel Albright, who offers his literary insights on Shakespeare to discuss Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* as a "semi-opera" that aims to fulfill the highest expressive goals of both symphony and opera.<sup>6</sup> These scholars offer a valid route to understanding Berlioz's music with the Prologue-program close at hand, either following Berlioz's musical process as discursive logic (Chailley), or understanding Berlioz's musical architecture as an outgrowth of Shakespeare's dramatic form (Kemp); in both cases determining a methodical correlation between the formal structure of Berlioz's musical scenes and Shakespeare's dramatic scenes. These external semantic comparisons, however, underline a literal transposition that only highlights one facet of Berlioz's mixed mode expression, largely in terms of the mimetic, rhetorical, and hermeneutical.

Vera Micznik suggests another perspective on the *Scène d'amour*, reflective of my

---

<sup>4</sup> Jacques Chailley, "Roméo et Juliette," *Revue de musicologie*, T.63e, No. 1<sup>re</sup>/2<sup>e</sup>, Colloque Hector Berlioz (1977): 115–22.

<sup>5</sup> Ian Kemp, "Romeo and Juliet and *Roméo et Juliette*," *Berlioz Studies*, ed. Peter Bloom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 37-79. Kemp provides a detailed table on pages 65-7.

<sup>6</sup> Daniel Albright, *Berlioz's Semi-operas: Roméo et Juliette and La Damnation de Faust* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2001).

discussion of Berlioz's musical-literary critique of Beethoven's *Pastoral* Symphony.<sup>7</sup> As discussed in Chapter II, Berlioz's musical narrative promotes Beethoven's symphony as a mixture of the mimetic and the indefinite. Similarly, Micznik builds on a notion of "intertextuality" that addresses the program as both a direct and indirect narrative.<sup>8</sup> In this regard, she proposes that the *Scène d'amour* may be understood as both programmatic (in that the music renders "verbal associations" with Shakespeare's play) and absolute (in that a vague musical passage is "understandable in its own terms").<sup>9</sup> Additionally, as discussed in Chapter III, Berlioz uses a literary narrative to describe the metaphorical effects of Beethoven's mixed mode expression. Likewise, Micznik uses narratological analysis to discuss the expressive effects of Berlioz's music, largely in terms that underscore my discussion of mixed-mode expression and dramatic-lyric form. To this end, she states that Berlioz's music may be understood as the "synthesized ambiguity" of a "mosaic of narrative perspectives from which the story is told," creating a rich tapestry of "topics," beyond merely a literal correlation between program (Shakespeare's play) and Berlioz's musical score.<sup>10</sup> Here we hear echoes of Berlioz's admiration for Hugo's romantic theatrical perspective and his own critical promotion of Beethoven's kaleidoscopic shifts of musical narrative.

---

<sup>7</sup> Vera Micznik, "Of Ways of Telling: Intertextuality and Historical Evidence in Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette*," *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 24/1 (Summer 2000): 21-61.

<sup>8</sup> Micznik, 23. Intertextuality is described as a form of organic multilevel readings of a text. Here Micznik builds on theories of intertextuality applied to theatre, which supports my discussion of Berlioz's wide use of "program," as in Chapters I and II, and his use of imagery to create multi levels of meaning, as in Chapter III.

<sup>9</sup> Micznik, 22-3; 39-40.

<sup>10</sup> Micznik, 27.

In discussing the form of the *Scène d'amour* within Berlioz's methodology used in his "Critical Study," I attempt to connect the divide between the formalist analysis of Jean-Pierre Bartoli and the aesthetical discussion of Alban Ramaut. Bartoli analyses the structure of this movement independent from the program.<sup>11</sup> Importantly, he finds structural correlations between *Scène d'amour* and the *Adagio* of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. This supports my own findings that illustrate Berlioz's interest in Beethoven's *Adagio*, largely for its use of melody to create a new formal structure. Bartoli's formalist approach indicates that Berlioz leaned on Beethoven's structural models for his own dramatic concepts. More relevant to my purposes, however, is Berlioz's aesthetic of form as proposed by Ramaut, who describes Berlioz's music in terms of what I call the dramatic-lyric form. He observes correlations between Berlioz's "confusion des genres" of poetry, theatre, literature and music, and Hugo's theatrical theories.<sup>12</sup> Significantly, the view of Ramaut most closely corresponds with my own findings: that Berlioz's "Critical Study" reflects a French Romantic aesthetic, which draws on French traditions of literature and music to create a new dramatic-lyric form with multiple levels of meaning: poetic, pedagogical, mimetic and indefinite.

In his "Critical Study," Berlioz promotes this type of romantic form as a means to create metaphorical expression. For my discussion of his own developments in this regard, I draw largely on the research of Julian Rushton and Stephen Rodgers. Rushton's thorough analysis of the *Scène d'amour* describes how Berlioz's combinations of compositional techniques (the nine

---

<sup>11</sup> Bartoli, "Beethoven, Shakespeare, and Berlioz's *Scène d'amour*," 138-160.

<sup>12</sup> Alban Ramaut, "Berlioz et ses livrets ou Berlioz et l'intention dramatique: de l'invention du programme," in *Hector Berlioz: Regards sur un dauphinois fantastique*, 120-1.

modes of musical action) suggests drama “through a metaphor.”<sup>13</sup> Representing the most abstract perspective of expression, Rodgers espouses a romantic concept of form that promotes the interaction between the circular musical structure of the movement and an expression of “the torrents of love in the most abstract sense.”<sup>14</sup> My discussion builds on all of these approaches, ultimately illustrating how Berlioz’s music reflects the aesthetic values he establishes in his “Critical Study.” The variety of these approaches is appropriate to the various facets of Berlioz’s dramatic-lyric style, which allow him to achieve his goal of creating a diverse expression that appeals to a diverse audience. Their research supports my discussion of the influence of Berlioz’s study of Beethoven in terms of mixed-mode expression and dramatic-lyric form. Ultimately, *Roméo et Juliette* represents the apex of French Romanticism in a symphonic form that enacts a central poetic idea of the conflict between love and war.

Berlioz’s *Roméo et Juliette, symphonie dramatique avec chœurs* was another commission from Paganini, following the success of *Harold en Italie*.<sup>15</sup> Composed concurrently with the apex of Berlioz’s almost ten-year-long cumulative study of Beethoven (Third stage, 1837-8), *Roméo et Juliette* reflects his critical promotion of Beethoven’s romantic symphonies as “poetic” structural-expressive forms. Berlioz exemplifies his aesthetic of the poetic in music in *Roméo et Juliette*, which is an original romantic symphonic form based on Shakespeare’s tragic love story.

---

<sup>13</sup> Rushton, 86.

<sup>14</sup> Rodgers, 109.

<sup>15</sup> In his *Memoirs*, Berlioz discusses, at length, Paganini’s generous gift and artistic support, as well as the genesis of this composition (Chapters 48-9).

Berlioz's original form draws several comparisons with Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and reflects his critical goal (and interests as composer) to "penetrate the inner meaning" of its form. In particular, Berlioz develops Beethoven's inventions of the *loi du crescendo* and the *pont*, to seamlessly incorporate solo voices and choir within a symphonic form. On another level, Berlioz addresses his social concerns by carefully preparing the public for the novelty of his work. In the Preface to *Roméo et Juliette*, Berlioz establishes that his *symphonie avec chœurs* is "a symphony and not a concert opera."<sup>16</sup> To further address the social concerns of communicating with a modern French audience (who now celebrated Beethoven's romantic symphonies), he prepares listeners for his novel form with three forms of program: one is implied, since Berlioz's audience was familiar with numerous productions of Shakespeare's plays, in both English and French translation; another program is written as titles to movements; and a third program is sung by the chorus and soloists, who offer explication, and metaphorical commentary. In this regard, Berlioz's multi-leveled 'program' indicates the dramatic action of his symphony and it offers a pedagogical tool, reflective of his didactic concerns as a music critic.<sup>17</sup>

#### Genesis: Berlioz and Shakespeare

Berlioz intended for his musical project to portray Shakespeare within the romantic premises of Hugo's literary ideals and Beethoven's new musical forms. In *Roméo et Juliette*,

---

<sup>16</sup> Berlioz, Preface, 2. Berlioz was in the practice of destroying earlier works; we do not have all the music of the 1839 version. His autograph is much like the final version, published next in 1847, with a few changes for the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition in 1857. Rushton, 11-14.

<sup>17</sup> Ramaut, 132. Ramaut supports my observations that, on one level, the program seems to provide the public with a "pedagogical" tool.

Berlioz's literary narrative reflects a romantic reception of Shakespeare as a poet. As illustrated in the previous chapters, Berlioz's "Critical Study" reflects Hugo's reception of Shakespeare within the new French Romantic literary aesthetic of the dramatic-lyric style. Under Hugo's influence, Berlioz valued Shakespeare's disregard for classical unities, and favoured his juxtaposition of mixed modes (in terms of both poetic style and expression).<sup>18</sup> Berlioz reflects the Young Romantic reception of Shakespeare as the voice of a new age, a powerful poetic innovator who symbolized youthful aesthetic rebellion. Shakespeare's early impact, like that of Beethoven, provided Berlioz with life-long compositional inspiration.

Berlioz first saw Shakespeare's plays performed in France at the Odéon in 1827 by a visiting troupe of British actors, the Charles Kemble company. The *Théâtre-Français* no longer appealed to the public with its stale and highly censored repertoire. Seeking new productions – and in the wake of the popularity of English writers in France (for examples, Walter Scott and Lord Byron) – the public flocked to Shakespeare's plays. The *Journal des débats* recorded "a crowd inside, a mob outside, and everywhere stifling heat" (*M*, 66-8). Berlioz was among these spectators, and after his initial experience of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, he fell immediately in love with Shakespeare's novelty, the Romantic anti-establishmentarian ideals represented his plays, and the young leading actress (his wife to be) Harriet Smithson.<sup>19</sup> Despite the fact that he did not

---

<sup>18</sup> If we recall from Chapter I, Hugo felt that Shakespeare's use of mixed modes represented the epitome of the highest powers of expression, which corresponded with several similar ideas about Shakespeare that were circulating across Europe.

<sup>19</sup> Berlioz's wife to be, Harriet Smithson, presented Shakespeare in Paris. Berlioz recounted in his Memoirs: "An English critic said last winter in the Illustrated London News that after seeing Juliet played by Miss Smithson I cried out: 'I will marry this woman! And out of this drama I will write my largest symphony!'" *M*, 215-6.

understand English, he may have vaguely grasped the themes of Shakespeare's plays from Letourneur's translations, or, alternatively, he may have read Guizot's version. Berlioz may have even purchased a copy of Shakespeare's plays at the theatre, which sold the texts of the performed plays in both English and French (either as separate plays or in collections) in versions that represented about two-thirds of the complete text (omissions reflected both English theatrical cuts and the added censorship of French officials).<sup>20</sup> However Berlioz gleaned the plays, his early impressions of Shakespeare are recollected in his *Memoirs* as fantastical and overwhelming experiences.

This is illustrated in the recounting of his first experience with a performance of *Romeo and Juliet*:

...the change was too great to the hot sunshine and balmy nights of Italy - to the love, quick as thought, burning as lava, imperious, irresistible, illimitably pure and beautiful as the smile of an angel; the raging revenges, delirious embraces, and desperate struggles between love and death...This sudden and unexpected revelation of Shakespeare overwhelmed me. The lightning-flash of his genius revealed the whole heaven of art to me, illuminating its remotest depths in a single flash. I recognized the meaning of real grandeur, real beauty, and real dramatic truth, and I also realized the utter absurdity of the ideas circulated about Shakespeare in France by Voltaire...(M, 66-7).

Here Berlioz's enthusiastic Romantic vocabulary conveys a sense of drama and breathlessness, with swift shifts and outbursts of opposing images (sunshine and night, lava and angels, love and death) in poetic fragments commonly encountered in his "Critical Study." Such deep

---

<sup>20</sup> Such negative criticism of Shakespeare was echoed in Germany, notably by Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766), who similarly upheld the pedantic principle that the rules of drama must take priority over displays of enthusiasm or understanding. Gottsched claimed that the irregularity of Shakespeare's hybridized (tragic-comic-lyrical) drama lacked purity, creating a "lamentable violation of decorum and poetic taste." Voltaire quoted in Albright, 36; Peter Rady, *Fair Ophelia: Harriet Smithson Berlioz* (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), 57-9; Bianca Theisen, "The Drama in Rags: Shakespeare Reception in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *On Literary Form: From Kleist to Bernhard*, 121 (April 2006): 505.

impressions inspired several highly innovative compositions based on Shakespearean themes across the span of Berlioz's musical career. Predating *Roméo et Juliette* (1839), he composed *La Mort de Cléopâtre* (1829, Rome Prize cantata), and the *Ouverture du Roi Lear* (1831); and his later Shakespearean-based compositions include *La Mort d'Ophélie* (1842), and *La Marche Funèbre pour la dernière scène d'Hamlet* (1844).<sup>21</sup> Berlioz read and quoted Shakespeare throughout his life and many times he contemplated composing operas based on Shakespeare's plays, but he completed only one Shakespearean-inspired composition in his mature years, *Béatrice et Bénédict* (1861), based on *Much Ado about Nothing*.

In considering a literary narrative for *Roméo et Juliette*, Berlioz studied a number of pre-existing musical works performed in France based on Shakespeare's play. Berlioz's music critiques record that these consisted of a limited number of operas, notably two French and three Italian operas: Daniel Steibelt's *Roméo* (1793) on a libretto by the Vicomte de Ségur; Nicolas-Marie Dalayrac's opéra-comique *Tout pour l'amour, ou Roméo et Juliette* (1792), the libretto by Jacques-Marie Boutet de Monvel; Niccolò Zingarelli's *Giulietta e Romeo* (1796) on the libretto by Foppa; Nicola Vaccai's *Giulietta e Romeo* (1825) with a libretto by Felice Romani; and Vincenzo Bellini's *I Capuleti ed I Montecchi* (1830) also on a libretto by Romani.<sup>22</sup> Berlioz

---

<sup>21</sup> On the topic of Berlioz's self-borrowings from these works for his *Roméo et Juliette*, particularly from his *La Mort de Cléopâtre* for use in *Roméo au tombeau*, see Rushton, 11, 17, 53, 84, 104 n.22, 106 n. 3, 109 n. 10.

<sup>22</sup> "Roméo et Juliette," *JD*, Sept. 13, 1859; "Romeo and Juliet: Opera in Four Acts by Bellini," *AM*, 219-227. Taking Rossini's advice, the famous singer Maria Malibran inserted Vaccai's tomb scene into Bellini's opera, which soon became standard practice in performance and in published scores. One such edition of Bellini's opera is noted as "opera in four acts, French translation by C. de Charlemagne, edition augmented with the *Grande scène des tombeaux* of the same opera, music by Vaccai" (Paris: Aulagnier, no date). See *AM*, 268.

heard Bellini's opera in 1831, stating that he admired only one unison passage of this opera, which he felt represented an oath of love, sung on the phrase, *Se ogni speme e a noi rapita*.<sup>23</sup> In his critiques, Berlioz states that most librettists project Shakespeare's play as "distorted and mean" (*AM*, 220). In others, for example Bellini's opera, Berlioz felt that the inclusion of too many characters detracted from the dramatic qualities of Shakespeare's play. These librettos created "imbecility, puerility, and nonsense," and to Berlioz, they also lacked a potential for musical interest. Berlioz felt that these Italian operas also lacked romantic musical expression, because of their reliance on "conventional and invariable musical phrases as all-purpose melodies, suitable for any text" (*AM*, 220). His opinion here reflects his use of such operas as models of convention, particularly in his essays on Beethoven's "Traditional" symphonic group.<sup>24</sup>

Berlioz's literary narrative indicates that he was not considering *Roméo et Juliette* as an opera, but as a new type of programmatic symphony, largely reflective of his cumulative study of Beethoven's symphonies. By 1839, Berlioz had consulted several text sources of Shakespeare's play – including Harriet's copies, the recent French translations by Letourner, and the popular abbreviated play versions of David Garrick (1748). Important for Berlioz, Garrick presented an

---

<sup>23</sup> *AM*, 219-227.

<sup>24</sup> As discussed in previous chapters, Berlioz's romantic symphonies illustrated a modern metaphorical expression that superseded previous models. Berlioz was skeptical of the referential power of music. While Berlioz admired Gluck's overture to his *Alceste*, for its instrumental music that expressed a combination of desolation and tenderness, he rejected this type of musical oxymoron on the grounds of realism. Gluck instructed composers of overtures, "to indicate the subject of the play," but Berlioz responded that this style did "not know how to speak either to the object of the tenderness or the causes of its desolation." Here Berlioz echoes his romantic aesthetic of *genre instrumental expressif* as a metaphorical expression discussed in Beethoven's symphonies, which caused him to reject Gluck's models for his own symphonic ideas.

altered ending to Shakespeare's abrupt ending in which Romeo dies immediately after taking poison, just as Juliette awakens (Act 5, scene 3, lines 120-70). Instead, Garrick prolonged Romeo's death in order to allow for a dramatic farewell exchange between the lovers.<sup>25</sup> Berlioz designed a prose narrative, reconstructed by writer and translator, Emile Deschamps, that closely followed Garrick's version, presented however in narrative mode rather than in Elizabethan poetic stanzas or standard libretto verse.<sup>26</sup> From this text, Berlioz conceived his innovative work as a fusion of music and text to express his personal interpretation of Shakespeare's message.

Berlioz's program reflects his concept of personal narrative conveyed within a theatrical perspective. It represents his personal gloss on Shakespeare's play as a poetic idea that focuses on the fate of individuals. Here I disagree with Julian Rushton, who observes that Berlioz's program illustrates a broader and growing nineteenth-century trend to elevate the "general over the particular."<sup>27</sup> Berlioz's program avoids the narrative confusion that he noted in the Italianate operas based on Shakespeare's play, by its concentration only on a handful of major characters, situated in an outline of Shakespeare's play. This sets the limits of his programmatic references to create dramatic situations that represent the deeply personal and psychological struggles of individuals grappling with wider issues, in contrast with the Italian operas that he felt were too dramatically specific (see Table I). In turn, his program allowed greater latitude for 'romantic' programmatic musical development, realized as metaphorical expression reflective of the more

---

<sup>25</sup> For more detailed analysis of Garrick's blank verse, see Albright, 30; 32-3.

<sup>26</sup> Berlioz's authentic libretto is found in the *New Berlioz Edition*, general editor Hugh Macdonald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969-2006), vol. 18, *Romeo et Juliette*, edited by D. Kern Holoman (1990).

<sup>27</sup> Rushton, 4.

general governing themes in Shakespeare's play. Beethoven's influence is indicated in this relatively new aspect of Berlioz's literary narrative, which he also developed in later compositions, notably his *La Damnation de Faust* and *Les Troyens*.

Table I: Comparison of Shakespeare's play and Berlioz's symphony.<sup>28</sup>

<u>Shakespeare</u>	<u>Berlioz</u>
Act I	Part I
Strife between Montagues and Capulets, intervention of the Prince	Strife, intervention of the Prince  No. 1 <i>Introduction: Combats, tumulte</i> (B minor) <i>Prologue: Small choral recitative</i> <i>Strophes: with alto soloists</i> <i>Scherzetto: with tenor soloist</i>
Romeo and friends	No. 2 <i>Roméo seul</i> (F major) <b>Symphony</b> <i>Tristesse</i>
Mercutio's Queen Mab speech Ball at Capulet's	<i>Grande fête chez Capulet</i> <b>Symphony, brief male chorus offstage</b>
Act II Garden. Love-scene	No. 3 <i>Nuit sereine – Le Jardin de Capulet, silencieux et désert; Scène d'amour</i> (A major) <b>Symphony</b>
The marriage	No. 4 <i>La reine Mab</i> (Scherzo) (F major) <b>Symphony</b>
Act III Death of Mercutio, Romeo kills Tybalt and is banished. Love-scene in Juliet's room. Juliet betrothed to Paris.	

---

<sup>28</sup> This table is an expansion of one provided by Rushton, 3. My discussion refers to Berlioz's revised version of the symphony (1847); numerous alterations to the original 1839 score include the deletion of a second choral prologue before Juliet's funeral Procession; for a full discussion of the many changes, see Rushton's extensive notes, 103-5; Albright, 49.

## Part II

Act IV Juliet takes potion and appears dead	No. 5 <i>Convoi funèbre de Juliette</i> (E minor) <b>Soprano and Alto soloists</b>
Act V Romeo to the tomb,  Romeo kills Paris, takes poison and dies	No. 6 <i>Roméo au tombeau</i> (E minor, C# minor, A major) Roméo takes poison, Juliette awakens.
Juliet awakens, stabs herself, dies.	Brief reunion, Roméo dies, Juliette stabs herself and dies. <b>Symphony</b>
Lawrence's narration	No. 7 <i>Finale</i> : Families enter (A minor); Lawrence's narration (C minor); <i>Air</i> (E flat major); Strife resumes (B minor); <i>Serment</i> : Lawrence forces reconciliation (ends B major). <b>Tenor soloist, two large choruses</b>
Prince forces reconciliation	

As we see from this table, the voices appear in the Prologue as a small chorus, then briefly in the *Grande fête chez Capulet* (No. 2) as a “double chorus” of men’s voices, which is “to be sung in the background of the stage.”<sup>29</sup> The central symphonic movements – Nos. 2, 3, 4 – are for full orchestra with full brass, percussion that includes use of antique cymbals (in F and B flat), and two harps.<sup>30</sup> The voices return in Part II: first in No. 5 *Convoi funèbre de Juliette* as soprano and alto soloists, then in No. 7 *Finale*, beginning with a tenor soloist, joined by two large choruses that represent the two feuding families.

---

<sup>29</sup> On the score of this movement, Berlioz’s own note states: “This double-chorus is to be sung in the background of the stage, or in a room adjoining the orchestra if the symphony is to be performed in a Concert-hall.”

<sup>30</sup> Berlioz indicates the instrumentation as woodwinds: piccolo (2); flute (2); oboe (2); clarinet (2); brass: trumpet (2); cornet (2); trombone (3); tuba; percussion: including timpani (4); triangle, tambourine, and antique cymbal (2); harp (2), with six added in the *Fête chez Capulet*; and strings (violin, viola, cello, bass).

In his Preface, Berlioz includes a lengthy note on the staging of a performance – the placement of the performers of his symphony – since it “caters for a total of 270 performers.” Of the Prologue chorus, “which may be twenty strong rather than only fourteen” voices, he directs them to stand at the front of the stage. The three soloists – contralto, tenor, and Friar Lawrence – are to stand in front of the Prologue chorus. The orchestra is to be seated “in the normal way,” with “eight extra harps” for the *Fête chez Capulet* placed in front of the violins, and removed at the end of this movement.<sup>31</sup> In *La reine Mab*, he recommends not using all of the strings, “at the most twelve or fourteen violins on each side,” with the antique cymbals near the conductor. The choruses of Capulets and Montagues are “not to be seen by the public” until after the Scherzo. The Capulet chorus is to be “on the right, on the platform over the pit, and lower than the theatre stage,” with the Montagues on the left.<sup>32</sup>

Berlioz’s attention to the staging of *Roméo et Juliette* reflects his links to French traditions, particularly in terms of his creation of a large scale vocal-instrumental composition that unfolds largely by melodic impulse, and by the use of a theatrical-style narrative of scenic episodes and a moralizing and fanfare-type finale (as discussed in Chapter II). However, it was ultimately Berlioz’s admiration for Beethoven’s dramatically effective romantic symphonies, which he aesthetically aligned with Shakespeare, that caught his attention (in 1828): “I was haunted by my Shakespearean passion, which had been painfully intensified by the effect

---

<sup>31</sup> The first three instrumental movements (Nos. 2-4) are often performed as a concert suite. See Rushton, 5.

<sup>32</sup> In his Preface, Berlioz also notes that “the sopranos are to be seated, so as not to muffle the tenors and basses.”

produced on me by Beethoven.”<sup>33</sup> In particular, his study of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony played into both his conception and the practical concerns of seamlessly integrating chorus with the symphony.

As an unprecedented seven-movement ‘programmatic’ symphony that incorporates voices, Berlioz’s *Roméo et Juliette* corresponds with several elements in Beethoven’s *Pastoral* and Ninth Symphonies. Like the five-movement *Pastoral*, Berlioz’s symphony represents an expanded symphonic structure of seven movements that develops large-scale narrative shifts in temporality. In *Roméo et Juliette*, Berlioz uses the voices to represent reality and measured time, in contrast to his use of instruments to create moods of contemplation and a sense of timelessness. Moreover, Berlioz’s placement of the voices in the outer movements creates a large-scale narrative arc that shifts from reality to dream to reality. Berlioz’s earlier *Symphonie fantastique* illustrates his development of temporal unfolding in a programmatic five-movement episodic narrative that shifts (as a reversal) from reality to dream: the first three movements of the *Symphonie fantastique* represent reality, while the “*Marche au supplice*” and “*Songe d’une nuit de Sabbat*” present dream (or nightmare) sequences. To this end, Berlioz develops voices within *Roméo et Juliette* as part of an innovative expansion – his *loi du crescendo*– more closely attuned to the level of metaphorical expression he perceived in the Ninth Symphony.

### The Voices

Integral to Berlioz’s creation of a dramatic-lyric structure is his combination of dramatic instrumental expression with the addition of voices and words that provides social commentary,

---

<sup>33</sup> *M*, 81.

summary, or insights.<sup>34</sup> Berlioz explains that the narrative presence of the voices in *Roméo et Juliette* is “like the choruses of Greek tragedy.”<sup>35</sup> This is especially true of the vocal presence in movement No. 1, the *Prologue*. Yet, Berlioz’s chorus functions on a far greater scale than his own suggestion of a more literal representation of Greek chorus. His voices act as the hinge between the musical themes and the literary narrative of Shakespeare’s play. The chorus also undergoes a reversal of its own narrative role – from one of explaining the story, to one of assuming the roles of the characters about which it sings (especially in movement No. 7, the *Finale*). To this end, Berlioz uses the voices to underline his central poetic idea of paradox.

Berlioz illustrates his aesthetic of mixed modes of expression by his treatment of voices in a mixture of sacred and secular vocal idioms (drawn largely from opera and oratorio). Here he reflects his links with French musical traditions and the impact of his study of the Choral Finale of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony. Importantly, Berlioz demonstrates his experimentation with French traditions of oratorio as a dramatic form for chorus. In France, the early nineteenth-century *oratorio* was typically divided into scenes in imitation of theatre pieces.<sup>36</sup> Castil-Blaze described this genre in his *Dictionnaire de musique moderne* (1825):

A species of small drama, of which the subject is an action chosen from a sacred story, often even a pious allegory, and which is destined to be performed in church by singers representing different personages. One sees from that how it differs from the sacred

---

<sup>34</sup> Ramaut, 109-33.

<sup>35</sup> Berlioz, Preface, *NBE*, vol.18, 2.

<sup>36</sup> For further discussion of nineteenth-century oratorio in France, see: Howard E. Smithers, *A History of the Oratorio: The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 507-565.

drama, which can be a subject of the same genre but which must be played in a theatre.<sup>37</sup>

Some early nineteenth-century journalists randomly applied the term *oratorio* to any choral work, with or without soloists, regardless of whether or not the text was sacred or secular.<sup>38</sup> As a result, Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* was sometimes described in the press as an oratorio.<sup>39</sup> Berlioz's treatment of the chorus reflects some general trends in early nineteenth-century French oratorios, notably by the use of chorus in homophonic textures (as also found in opera choruses) with some imitative elements (use of fugue in the Introduction), and recitatives with orchestra. His modern developments of this tradition are illustrated notably by his use of lyrical *Strophes*, where soloists sing "romance" passages in simple forms with the orchestra.<sup>40</sup> Another modern element in this regard is his direction to stage the work, in terms of placement of instruments or voices. Berlioz ingeniously incorporates these lyrical styles and structures into nineteenth-century dramatic symphonic form. Similar to opera and oratorio, Berlioz develops these vocal styles largely to represent the main linear dramatic action. By singing the text, the voices add expressions as narrative, actions, or moralizing commentary. Here, Berlioz's use of voices reflects his description of the various roles within sacred and secular genres that he finds in the

---

<sup>37</sup> Castil-Blaze, *Dictionnaire de musique moderne*, 2 vols. (Paris: Au magasin de musique de la Lyre moderne 1821; second edition, 1825), 103; see Smithers, 508.

<sup>38</sup> For example, Maurice Cristal, "De l'oratorio, ses développements et ses transformations," six installments, RGM, Dec. 1865-June 1886; Berlioz's teacher Le Sueur experimented, for example, with "mass-oratorios" (1786-87). See Albright, 47; Smithers, 508-510.

<sup>39</sup> See Smithers, 510.

<sup>40</sup> Berlioz later extended his development of oratorio in his highly successful *L'enfance du Christ* (1854), which similarly develops homophonic and polyphonic textures, lyrical *Airs*, and solo passages that reflect the expressive style of opera; here, he also includes written descriptions of 'stage' actions. See Smithers, 552-565.

### Choral Finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

On one level, the voices in Berlioz's Prologue reflect his didactic role as a music critic, by offering critical commentary on the music, as explanations or descriptions, and by discussing the highlights, the principal themes, and the plot summary. In this regard, the voices largely assist in forwarding the dramatic action. This role reflects Berlioz's concept of the narrative function of the baritone soloist in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, who seemed to state regret for the previous instrumental discords: "O friends, not these sounds..." Similarly, Berlioz's voices provide insights into the actions and psyche of the main characters.

The voices enter in the Prologue (see table I, movement No. 1), which sets out its declamatory recitation in unison followed by flexible variations in strophes that foreshadow the main themes of the later dramatic situations. In his Preface, Berlioz states that the Prologue is intended to prepare the "mind of the audience for the dramatic scenes, whose feelings and passions are to be expressed by the orchestra." Unlike Beethoven's final triumphant voice of unity in the Ninth Symphony, however, Berlioz's chorus adds a direct and mimetic element that breaks with the more metaphorical narrative mode of his symphonic sections. Like a thematic catalogue, the voices introduce to the audience musical themes that will appear later in the symphony without these words. They will also conclude the symphony with a final commentary.

In the Prologue, Berlioz's choral entrance allows him to develop musical themes in ways that reflect Shakespeare's drama. By introducing the significant role of melody – introduced first with text, then later as pure orchestral music – Berlioz reflects his concept of musical *persona*, as discussed in his "Critical Study" – by thematic transformations enhanced with altered

orchestration – reflective of Beethoven’s fleeting and transforming process of dialogues, actions, and emotive characters. By this move, he illustrates his goal, as stated in his “De l’imitation” (C225), to create modern musical imitation as “intonations” of emotions and actions.

Berlioz’s vague intonations result in a wide range of critical interpretations and disagreements regarding how to label themes throughout the work, whether by rhetorical or purely analytical methods.<sup>41</sup> These disagreements stem, it seems, from the very suggestive nature of Berlioz’s main themes, which are at once distinct from each other and yet vague in their continuous transformations that sometimes meld into other themes (as we will see in movements No. 2 and 3), thus blurring clear melodic outlines. As Rodgers points out, Berlioz clearly develops thematic interconnections, and yet his development of thematic “indistinctness” makes it difficult to distinguish clear thematic blocks, phrases and motives, which hence blurs clear structural sections of movements.<sup>42</sup> To this effect, Berlioz creates a gap in comprehension, by first introducing his main themes with text in the Prologue, and subsequently transforming them by the indefinite expression of instrumental music.

In the Prologue, the voices introduce the main themes, not as direct characters, but as narrator of the ‘plots’ of the later movements of the symphony. As Jacques Chailley observes, the

---

<sup>41</sup> I addressed some of these disagreements in the opening of this chapter, and will return to them in my discussion of the central symphonic movements. Generally, these disagreements consider numerous ways to interpret the “Love Scene” in regards to labelling Roméo’s theme or Juliette’s response. For purposes of my project, the most detailed analyses of this scene are provided by Kemp, “*Romeo and Juliet*,” 64-8; Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995), 556-68; as well as the previous cited works of Bartoli, 138-60; Micznik, 33-45; Rodgers, 107-134; and Rushton, 37-46.

<sup>42</sup> Rodgers, 117.

Prologue “constitutes a veritable musical analysis of the score, inserted into the score itself.”<sup>43</sup>

The Prologue opens with alto solo and chorus, which first sing the program of No. 2, *Roméo seul* (*Moderato* 4/4 time, modulates A major). The Ball music is presented at *Moderato* (m. 62, F Major, with the words “La fête est terminée”). Next we are introduced to themes of No. 3 *Scène d’amour* by “Romeo sighs” accompanied by a cello solo (“Hélas! Et Roméo soupire” at rehearsal 7, D Major), and the ‘Love theme’ at *Andante con moto* (m. 91, 6/8 in E Major) with string and woodwind doublings. This theme of narration disguised as contemplation is in the form of lyrical strophes for alto soloist with cello melody and added harp and english horn. Musically the lyrical strophes sound distanced from the preceding choral recitative texture, and they dually serve to indicate the program and the distinctive character of the third symphonic movement. Finally, a tenor solo introduces the plot to No. 4, *La reine Mab* at *Récitatif et Scherzetto* (F Major), with contrasts of high and low instruments, and use of *pizzicato* and tremolo. Thus, Berlioz’ indicates an understanding of his music in terms of a dramatic narrative reflective of Shakespeare’s action. Yet Berlioz’s initial twinning of musical and literary themes, united by the chorus, creates a structural (dramatic) and expressive (lyrical) springboard into understanding and experiencing the many transformations of his melodies as part of a progressive and metaphorical musical narrative.

On one level, Berlioz’s original treatment of chorus creates narrative as a ‘theatrical mask,’ or play on romantic irony, which is most apparent in a finale (movement No. 7, see Table I). In his Preface, Berlioz states that the presence of the chorus in the finale is a purposeful dramatic solution for ending the tragic tale, distinguishing that:

---

<sup>43</sup> Jacques Chailley, “Roméo et Juliette,” *Revue de Musicologie* 63 (1977): 117.

Only this final scene... belongs in the realm of opera or oratorio. Since Shakespeare's own day it has never been performed in the theatre; but it is too fine, too musical, and it crowns a work of this nature too well, for a composer to think of treating it in any other way (*NBE*, 2).<sup>44</sup>

Here, following the symphonic movements, the choruses are strategically positioned on stage, similar to opera or sacred drama, to enact the characters that sing, discuss, and make amends in a more detached narrative mode compared to the rest of the work. And so, despite Berlioz's description of the role of chorus in the finale, in fact, it breaks from conventional opera or oratorio traditions.<sup>45</sup> Here the voices assume a symbolic operatic role – by assuming the theatrical roles of which they sing – to discuss the absent protagonists, and to close the curtain on the tragedy with an optimistic and moral message of reconciliation. To this effect, the dramatic first-person mode creates an altered sense of temporality, as if waking from a dream created by the previous symphonic expression.

This final scene, almost an operatic performance act, seems to crystallize truth and reality from the previous dream-like instrumental movements. At the same time, the grand gesture with its final moral message is understood (and was well received) within the expected norms of French operatic and oratorio traditions.<sup>46</sup> Yet, aside from appearing as an audience pleaser, it also represents a dramatic point in Berlioz's conception of ending the tragedy in mimetic mode,

---

<sup>44</sup> Berlioz refers to the final scene in Shakespeare's play in which Friar Lawrence reports the events to the Prince, who intervenes to force reconciliation between the two feuding families. Berlioz felt that this message of hope deserved musical emphasis, though most productions of the play often omitted the scene of reconciliation and ended the play instead with the tragic death of the lovers, as in Garrick's version. See Peter Rady, *Fair Ophelia: Harriet Smithson Berlioz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 37-62.

<sup>45</sup> Christophe Deshoulières discusses this as “quasi-représentation théâtre, in “Tombeau de Monsieur Guillaume Shakespeare,” *Hector Berlioz*, 165.

<sup>46</sup> Mongrédien, p. 246.

reflective of Shakespeare's play. Berlioz establishes the symphony's choral-framed design as an operatic mode that presents a world of society with voices as a direct and dramatic narrative; and, by direct contrast, offsets the metaphorical expression of the central instrumental sections that represent the private, subjective world of the lovers as an indirect and largely lyrical expression. By a union of two large-scale expressive genres Berlioz creates large-scale dramatic-lyric form: the return to the voices in the finale movement (a multi-sectional number) presents a special cognitive gesture, akin to experiencing the literary device of Romantic irony, or what Carolyn Abbate calls a narrative "phenomenal" gesture.<sup>47</sup> In Berlioz's choral finale, the full impact of his innovative style reveals his romantic concept of form: by concluding his symphony with voices, he creates a symmetrically framed structure that also represents his central poetic idea of paradox. Abbate's perspective thus provides a modern perspective of understanding Berlioz's romantic aesthetic of the poetic to create metaphorical experience. In this regard, Berlioz's choral finale contrasts with the traditional operatic-oratorio's nonmenal expression of meaning, and puts into context the elaborate "phenomenal" narrative manipulations, the mixture and confusion of genre roles, and the musical-literary interchangeability.

In the finale, Berlioz turns to theatre in a manner reflective of his interest in Beethoven's modern musical narrative shifts that he describes in terms of theatrical perspectives, notably in his essays on the Shakespearean Fifth and Seventh Symphonies. Berlioz develops this modern concept with elements drawn from the French musical and dramatic tradition of *dramaturgie* (known originally as *tragédie en musique*, then as *opéra*), which flourished from the 1670s to the

---

<sup>47</sup> Abbate, 4-9.

1760s, notably represented by the works of Lully.<sup>48</sup> Berlioz develops music dramaturgy into a new form that reflects Hugo's notion of theatre, as both a mixture and a confusion of genres. Likewise, Berlioz mixes elements of musical dramaturgy, as theatrical representation, with poetry, literature, his various vocal idioms (notably oratorio, opera, and strophic song), and symphonic elements. By this integration, he loosens their conventional uses to create new levels of expression: he draws on elements of *dramaturgie* to create a type of 'reminiscence' of the genre that allows him to explore new modes of musical expression and imitation of the impressions, sensations, and actions of the characters that are linked with his program. Ramaut observes that this "strange" mixture of "le concret et l'idéalisme" creates at once the epitome of romantic expression and a new type of theatrical expression that revives the ancient Greek notion of *orchestra*.<sup>49</sup> And so, reflective of Hugo's aims for the new poetry as drama to create metaphorical expression, Berlioz develops musical and literary traditions to create narrative shifts, as a gap in the comprehension between the poetic (largely instrumental) and the experiential-pedagogical (largely vocal).

### The Voice of the Orchestra

As Berlioz's chorus shifts the theatrical spectacle from its role as narrator to actor, so too, the instrumental sections alternate between scenes that suggest both the action and reaction of the

---

<sup>48</sup> An excellent discussion of this topic is found in Laura Naudeix, *Dramaturgie de la tragédie en musique: 1673-1764* (Paris: Champion, 2004).

<sup>49</sup> Ramaut, 110; 120-1; 133.

main characters.<sup>50</sup> In contrast to Beethoven's use of chorus to create an end-weighted narrative structure and an effusive expression of transcendent joy, Berlioz's symphony becomes more lyrical and transcendent as it shifts away from the chorus, and moves into the gravity of the symphony that depicts the private world of love. In his Preface, Berlioz explains this within his notion of form: this is a "symphony with choruses." To capture musically "the very sublimity of this love" it was necessary to explore "another mode of expression" only possible by the "very indefiniteness, incomparably more powerful" medium of instrumental music. Here I provide Berlioz's original French to verify his terminology (the bold is mine):

*Ensuite, les duos de cette nature ayant été traités mille fois vocalement et par les plus grands maîtres, il était prudent autant que curieux de tenter **un autre mode d'expression**. C'est aussi parce que la sublimité même de cet amour en rendait la peinture si dangereuse pour le musicien, qu'il a dû donner à sa fantaisie une latitude que le sens positif des paroles chantées ne lui eût pas laissée, et recourir à la langue instrumentale, langue plus riche, plus variée, moins arrêtée, et, par son vague même, incomparablement plus puissante en pareil cas.*<sup>51</sup>

Here at the heart of the symphony, the orchestra personifies Romeo and Juliet in overwhelming depictions of love and despair. Berlioz's orchestra presents a metaphorical or indirect narrative, by which particular instruments are linked with melodic themes to personify main characters and to assume dramatic modes of mood or tone. They also reveal the internal and external

---

<sup>50</sup> Berlioz's narrative strategy explains the reception of his symphony as similar to a "novel," just as Beethoven's symphonies were likened to the novels of Jean Paul Richter, as the "almost Shakespearean world of magic." Rushton, 58-9.

<sup>51</sup> Berlioz, Preface, 2. "Besides, duets of this kind having been written for the voice so often and by the greatest masters, it was prudent as well as novel (*curieux*) to attempt another mode of expression. Moreover, the peculiar character of the sublime love between hero and heroine, rendered description through the medium of music so dangerous an experiment for the composer that he was forced to allow his fancy such latitude as the definite meaning of the sung words would never have afforded him; he accordingly resorted to instrumental language, a language richer, more varied, unlimited and by virtue of its very vagueness, incomparably more powerful and effective than any words sung or spoken."

implications of scenes and events, narrating a point of view that alternates between depicting an external environment and illuminating a character's physical actions and internal emotions.

Berlioz's central symphony illustrates his aesthetic of the *genre instrumental expressif*, as discussed in his earliest articles on Beethoven ("Aperçu," C18, see Chapter I) and in his promotion of Beethoven's Shakespearean symphonies of "High Drama" in his "Critical Study." There Berlioz described how Beethoven created this type of narrative through musical means, largely by orchestral textural shifts that juxtapose contrasting or antithetical expressions – as both linear (drama) and cyclical (lyrical) temporal forces – to create both the enacting and the distant narrating of scenes and events that focuses on a unified idea. Similarly, Berlioz synthesizes his study of Beethoven's techniques by alternating seamlessly between various characters and events. Drama is largely created by a wide variety of shifting dynamics that punctuate rhythms and momentum, and pitches that sweep across the various instrumental sections. Lyricism and transparency are frequently evoked by his novel use of doublings, and solo instruments that emerge from loud orchestral *tutti*, as textural, tonal, and dynamic enhancements of his thematic treatment. Yet unlike Beethoven's predominantly dramatic symphonic expression, Berlioz develops his symphony largely to create a lyrical expression.

Berlioz's treatment of instrumental music – as the height of expressive power – creates "the sublime love between the hero and heroine" as mixed modes that combine expressions of love and melancholy, reflective of his adoration of Beethoven's slow movements.<sup>52</sup> If we recall, Berlioz's engagement with Beethoven's slow movements typically renders him to a speechless

---

<sup>52</sup> Vera Micznik observes a similar sublime aesthetic in Berlioz's *Lélio*: Micznik, "The Musico-Dramatic Narrative of Berlioz's *Lélio*," *Musical Voyager*, edited by David Charlton and Katherine Ellis, (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007): 184-207; as does Ian Kemp, "Romeo and Juliet," *Berlioz Studies*, 37.

state of awe, which supports his critical claim that poetic music exceeds all other arts by invoking the imagination and the senses. Here, in Berlioz's central symphonic movements, we encounter Beethoven's greatest influences on Berlioz – in his musical creation of vague images of love and the eternal– as a double musical-literary personification of Romeo and Juliet, who are elevated to pure music. This concept stems from Berlioz's earliest concept (as discussed in Chapter I) of Beethoven's music as a transforming power to relieve one's suffering. Just as Beethoven had transformed Berlioz, so too, here, Juliette is a transforming experience for Roméo.

#### Berlioz's Mode of Melody

In *Roméo et Juliette*, Berlioz's technical treatment of the mode of melody resembles Beethoven's techniques in principle, on a syntactical and rhetorical level; and yet, Berlioz carries out a fundamentally different thematic process. In his essay on the Ninth Symphony, Berlioz describes Beethoven's device of thematic fragmentation as part of an ongoing process of organic unity, which builds on main thematic motives – as the principal subject of a continual formal development and textural expansion – that are recalled, united, and culminate into a completely new theme (of joy). This new formal process, he states, is facilitated by Beethoven's creation of a *pont* (bridge between instruments and voices) to effect the *loi du crescendo* (expansion of form and expression). In contrast, Berlioz's melodic treatment develops by thematic transformations of strophic (usually lyrical) themes that remain relatively intact and recognizable, and are 'enacted' upon by fragmentation, reinterpretation, repetition, or expansion. As we will soon see, Berlioz's theme is first presented, and then it expands or fragments.

Berlioz's vocal text implies an association of his main themes with central protagonists,

notably Roméo. As we will see from a closer look at Roméo's theme, Berlioz's themes are not the subjects, but the objects of his dramatic symphony because they are layered on the accompanying orchestral texture. In this regard, Berlioz's themes differ from Beethoven's treatment of melodic motives that create pervasive structural building blocks throughout the entire (range of modes in the) symphony. Instead, Berlioz develops a technique of melodic layering, similar to the technique of melodic superimposition that he used in the finale of his *Symphonie fantastique*, where two themes (the *Dies irae* and the witches' dance) are first separated, then layered into a polyphonic texture. By this type of treatment, his themes are treated as 'objects' that he alters largely by developing other technical modes: notably, harmony, tempo, rhythm, instrumentation, and staging. As discussed in Chapter II, this process is often called "thematic transformation," a term that Berlioz himself applies to Beethoven's variation process in the Ninth Symphony. Berlioz's process of thematic transformation seems to convey emotions: an individual theme thus functioning as an overt 'subject' that in fact acts as a reactive 'object' in a 'scenic' orchestral episode. This thematic treatment allows Berlioz to unfold a novel symphonic structure that, unlike Beethoven's end-weighted Ninth symphony, is a symmetrical form framed within a "semi-opera."

Berlioz's original thematic treatment facilitates a form (in terms of his romantic notion of form as both structure and expression) that unfolds his poetic idea, here Shakespeare's narrative of love embedded within a society at war. The choruses and soloists musically represent 'society,' largely as the two feuding families, and the 'reality' of conventional and mundane society, bound by time and text. By contrast, the world of Romeo and Juliet is the world of love, hidden at the heart of the symphony by the shroud of night or death, abstract and elusive, and

portrayed by flexible thematic transformations of lyrical instrumental themes (representing Roméo and Juliette), to create a boundless expression of love and grief.

Berlioz draws on his study of Beethoven for four techniques of melodic development: 1) thematic fragmentation and expansion of melodic 'cells'; 2) melodic variation; 3) the alternation of two melodies that resemble one another; and 4) thematic foreshadowing and recall. Berlioz, like Beethoven, develops the mode of melody to create large-scale structural unity and to unfold his new concept of "poetic form." For example, Berlioz's process is reflective of his concept of Beethoven's thematic fragmentation in the *Eroica*, which begins as a motive that offers "myriad aspects" of expansion and contraction, and of his understanding of Beethoven's "transformations" of the joy theme in the finale of the Ninth Symphony. In one sense, Berlioz's thematic transformations share with Beethoven's *Eroica* theme an identity as a 'germinal motive' that reacts with a developing structure, and which likewise unfolds the formal process in a large scale symphonic form. In both the *Eroica* and the Ninth Symphonies, for example, Beethoven's forms centre on the theme (or opening motivic fragment) that acts as the subject, which leads the symphonic narrative to a triumphant and texturally expanded finale. Similarly, Berlioz introduces main themes (in his Prologue) that are transformed across his symphonic structure, reflective of his study of the large-scale interconnectedness of themes in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Yet Berlioz's main themes are subject to a process of continual transformation and final dissipation.

Berlioz's main themes are introduced towards the end of the Prologue by the chorus, which is integrated into his symphony by use of a thematic "bridge," reflective of his study of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. There, Berlioz had described Beethoven's "bridge" as a seamless instrumental-bass solo recitative, preceded by an instrumental expression of harmonic discord, a

“harsh, violent cry of rage” followed by the entrance of the chorus. Similarly, Berlioz’s abrasive instrumental gesture (the *Allegro fugato* section) initiates his bridge, an instrumental-vocal recitative that leads into the Choral Prologue.

Table II: Comparison of Beethoven’s and Berlioz’s “Bridge”

Beethoven: Ninth Symphony, Finale	Berlioz: <i>Roméo et Juliette</i> , Introduction: No. 1
<i>ritornello</i> , “excessive effect” ( <i>Presto</i> , D minor)	<i>Allegro fugato</i> (B minor): feud: dissonance subject: staccato eighth-notes, trills answer: cello (V but starts on B); Stretto (mm.13-4); expands instrumentation (m.14); Tonic pedal (mm. 24-36); crescendo and modulates to D (m. 44)
Instrumental recitative (cellos and basses) with Reminiscences and Recitatives (mm. 9-91)	Fugato subject combined with new trombone countersubject (m. 44, D Major/ ends V/B)
Orchestral Theme and Variations (mm. 92-207)	
Furious <i>ritornello</i> (D minor, mm. 77-80)	Expanded orchestration; rhythmic clash with cross-rhythms; fugue (in D, at m. 54) in duple vs triple meter in countersubject; unsettled harmony to massive cadences(D Major, mm. 60- 5; A Major, mm. 65-8)
Baritone solo recitative (mm. 216-36)	Intervention - Prince’s theme (m. 78) introduced first as heavy low brass instrumental recitative, augmented fugue subject at Tempo: <i>Fièremet, un peu retenu et avec le caractère du récitatif</i> Prince’s theme with rhythmic unison (at m. 146), dissonance (m. 155); modulates to B Major with fugue subject; dissipates to V (F #) pedal, subdued.
Choral Recitative	Choral Prologue <i>en récitatif harmonique</i> “D’anciennes haines endormies”(begins F #) voices mainly in unison; then melodies: Ball music (A-F); Romeo alone (D); Love music (E); Strophes (G) ; Scherzetto (F); Tragedy foreshadowed (A minor)

As we see from Table II, in the more specific development of his bridge, Berlioz illustrates his original synthesis of several techniques and expressions that he describes in the Ninth Symphony.

Berlioz's recitative as bridge is preceded by an orchestral Introduction that develops a furious fugue subject in a minor key (*Allegro fugato*, B minor), enhanced with staccato articulation, stretto violas, cellos that answer in the dominant key, and march-like rhythm. In expression, this fugato resembles Beethoven's harsh dissonant preparation that Berlioz notes contrasts with the baritone soloists recitation that begins his bridge. Berlioz's fugato section also reflects his concept of a rhetorical 'topic' or image that he attached to Beethoven's use of fugato in the finale of the Ninth Symphony (Double fugato, mm. 431-543; see Table II, Chapter II), described as "a crowd milling about, full of ardor" (*AM*, 35). Berlioz likewise uses a series of fugal entries to suggest the feuding families. Although to different effect, Berlioz's fugato personifies a negative view of the two restrictive families, whose feud is represented musically by the discord and lack of parallelism (subject and counter subject rather than homophonic unity) in his fugato.<sup>53</sup>

Berlioz's fugal theme gradually entangles a new version of the fugato theme in D Major at m. 44, with a new trombone countersubject that foreshadows the mediating role of the Prince. Then Berlioz brings the conflicting literary discourse of the warring families to a climactic expression of dramatic tension and ambiguity (at m. 54) where he intensifies (by the modes of harmony, instrumentation, and rhythm) the unsettled tonality, expanded orchestration, and cross-rhythms. Here Berlioz adds horn, timpani, and cornets to enhance a rhythmic clash of triple and

---

<sup>53</sup> This march-like fugato foreshadows an expression of grief in the fate of Roméo and Juliette, which, as we will soon see, is marked by thematic fragmentation. In this regard, Berlioz's use of fugato reflects elements drawn from his study of the finale of Beethoven's *Eroica* and from the *Allegretto* of the Seventh Symphony (if we recall from Chapter II and III). In the *Eroica*, Berlioz described how "final lamentations" were expressed in Beethoven's treatment of a fugato theme, in which two themes organically developed by thematic fragments that extracted motivic material from one another. Similarly, in the Seventh Symphony (variation four of the *Allegretto*), Berlioz notes the use of fugato to build a dramatic expression of "songful lament" in combination with rhythmic ostinato.

duple meter, reminiscent of Beethoven's use of hemiola (as in the *Eroica*).

The Prince's entry (m. 78, as in Table II) marked as *Fièrement, un peu retenu, et avec le caractère du récitatif*, is an instrumental recitative for low instruments that reflects the Romantic sentiment of melancholic nostalgia, by developing an augmented statement of the fugue theme – with triple meter transformed into duple meter, triadic harmony (beginning m.13), and rhythmic unison (m.145-163) – which resembles the rhetorical expression of a march that musically suggests the non-political image of an honourable and chivalrous, mediating Elizabethan Prince. Here Berlioz reflects his concept of Beethoven's use of baritone solo in his bridge – with the words “O Freunde, nicht diese Töne!” – as mediator between what Berlioz calls the instrumental “cacophony” and the entry of the voices. Next, in a passage that reflects Berlioz's admiration of Beethoven's orchestral textural juxtapositions, Berlioz's solo melodic lines emerge from full tutti sections (*ff* climax at mm. 156-63), a thin orchestral texture (*p*, mm. 164-200) gently prepares for the entry of the choral Prologue (“D'anciennes haines endormies”).

At his bridge, Berlioz connects his vocal *Prologue* to the preceding instrumental section by use of recitative, similar to Beethoven's use of a bass solo recitative. Though, instead of a soloist that introduces a final chorus, Berlioz introduces fourteen voices in a recitative-like chant that serves to introduce the central symphonic themes. Here melodic and rhythmic unison over a spare chordal texture (Berlioz addresses the modes of “point of origin of sounds” and “multiplicity of sounds”) gradually introduces the voices in a way that allows the audience to grasp the words, which, despite the calm mood, foretell great tragedy. Berlioz explains that this vocal introduction avoids disrupting the “unity of the work.”

After the previous instrumental dissonance of the fugato section and the forceful orchestral

tutti of the Prince's theme, this gentle vocal entry resembles the welcomed introduction of the bass soloist in Beethoven's bridge. However, Berlioz's musical unity and gentle sound, by comparison, is almost stifling, and musically the voices suggest the confines of Veronese society. With the introduction of his voices, Berlioz generates his dramatic-lyric musical process – in contrast to Beethoven's accumulated musical narrative – as an issue of voices against the instruments. Differences also exist in the melodic goal of each bridge. Whereas Beethoven creates a bridge that links the instrumental discord to the “gentleness and peace” of the joy theme and its variations, Berlioz's similarly developed bridge connects first to a non-melodic recitative that introduces a number of melodic themes that are transformed often beyond clearly determined parameters. Berlioz's opening choral recitative bridges to the Choral Prologue, where the chorus acts as a thematic catalogue that attaches the program with melodies that represent Roméo, the balcony scene, the Capulet's ball music, and Queen Mab. Thus, they connect the real world with that of dreams and the fantastic.

#### Roméó's theme

Berlioz's treatment of the mode of melody, as thematic transformations, illustrates Beethoven's influence in terms of several thematic techniques that generate new forms for individual movements, and that create climactic melodic arcs. Berlioz unfolds his central symphony in four parts, generated by three melodically arched sections: (No. 2) *Roméó seul* and the “*Grande fête chez Capulet*”; (No.3) the grand *Adagio*, “*Scène d'amour*”; and (No.5) “*Convoi funèbre de Juliette*,” while the final movement, “*Roméó au tombeau des Capulets*,” reverses the arch gesture with a descent into silence. Different from Beethoven's melodic material in the Ninth

Symphony, which gradually expands to express universal triumph and transcendence, Berlioz's melodic material reverses the lyrical melodic extensions into progressive thematic fragmentation and silence to express secret emotions of love and despair. Differences also exist in how the two composers treat melodic transformations as 'variation' procedure. As we will see, Romeo's theme transforms but still remain recognizable. This is largely because Berlioz transforms the character of the theme, while still retaining its melodic identity. Beethoven, on the other hand, sometimes alters the motive in a process of developing variation, making it less obvious, as Berlioz notes in the *Adagio cantabile* of the Ninth Symphony. In other instances, Beethoven alters the motive, as Berlioz notes in his essay on the *Eroica*, where he describes how small melodic motives are freely expanded, contracted, and reinvented. In this regard, the motive is thus the 'subject' that, according to Berlioz, generates Beethoven's musical process as dramatic conflict, and lyricism. A focus on Roméo's theme illustrates how Berlioz differs from Beethoven in his treatment of themes as 'objects' in a process of thematic transformation.

Roméo's *Tristesse* theme (in *Roméo seul*) illustrates Berlioz's treatment of melody as a reactive 'object' that transforms while being layered on a scenic orchestral backdrop. Romeo's theme resembles the object – the *idée fixe* – of Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* in its impulsive form that echoes and fluctuates in response to the heightened intensities of love, despair, and romantic irony. Chailley equates this type of thematic treatment with Wagner's *Tristan* (1859; 1865), whose protagonist becomes entangled in the overwhelming rapture of Wagner's symphonic music.<sup>54</sup> Berlioz's thematic process – as a convergence of multiple themes in a process of layering melodic fragments – is also a technique common to French opera, but innovative in

---

<sup>54</sup> Chailley, 120.

instrumental music.<sup>55</sup> Scholars commonly refer to this thematic technique as Berlioz's use of strophic variation.<sup>56</sup> In *Roméo et Juliette*, this technique allows Berlioz to mask complete repetitions of main themes, which sound altered – or 'varied' – in context of the shifting orchestral texture. As we will see, another way that Berlioz masks repetitions of thematic fragments, or melodic transformations, is by intertwining one theme (Roméo) with a second theme (Juliette) that is often difficult to discern by its close resemblance to the first, and which may synchronise and fuse into a new expanded theme, as in his "love scene."<sup>57</sup> A closer look at Roméo's theme illustrates Berlioz's original treatment of thematic transformations.

*Roméo seul – Tristesse – Concert et Bal. Grande Fête chez Capulet*

In the first symphonic movement, *Roméo seul – Tristesse – Concert et Bal. Grande Fête chez Capulet*, Berlioz creates a new expressive pattern and dramatic-lyric formal structure, largely by thematic cross-references and transformations of Roméo's lyrical theme in combination with developments of the dramatic symphonic Ball music (as illustrated in Table III).<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Mongrédien, 261.

<sup>56</sup> As discussed in Chapter II, Rodgers uses "strophic variation," "strophic elaboration," and "varied repetition" to describe Berlioz's thematic procedures. Bartoli uses varied repetition (*répétition variée*). Rodgers provides a thorough survey of theoretical discussion of this procedure, 15-21.

<sup>57</sup> This observation is also made by Rodgers, 15. The second theme often reflects and derives many components of the first, "making it hard to tell what is truly new and what is a varied restatement of something that came before."

<sup>58</sup> Here I acknowledge the assistance of Michelle Fillion; my independent analysis finds this movement a two-part form, with Part I a ternary structure. I base my findings on both an analysis of the score, and by heeding Berlioz's directive to understand form primarily by the "art of listening."

Table III: No. 2 *Roméo seul – Tristesse – Concert et Bal. Grande Fête chez Capulet*

Part I: Slow Introduction: (mm. 1-21) *Suggests Roméo's directionlessness*

A – *Roméo seul: Andante malinconico e sostenuto*

F Major (mm. 1-21) Opens with chromatic melody for solo violin, broken by 'sigh' motive and slurs, enhanced by wandering harmony and unstable rhythmic outline.

Expanded orchestral texture and tonal wandering (mm. 22-61) from F Major to A Flat (b III, cadence m. 41) – c minor/C Major (V, cadence m. 55-6) – I

*Allegro*: Transition (mm. 63-80)

Develops fragment of ball motive from Prologue (m. 8-9)

B – *Tristesse de Roméo: Larghetto espressivo* (mm. 81-107) *Roméo's growing confidence*  
C Major; thematic ternary design:

Roméo's theme largely in high register, recalls motive from Prologue, at "Hélas, Roméo soupire" (Prologue, beginning m. 56) – solo oboe with harp and arpeggiated string accompaniment *Roméo's thoughts of Juliette* (mm. 82-6)

Melodic extensions (m. 87-107), subdivides into five-bars (at m. 91) like reprise of phrase 1  
Superimposed: irregular motivic-sequential development of phrase 1 (Roméo) against ball rhythm (at m. 97) – *reverses operatic treatment of melodic superimposition*

*Allegro*: Transition (mm. 107-28)

Diatonic surges, pushes harmony into ambiguity with major 9<sup>th</sup> chord (m. 113) over V pedal in rhythmic accompaniment; bass imitates theme (Roméo predominates), then strings and winds; cadence on V (C, mm. 126-8) followed by fermata rest.

C – *Concert et Bal. Grande Fête chez Capulet* (mm. 129-218), *Allegro*, F Major

Harmonic wanderings: sequences in E flat (at m. 157), D flat (m. 162);

C Major (V, m. 166), F Major (m. 171) Develops motives of Roméo's theme with new dance material (at m. 206) alternating between winds and strings, A-flat; broken texture in G (m. 215-9)

Transition (mm. 219-25) conflict of D-flat (at m. 220)

fragment of Roméo's theme (mm. 224-5) back to F

Part II: *Reunion des deux Thèmes, du Larghetto et de l'Allegro* (m. 226) F Major

Transition: *senza strings* (m. 259), solo bassoon, oboe, violin, viola – tenor range

A3/B2– Fugato (A Major, mm. 278-93)

Ball theme transformed in a brief fugato with bassoon entry; recalls threatening fugato of No.1. *Reflects expressions of "songful lament" in Beethoven's Eroica (finale) and Seventh Symphony (Allegretto).*

A4/B3 – Alternating Ball music between strings and winds, Roméo's theme in tenor range  
basses, cellos and trombone (beginning at m. 299); Harmonic extension, punctuated by tutti  
f chords: C Major (m. 310), D minor (m. 314), G (m. 318), C (m. 324), D minor (m. 330),

G (m. 334), C (m. 338), F (m. 346), cadence 374-5. *Thematic superimposition: Suggests Roméo in conflict with society, in the heart of enemy territory*

Coda: (mm. 375-414)

Reminiscence of *Tristesse* (m. 385) Recalls previous material, beginning with ball theme and cadences; E-flat ostinato dance rhythm in timpani and IV harmony suggest Capulet (Tybalt) against oboe melody (Roméo); Tempo I (m. 396)

Table III illustrates Berlioz's creation of an original two-part form that reflects his adaption of French traditions and his study of Beethoven. While Beethoven's forms may be understood as a harmonic process, Berlioz's movement No. 2 illustrates a new form (not sonata) that is largely determined by melodic unfolding: themes introduced in Part I are superimposed in Part II. Here my analysis departs somewhat from current scholarship that identifies the movement as a rondo.<sup>59</sup> Instead, I attempt to illustrate that Berlioz's forms are largely melodically generated, which, as discussed in previous chapters, reflects his links with French musical traditions (see Chapter II) of opera, and his study of Reicha's notion of *grande coupe binaire*, where the material of a reprise is developed by transposition with modification.

Berlioz's slow introduction (section A, see Table III) resembles many of Beethoven's first movement symphonic forms that begin with a slow Introduction and Allegro, for example, the *Poco sostenuto* of the Seventh Symphony. Yet, unlike Beethoven's slow introductions that move directly into a fast first-movement sonata form, Berlioz's opening *Andante malinconico* moves to a transitional *Allegro* before moving to an even slower *Tristesse: Larghetto espressivo*, thereby suggesting a ternary form.

In the first section, *Andante malinconico e sostenuto*, Berlioz's focus is on Roméo's

---

<sup>59</sup> Rushton identifies the movement as a rondo, 31-4.



découvre à Juliette et de son coeur les feux éclatent à leur tour” and later transforms without words in thematic repetitions to gain the listener’s understanding of the theme in a semantic context through purely musical parameters. For example, in No. 2 *Roméo seul*, Roméo’s theme from the Prologue is preceded by a chromatic fragment (m. 1- 4, musical example 2) that transforms into three main phrases, by combining with a leap figure: a melodic interval, first a P4th, then a -6<sup>th</sup> and finally an inverted 5th. To build his phrases, Berlioz plays with motivic “cells,” not in a Beethoven type of restructured development, but by repetition, irregular sequence, and expansion.

The melodic chromatic rise and fall of Roméo’s transforming fragment is enhanced by Berlioz’s alterations to rhythm (the dotted rhythm disappears in the third phrase) and harmonic wanderings (mm. 1-21) around the central tonic of F Major. These rhythmic and harmonic alterations foreshadow the movement’s later rhythmic developments (dotted rhythms in the dance music) and progressions of expanded tonality, where harmonic episodes are off-set by clear tonal markers (the punctuating chords, for example, in Part II, beginning at m. 310). Musically, the *Andante* conveys Roméo’s sighs of love (leap figure) and his vacillating confidence as he wanders into enemy territory (see musical example 2 on the following page).

In the second phrase (of musical example 2, mm. 5-9), Roméo’s *Tristesse* theme is personified first by the strings, followed by (the third phrase, the leap figure) scored for high winds (flute, oboe, clarinet), foreshadowing the instrumentation of Juliette’s fully disclosed theme. His fragmented leap figure? is now coloured by the oboe’s high register, which recalls the love theme in the Prologue (at m. 91) that was played by flute and oboe (words, “se découvre à Juliette”):

Musical example 2: No. 2, *Roméo seul*: Roméo's *Tristesse* theme, m. 1-22 :

m. 8

Andante malinconico e sostenuto. (♩ = 66.)

Flauto piccolo.  
Flauti.  
Oboi.  
Clarineti in B (Si♭).  
Corni I - II in F (Fa).  
Corno III in D (Re),  
Corno IV in C (Ut).  
4 Fagotti.  
Trambe in F (Fa).  
Cornetti in B (Si♭).  
(Cornets à Pistons.)  
Tromboni I e II.  
Trombone III.  
Timpani I e II  
in C (Ut) G (Sol).  
Timpani III e IV  
in A (La) E (Mi).  
Gran Cassa e Cinelli.  
2 Triangoli e 2 Tamburini  
(Tambours de basque.)  
Arpa I.<sup>o</sup>  
Arpa II.<sup>o</sup>  
Violino I.  
Violino II.  
Viola.  
Violoncello.  
Contrabbasso.

Handwritten annotations: "phrase" with an arrow pointing to the Violino I staff, and "arco" written above the Violino I and II staves.

Andante malinconico e sostenuto (♩ = 66.)

m. 9

Fl. I.  
Ob.  
Clar.  
pizz.  
arco  
pizz.  
arco  
pizz.  
arco  
pizz.  
arco  
pizz.  
arco

Handwritten annotations: "2", "3", and "sempre pp" are present in the score.

This suggests that Roméo is thinking of Juliette, who inspires his confidence. This is indicated in the third phrase (beginning m.10, see musical example 2) where the greatest thematic transformation occurs: the chromatic fragment creates a melodic arc in combination with the leap figure. In the final phrase (beginning m.18), the dotted rhythms disappear (as if Romeo has gained his confidence), and the longest chromatic descent seamlessly connects to a new texture (in F+, at *solo*, m. 22), which begins the *Tristesse* section (mm. 81-107, section B of Part I) that, as described in Berlioz's program, "seems to reflect the contemplation of the melancholy lover who has strayed into the hostile territory of the Capulets' palace."

*Roméo seul* (section A, mm. 1-62) is created by the gradual emerging of the two main characters theme from the chromatic descent (which becomes part of Roméo's theme) and the leap figure. Romeo's 'wandering' is now stabilized in F Major (tonic), but coloured by Berlioz's unconventional harmonic modulations: he initiates a 'tonic' issue with a return to F+ (m. 22) – with B natural to C (V) to F (I) – that instead slips to E flat (V/A flat) and then to A Flat (bIII of F, at m. 41). Programmatically, Berlioz's modulations metaphorically suggest Roméo's uneasiness in unknown territory. However discordant this harmonic modulation appears on the page, the sound seems natural and graceful, reflective of Beethoven's standard chromatic modulations to bIII. This conventional harmonic process enhances Berlioz's creation of musical metaphor, by which the orchestra depicts the hidden emotions and psychology of Romeo, rather than presents an imitation of his vocal rhetoric.

In the following brief *Allegro* transition section (mm. 63-80), Berlioz uses melodic recall and foreshadowing to build his rising dramatic tension. Beginning with an opening motive reminiscent of the *Prologue* (fragment of mm. 8-9), Berlioz introduces musical elements that

suggest images of the ball, which develop in the following *Larghetto espressivo* section in combination with Juliette's oboe melody accompanied by harp (mm. 87-107). Here Berlioz creates melodic extensions by irregular sequences and subdivisions of thematic fragments (m. 91), which are enhanced by galop rhythms, and use of brass and timpani accents. The movement reaches a climax in the following transitional *Allegro* (mm. 107-128), with full orchestration and a merging of the *Larghetto* (Juliette's theme) with the following second transitional *Allegro* (the ball themes, F+), during which Roméo's theme seems foreign. In the third main thematic section (C, of Part I), *Concert et Bal, Grande fête chez Capulet* (mm. 129-218; transition 219-25), Berlioz juxtaposes Roméo's expression of the indefinite – his lyrical and harmonic wanderings – with an expression of mimesis by dramatic developments of a thematic fragment from the ball music (the Prologue, mm. 8-9). The thematic, harmonic and theatrical shifts here foreshadows the events in Part II.

In Part II of *Roméo seul*, at “Reunion des deux thèmes” (m. 226), Berlioz adapts thematic techniques that reflect traditions in French opera and his study of Beethoven. In particular, Berlioz develops a procedure used in some French opera where a solo melody is layered on ‘societal’ music. For example, in Spontini's *La Vestale* (1807), the character Julia laments “Ô trouble...ô terreur” over a march.<sup>61</sup> However, whereas Spontini's melody appears as a secondary theme, Berlioz reverses this procedure to focus instead on Roméo, whose melody remains the principal focus, distanced from the accompanying ball music by a process of structural thematic estrangement and expression. Roméo's directionlessness, or expression of ambiguity by melodic and harmonic wanderings, is contrasted dramatically with the mimetic

---

<sup>61</sup> Text quoted in Albright, 60.

dance music (thematic material from C in Part I). Yet Berlioz adjusts the dance music to accommodate Roméo, notably by pitch. For example, in the *Larghetto*, the ball music is lowered to the tenor instruments (Roméo's range), suggesting that we are viewing the scene through Roméo's perspective.

Another example to support the focus on Roméo's narrative is Berlioz's ingenious development of a fugato passage (mm. 278-93). Here Berlioz reflects his study of Beethoven's use of fugato, particularly in the finale of Beethoven's *Eroica*, where the composer "superimposes" melodic material with a "very simple fugue theme" (begins as a bass line at m.12); and the *Allegretto* of the Seventh Symphony, which develops the principal theme of a "short episodic fugue with two subjects in the strings" (beginning in m. 183, a fugal development of the principal theme, variation four). In both cases, Berlioz notes how Beethoven's fugato treatment enriches an expression of lamentation. Similarly, Berlioz introduces a brief fugato with a bassoon entry (Roméo's theme, m. 278) that appears surrounded by the ball music. Berlioz's fugue thus combines expressions of sadness and terror, lyricism and drama, at once recalling the opening *Tristesse*, and the threat of the Capulets with the ball music and the fugato of movement No. 1. Here Berlioz suggests that Roméo is at the heart of enemy territory, further emphasized in a following passage by the alternating of ball music between strings and winds that encircles Roméo's tenor range melody (basses, cellos, trombone, at m. 299). His conflict with the Capulets is further indicated by Berlioz's use of harmonic extensions (mm. 310-346) and a long coda that pits the oboe melody above the restored dance rhythm and tempo.

In *Roméo seul*, Berlioz's thematic treatment creates a dramatic-lyric form that juxtaposes Roméo's lyrical expression of the indefinite (thematic fragmentation and expansion with

harmonic wanderings) with the dramatic mimetic expression of the ball music (with rhythmic and harmonic punctuation). Roméo's fragmented theme is layered on a destabilized orchestral texture, which builds on 'deceptive' meter and tempo (for example, in the first 22 bars there are irregular subdivisions, rhythms, and phrasing), ambiguous, almost atonal harmony (only gradually establishes F Major by m. 22), and use of instrumentation for colouristic effects. In Part I, Roméo's theme begins as only a three-note melodic arc of chromatic steps that repeat (with many sustained, or 'hesitant' notes), and yet that sound altered and improvisatory within the unstable orchestral fabric. The effect corresponds with Berlioz's programmatic cue to represent the "shadowy silence of the orchard," by suggesting a night scene of shadows in a timeless space. This creates an expression of ambiguity – the mysterious and unexpected. In Part II (beginning at m. 226), the translucent and ambiguous orchestral fabric gives way to dramatic developments of the dance music that seems to surround Roméo's fragmented theme, underscored by expanded tonality that is confined by an overall F Major goal. Musically this suggests Roméo's dislocation (both physical and emotional); yet, in the end, his trepidation is offset by his desire to see Juliette.

*Scène d'amour: Nuit sereine – Le Jardin de Capulet silencieux et désert*

In the second symphonic movement, No. 3 *Scène d'amour: Nuit sereine – Le Jardin de Capulet silencieux et désert*, Berlioz's original thematic treatment creates an original form that is not easily understood as a direct imitation of the (implied) program, nor as a conventional symphonic form. Because of the continual transformations of Berlioz's main themes in combination with his transformation of the accompanying modes, his melodies present indistinct

lines and end-points, and he seems to merge sections and phrases within sections.<sup>62</sup> Berlioz's process of melding melodic fragments thus creates difficulties in determining the exact shape of melodies and which bar these melodies end, which often results in various analytical observations. For example, the first presentation of A (mm. 125-44, "Juliette's theme," see Table IV) suggests a lyric binary form: the antecedent in mm. 125-134, with the consequent beginning in mm. 135 and ending on a cadence in C # minor (m. 144). The distinction between these two statements of the theme, however, is obscured by the lack of a clear perfect-authentic cadence, the immediate statement of the consequent phrase, and the turning point between the two statements as simply a tonic pedal. Berlioz's use of a tonic pedal to transition into the consequent somewhat resembles his study of the first movement of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony, where the timpani's extended tonic pedal grounds "incomplete bits of phrases..above and below" and creates a seamless non-cadential shift into the recapitulation.<sup>63</sup>

Yet, unlike Beethoven, Berlioz develops this technical device as the basis for his continual process of melding and transforming, not only of the main themes, but also of the other modes of action, which may accompany only one statement of the theme.<sup>64</sup> For example, his treatment of

---

<sup>62</sup> Rodgers, 110. Rodgers provides an excellent discussion of this element in Berlioz's symphony, notably 109-14. His details require the score close at hand; unfortunately a full disclosure of his discussion is beyond my current focus. As noted earlier in this chapter, the subtlety of Berlioz's transformations results in different analytical results, not surprisingly, most often between sections. For example, Rodgers and Micznik generally concur on the outline of the first section of the *Adagio* (the two statements of A and B), though slight differences occur after the love theme is introduced: Micznik hears a transformation of the A theme at m. 308 (Micznik, 36), while Rodgers (112) and Micznik (36) agree that this is development and the transformed main themes reappear at m. 322.

<sup>63</sup> In his essay, Berlioz highlights the importance of a timpani roll in the first movement (retransition to the recapitulation at m. 333), which emphasizes the tonic (B flat) for about twenty measures (mm. 311-35; this continuous roll is preceded by a short roll in mm. 307-9).

<sup>64</sup> Here my discussion leans on Rodgers, 112-3.

rhythm in the A theme illustrates that he equally transforms other modes of action to enhance expressive aspects of the theme: the A theme's first statement appears with a particular rhythmic pattern coordinated with the outline of pitches; at m.125 a melodic motive that outlines the pitches of a falling sixth and an octave leap is combined with eighth notes and a dotted eighth. This pitch-rhythmic pattern, however, never fully returns. This more specific example illustrates only one level of Berlioz's subtle thematic transformations, as a continual process throughout, one that ultimately prepares us for the eventual goal of the symphony – the merging of the love theme. A closer look at Roméo's theme illustrates Berlioz's use of thematic expansion and fragmentation to gradually build a new type of form with a centrally located climax (m. 274) that develops a composite theme (uniting the two main themes – A Juliette, B Roméo), which is then deconstructed.

The indefinite nature of Berlioz's themes creates the unfolding of an unusual form. Rushton notes that the *Scène d'amour*, even for Berlioz, is a movement that is “so remote from traditional archetypes.”<sup>65</sup> Despite the difficult task of determining a precise outline of Berlioz's melodies, In Table IV, I attempt to build on the analysis of Bartoli, Rodgers, and Micznik to illustrate how Berlioz's thematic transformations unfold what musically implies the dramatic action of Shakespeare's love scene, using what appears to be a familiar formal outline that resembles the *Adagio* of Beethoven's Ninth.

---

<sup>65</sup> Rushton, 39.

Table IV: Beethoven's *Adagio*, Ninth Symphony and Berlioz's *Scène d'amour*<sup>66</sup>

Beethoven	Berlioz
<b>Part I</b>	<b>Part I:</b> 6/8, A Major
<b>A1</b> Theme 1 – principal theme of mvmt. Always on I	<b>A1</b> Theme 1– secondary importance On I (mm. 124-144) <i>Juliette's theme in tenor range, as if in Roméo's thoughts</i> – his chromatic fragment at mm. 148-9). Lyrical binary: antecedent, mm. 124-134; consequent, mm. 135-143 ( to c#)
	Transition (mm. 144-5, c#)
<b>B1</b> Theme 2– secondary theme On III or VI	<b>B1</b> Theme 2– primary theme of mvmt. (mm. 146-155, c#) <i>Romo's theme;</i> <i>Juliette's fragment in winds</i> (mm. 146-7)
Second statement of two themes	Second statement of two themes
<b>A2</b> Theme 1– Ornamental Variation	<b>A2</b> Theme 1 – Compressed, repeated (mm. 155-167, A)
	Transition (mm. 168-171) new material
<b>B2</b> Theme 2:transposed, reorchestrated, repeated	<b>B2</b> Theme 2 – Transformed by transposition (C Major) and orchestration (mm. 172-180)
Theme 2 disappears from movement	Theme 1 temporarily disappears, with motives later developed in composite theme of second <i>Adagio</i> .
<b>Transition</b>	<b>Transition:</b> (mm. 181-245) <i>C Suggests Dialogue</i> <sup>67</sup> <i>Allegro agitato</i> , 2/4, C Major
Theme 1 motivic development: retransition from E-flat to C-flat, then B-flat	Theme 1 motivic development: <i>Juliette's soliloquy</i> (F# and A) high winds (mm. 181- 204) with Theme 2: <i>Un poco meno vivo</i> (mm. 205-18)

---

<sup>66</sup> For purposes of my discussion, I provide the broadest outline of Beethoven's form (a more detailed discussion, as it relates to Berlioz, is found in Chapter II). My table builds on the analysis of Bartoli, 149-50; with elements drawn from the analysis of Micznik, 36; and Rodgers, 118-119.

<sup>67</sup> Berlioz foreshadows the "intonation" of Juliette's theme here, later heard in the clarinet (mm. 74-89) in the *Tombeau* movement.

	<i>Roméo's reply</i> in cellos and horns (tenor range, mm. 219-227)
	Motivic fragments (mm. 228-242)
Effects delayed arrival of Theme 1	Effects delayed arrival of Theme 2
Centre of movement	Centre of movement and Symphony
<b>Part II</b>	<b>Part II</b> Second <i>Adagio</i> : (m. 246)
Theme 1: Variation	<b>A3</b> Theme 1: expands, new accompaniment; pulsating bass line (mm. 243-273)
Harmony: parenthetical modulations emphasize I or V	<b>A3/B3</b> Theme 2: Important Variant: Composite "Love Theme: melding of Juliette's theme (from mm. 246-55, f#) and fragment of Roméo's theme (from B1, mm. 152-5), with harmonic transformations that suggest A Major (I) brief modulations around I (mm. 256- 280) <i>Transfiguration</i>
	Climax: m.274-80
	Harmony on A
	Transition: Motivic development, for example: A1(Juliette) antecedent (mm. 280-285, A) Motivic development of B3 (Roméo, mm. 286-300)
	Composite theme begins to deconstruct:
Unexpected Harmony: IV (mm. 121-5)	Unexpected harmony: <i>Suggests tragic foreboding</i> <sup>68</sup> <b>A4</b> V/A (m. 308)
Motivic fragmentation of theme	Motivic development of Theme 2 (mm. 322-331, A) Transposed, reorchestrated, new accompaniment Thematic fragmentation of motives from B3 (Composite Theme) at m. 322
Brass disruption (mm. 121-3)	String disruption (mm. 332-6);biii Thematic fragmentation of motives from B3 (Composite

---

<sup>68</sup> Rushton and Bartoli interpret this disruption as the "nurse's call from within," yet I suggest that it may also be a foreboding of tragedy, reflective of Berlioz's study of the *Adagio* of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony.

Theme) at m. 332

Transition (mm. 338-340, V/A)

Motivic development of thematic fragments:<sup>69</sup>

Thematic fragmentation of motives from B3 (taken from Composite Theme) at m. 341; Fragment of transitional material ('dialogue' from mm. 181-245) in m. 358 (V); Fragment of B2 in m. 362.

*Reflects funeral march of Eroica*

Codetta, m. 382 (A)

Table IV illustrates Berlioz's synthesis of several elements found in Beethoven's *Adagio*. Both forms share in their broader unfolding of two main periods joined by a central bridge, with the second period as an elaboration that does not refrain the first period. Both explore modulations by a related third, with elaborations around the tonic harmony by brief modulations to neighbouring harmonies (in Part II, Berlioz's m. 256-80). Most significantly, Berlioz's transformation of Roméo's theme generates a new (non-sonata) form, which illustrates his study of Beethoven's *Adagio* as a structural model that unfolds by a 'variation' approach to thematic treatment. Melodic development in both movements breaks from conventional reprises of the first section by variation in the first period and by transformation in the second period. Here Berlioz reflects his study of Beethoven's *Adagio*, if we recall from Chapter II, where he observes how the "principle of unity is so little observed," largely in terms of expected (melodic) procedures: Beethoven creates the "unexpected" – he alters the course of his own formal process

---

<sup>69</sup> On Berlioz's motivic development of particular thematic fragments, see Bartoli, 149-50; Micznik, 36; and Rodgers, 119-20. Each of these scholars offer their own specific and yet different analysis of Berlioz's thematic procedure in this movement; a full disclosure of their analysis and a comparative discussion of their differences is unfortunately beyond the scope of my project. However, my table provides a few examples here illustrate how the composite theme is deconstructed by fragmentation, largely of Roméo's theme. My aim here is to provide a broad overview of the form in attempts to illustrate Berlioz's link with Beethoven.

by his treatment of the “rival phrase,” which creates “two distinct movements rather than one.” Beethoven first presents each theme twice with a tempo change, which initiates his alternating thematic treatment, with the first theme undergoing more rigorous ornamental variation treatment and motivic development. Similarly, Berlioz’s *Adagio* treats two alternating themes (A 1, mm. 124-43, Juliet’s theme; B1, mm. 146-54, Romeo’s theme) of paradoxical expressions, introduced twice, and altered throughout with similar changes to tempo and harmony.

Berlioz expands Beethoven’s thematic transformation (variation) procedure as a means to alter the main theme in accordance with Shakespeare’s play.<sup>70</sup> Differences exist, however, between how the two composers specifically treat thematic material to unfold formal structure. If we recall from Berlioz’s essay, he describes Beethoven’s first theme as the main theme of the movement, and his second theme vanishes after the transition begins, whereas Berlioz’s second theme (Roméo’s theme) is the main theme of the movement, and his first theme (Juliette) later returns in the second *Adagio*. In this regard, Berlioz’s *Adagio* leans on Beethoven’s structural model as an analogical tool to create music as a metaphorical expression that is linked with the literary impressions of Romeo’s emotions and actions.

However, in the more specific application of thematic techniques used to create his composite ‘love theme,’ Berlioz reflects his study of the first movement of the *Eroica*. In his essay (as discussed in Chapter II), Berlioz observes that Beethoven’s melody begins as a fragment that becomes fully clear only after several measures of “exordium” (mm.1-45). This novel approach, Berlioz states, allows for “myriad aspects” of melodic development that mixes a “serious and dramatic” character with the three-quarter meter and tempo “more or less that of a

---

<sup>70</sup> Bartoli, “Forme symphonique,” “Variation,” in *Dictionnaire Berlioz*, 200; 570-1.

waltz.” Similarly, Berlioz exploits thematic expansion of a dramatic expression of love in a 6/8 meter.

Berlioz sets the stage for the love scene with an introductory *Allegretto* that creates impressions of Roméo moving through the “shadowy silence of the orchard” and the distant threat of the enemy, before the famous Balcony Scene with Juliette. Romeo’s hesitancy is musically represented (m. 1-34) by unstable meter, tempo and rhythm, unified only by a recurrent three-note melodic motive, and unstable harmony that is only gradually defined, reaching a climax on V (in A Major, at m. 35). Berlioz combines Roméo’s theme with a series of thematic cross-references, notably with Juliette’s oboe theme. Danger is represented by a brief choral section (mm. 44-123), a recall of a past theme (like Beethoven) based on a simplified version of the “Capulet Ball” theme – sung offstage, as a development of the mode of “point of origin of sounds.” The chorus is in ternary form, building on the ball music with a middle section from movement No. 2 (mm. 207; 318). Here Berlioz creates mixed modes, combining the more mimetic chorus with the ambiguous expression of the orchestra. We are introduced to a movement in which Roméo’s thematic interaction (and absorption) with Juliette’s theme will create three large melodies, and a final fragmented statement, enhanced by fluctuating harmony, rhythm, dynamics, and instrumentation; motion to establish the key of A+ (the ‘love’ key); and 6/8 meter, with flexible changes in tempo (*Allegretto, Adagio, Allegro agitato, Adagio*). By this constant shifting, Berlioz conveys both the sentiments and physical actions of Roméo’s shifting passions.

Berlioz’s first *Adagio* section (mm. 124-43) contrasts with the introductory *Allegretto* in harmony, rhythm, tempo that fluctuates throughout. Here Berlioz’s superimposition of thematic

material creates an amazing layered orchestration by underlining the growing motivic duet between Roméo and Juliette with violin trills (m. 126-7) and half-steps in the english horn and clarinet that suggest birdcalls.<sup>71</sup> The suggested bird element in Berlioz's movement also invites a comparison with the mimetic birdcalls of Beethoven's *Pastoral*, which Berlioz promoted within his aesthetic of imitation of mixed mode of expression ("On Imitation in Music"). However, on one level, Berlioz develops a conceptual musical image of birdcalls that only alludes to generic birds rather than particular species (the trill suggests a *tourterelle*; the woodwind steps like the tunes of the nightingale) that are presented in an undefined, fragmented, and therefore ambiguous in melodic form. On another level, however, Berlioz seems to create an ambiguous musical suggestion that reflects Shakespeare's own metaphorical references to birds in this love scene (Act. 2, scene 2):

Juliet: 'Tis almost morning, I would have thee gone –

And yet no farther than a wan-ton's bird...(lines 176-7)

Romeo: I would I were thy bird. (182)

To reflect this metaphorical image of a bird musically, Berlioz superimposes these melodic fragments on each other, blurring their melodic edges into a delicate orchestral tapestry that evokes formless night sounds. Here we have a gap in comprehension on three levels: what is vaguely recognizable as birds in a night scene; what is suggested as a metaphorical image in the conversation between the two lovers; and what may be understood as a purely indefinite musical

---

<sup>71</sup> Albright, 62-3. Albright hears the 'bird calls' as a mimetic device that he supports with a lengthy discussion on the use of birds as symbolic imagery in art. I also can recognize bird calls, however, I differ from Albright in recognizing these as an indefinite expression, or more closely supportive of my discussion, Berlioz's musical analogy of birds, reflective of Beethoven, his own *Symphonie fantastique*, and as a musical reference to the love scene in Shakespeare's play.

expression.

Directly following the “bird calls” is another example that illustrate Berlioz’s unique thematic treatment – his use of a recurrent chromatic motive throughout this movement that also recurs throughout the symphony. In the *Scène d’amour*, this motive first appears as E-D#-D-C# in mm. 128-9 (Theme A1, directly following the “bird calls”) in the viola. Chailley calls this motive a *thème cyclique*, and Bartoli classifies this device in the same category as *idée fixe*.<sup>72</sup> Berlioz develops this type of motive as an “expressive entity,” which draws on the concept of thematic reminiscence from traditions of French opera, called *motifs conducteurs*. His adaption of this operatic device to the symphony also reflects his study of the second movement, *Andante con moto* of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony. In his essay, Berlioz praises Beethoven’s mixed mode melodic treatment, which combines “transformations..undergone by the first theme” with the “stubborn recurrence of a deeply sad and simple phrase... given to the winds,” which returns “unchanged and in the same key throughout the movement, no matter what transformations are undergone by the first theme.” Berlioz refers to a codetta (mm. 11-16) that follows the initial statement of the principal theme (mm. 1-9). As discussed in Chapter II, Berlioz hears this recurrent melodic motive “unchanged,” a concept that reflects his own use of a *thème cyclique*. However, Beethoven’s melodic motive appears slightly altered by ornamental elaboration or fragmentation, which differs from Berlioz’s rigid repetition, altered slightly by the mode of modulation. Additionally, unlike Beethoven’s recurrent melodic motive that to Berlioz enhances the “transformations” and development main theme, Berlioz’s *thème cyclique* ultimately

---

<sup>72</sup> Chailley identifies that this motive appears in the Prologue, No. 2, and the *Convoi funèbre*: Chailley, 118; Bartoli and Rodgers add that this motive also occurs in No. 3: Rodgers, 122; Bartoli, “Idée fixe et thèmes cycliques,” *Dictionnaire Berlioz*, 273-4.

represents a direct conflict with Roméo's theme that signals the thematic process of deconstruction. In *Roméo et Juliette*, Berlioz evolves this recurrent motive to reflect the psychological undertones of his narrative, similar to his use of the *idée fixe* of his *Symphonie fantastique*. However, in the latter, the "deformation" of the recurrent motive underscores the protagonist's ultimate demise.<sup>73</sup> In *Roméo et Juliette*, however, it first appears as A-G#-G-F# in the Prologue (mm. 24-7) with the words "Le jeune Roméo, plaignant sa destinée, Vient tristement errer à l'entour du palais." While sadly wandering around the palace in No. 2 *Roméo seul*, the motive is linked with the main theme of the Introduction (F-E-Eb-D). After its first appearance in the *Scène d'amour* (mm. 128-9), it reappears unchanged in mm. 258-60; in the transition between B2 and C; and in the codetta.<sup>74</sup> After its appearance in the *Scène d'amour*, the motive appears again at the end of the *Convoi funèbre* (mm.123, as the original A-G#-G-F#). On a larger scale within the symphony, this recurrent motive creates a mixed mode element, as a type of strophic repetition that contrasts with the fluctuating main themes associated with Roméo. Berlioz thus creates a paradoxical musical element that both unifies his structure and creates a poetic element of mixed modes that reflects his central poetic idea. Within this movement and the symphony, the motive seems attached to Roméo. Moreover, this four-note descending chromatic figure resembles a traditional *passus duriusculus*, a rhetorical theme associated with deep melancholy or death, as found in the keyboard works of J. S. Bach.<sup>75</sup> Its absence during the

---

<sup>73</sup> Bartoli, 274.

<sup>74</sup> Rodgers, 121.

<sup>75</sup> Peter Williams, "Figurae in Keyboard Works," *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti, Tercentenary essays*, edited by Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 335.

the climactic love scene, appearing only at moments when he “wanders,” thus suggests an ominous element of foreboding,

Berlioz’s process of thematic transformation, enhanced by alterations to the supportive modes of action, allows him to inevitably and organically capture a new composite “love theme,” which enters at m. 274 (see Table IV). Here the central indistinct characteristic of Berlioz’s melodies allows him to retrieve and interconnect motives from previously stated themes: the B theme (Roméo’s theme, from B1, A Major, mm. 146-153) and the A theme (Juliette’s F-sharp melody, A 3, mm. 246-55). To this end, the love theme uses a fragment from B linked with the opening rhythm of A (Juliette’s theme) and now expanded pitches (rising third now a fourth).

Berlioz’s creation of the love theme has been the subject of much discussion.<sup>76</sup> Listening to this new theme, one hears the two main themes transfigured – as a combination of the two previously familiar main themes, and hence of the two dramatic-musical *personas* – rather than as a completely unprecedented new arrival. As we see in musical example 3 below, these two melodic themes gradually synchronize by a melodic technique that is an extension of the polyphonic device used in the opening of the *Adagio*, which builds a sound texture on the fragmented “bird calls,” as a series of rising chromatics. Berlioz uses this type of thematic fragmentation to link Juliette’s theme with Roméo’s.

---

<sup>76</sup> A detailed comparative discussion of these various approaches is beyond my current focus. However, to illustrate the wide-ranging theoretical findings, I provide a few examples: Rodgers notes that the rising third motive in the second measure of what I call Juliette’s (A) theme (at m. 246 of the *Adagio*) is taken from the second measure of Roméo’s theme (B 1 and 2 of the *Adagio*; Charles Rosen observes that Roméo’s theme and the love theme share similar middle motives (compare mm. 150-2 of B1 with mm. 274-6 of the love theme).

Musical example 4: Convergence of Love Theme<sup>77</sup>

a) Roméo's theme (B1, A Major), mm. 146-153

m. 146

Musical score for m. 146, showing Cor III and Cor IV parts. The score includes dynamics such as *cresc. poco* and *dim.* and the instruction *cresc. poco a poco*.

b) Juliette's fragment (A 3, f #), mm. 246-55:

m. 246

Musical score for m. 246, showing Viol. arco and other instruments. The score includes dynamics such as *pp* and *p*, and the instruction *con sord.* (with sord.).

m. 250

Musical score for m. 250, showing C. Ingi, Clar., and Viol. parts. The score includes dynamics such as *pp* and *p*, and the instruction *con sord.* (with sord.).

<sup>77</sup> Rodgers, 117; Bartoli, 142. Differences exist in the analysis of this love theme and the movement in general. For example, Rushton identifies the B sections with Roméo, while Schacher and Tovey hear this section as Juliet: see Thomas Schacher, *Hector Berlioz: Roméo et Juliette* (Munich: Fink, 1998), 62; Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, Vol. IV (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 88. Though differing on the precise identity of Berlioz's thematic fragments, Micznik, Rodgers and Bartoli agree that the climax begins at m. 274.

c) Composite love theme (mm. 274-80)

m. 274

↓

Fl. *p dolce assai* (♩ = 100.)

Clar. *p dolce assai*

Cor. I *p dolce assai*

Cor. III *p dolce assai*

Fag. *p dolce assai*

Viol. *poco f ma dolce poco cresc.*

Fl. *rit. a tempo* 39

Clar. *rit. a tempo*

Fag. *rit. a tempo*

Viol. *rit. a tempo* 39

At the point of synchronization, the two themes join by thematic expansion at the climax of the *Adagio*. In what suggests a reversal of Hugo's concept of mixed modes as the combination

of complementary opposites, Berlioz's love theme represents the combination of similar and familiar elements to create something new – creating a sense that, by illuminating a new theatrical perspective on the goal results in suggesting that the transformation of themes portrays an active, lively and vibrant process that reflects Hugo's aesthetic of the new poetry in a process of self-actualization. In this light, the love theme, represents the actualization of the two lovers, who, like soul mates, are destined to be united and form a whole. By his subtle transformation process, Berlioz leads us down the garden path only to discover the emergence of the love theme that seems at once so simple in its concept and yet beautiful in its new illumination of the familiar. Fulfilling his romantic goal to create the new poetry that speaks to a diversity of audience perspectives, Berlioz's love theme may be understood on many levels as mixed modes: a musical expression that links with the mimetic elements of Shakespeare's poetic dialogue, as proposed by Chailley; the abstract expression of the passion implied in the program, as proposed by Micznik or Albright; or, as an indefinite expression – a new form of mixed modes – by which the love theme represents illumination created from ambiguity, as proposed by Rodgers and Ramaut. Thus, Berlioz creates a new type of multi-leveled mixed mode that combines the familiar (previous main themes and implied program) with the new (love theme as indefinite musical expression), which ultimately creates a gap in comprehension, or the romantic sublime.

Once captured, Berlioz treats the love theme by a process that resembles strophic variation – repeating the love theme in what appears to be variations, which transform to create new themes. These new themes then transform by a gradual process of fragmentation to create a deconstruction of the love theme into the finale. Rodgers summarizes Berlioz's thematic process here in straightforward terms: “Do not display the main theme suddenly; reveal it gradually, so

that its true identity is only recognizable in retrospect. And then, once the theme has emerged, repeat it until it can be repeated no longer.”<sup>78</sup> In broader terms, this principle might also apply to Beethoven’s *Eroica* and Ninth Symphony. However, as argued previously, Berlioz departs from Beethoven’s alteration of thematic motives in ways that seem logical and clearly recognizable. In contrast to Beethoven, Berlioz’s thematic alteration seems ephemeral: his main melodies at once refer to familiar elements already heard, and yet, by a constant process of transformation, they reveal these familiar elements in new combinations, enhanced by alterations also made to the other modes of action.

On an aesthetic level, the emergence of love theme reflects Berlioz’s understanding of the “myriad guises” of thematic treatment in Beethoven’s *Eroica* and his study of the Ninth, particularly by the alternating themes of the *Adagio* and the accumulation of recalled motives in the finale that ‘crescendo’ into the joy theme. However, in the more practical application of this aesthetic, Berlioz alludes to these thematic concepts, yet synthesizes them into something unprecedented in thematic process, even for Berlioz himself. His focus is on the treatment of melody, rather than on creating drama as the “monumentalization of harmony” typically found in Beethoven’s symphonies, by which thematic manipulation reflects the dramatic tension created between the pull between harmonic poles, notably tonic and dominant as found in Beethoven’s *Eroica*.<sup>79</sup>

Moreover, unlike Beethoven’s *Adagio* that contributes to the *loi du crescendo* that leads

---

<sup>78</sup> Rodgers, 133.

<sup>79</sup> As discussed in Chapter II, an excellent discussion and analysis of Beethoven’s thematic manipulation is presented by Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, 39-61.

the melody, according to Berlioz, a triumphant final joy theme, Berlioz's climactic *Adagio* leads to a gradual deconstruction of his composite love theme. Here Berlioz draws on thematic techniques that reflect his study of the funeral march of Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony. In his essay, Berlioz notes how Beethoven creates an expression of grand pathos by restating the march theme in "solitary shreds" (m. 238), which suggests "a last farewell." Similarly, Berlioz exploits thematic fragmentation to musically reflect the painful parting of the lovers, as stated by Romeo: "Good night, good night! Parting is such sweet sorrow" (Act 2, scene 2, line 181).

After the climactic unfolding of the composite theme, at the heart of the movement and the centre of his symphony, Berlioz begins a gradual deconstruction, subsiding into a long descent toward the finale, which becomes increasingly more fragmented both melodically and harmonically. In the final section of this movement, the disentanglement of the love theme remains largely in the 'love key' of A Major (see Table IV). The A theme (Juliette) is first recalled (from m. 184, remains in I) followed by 'shreds' of Roméo's fragment from the love theme (mm. 322; 332; 341), a return to the dialogue motives (recalls C, at m. 234), a recall of B2 (Roméo at m. 362) that fragments into additional 'dialogue' (from C transitional material at m. 372) and the final fragments of the love theme (beginning at m. 376). In the end, Juliette's oboe fragments and Roméo's sustained cello tones create concluding "wisps" that structurally serve to fuse thematic material with Queen Mab's *Scherzo*, as well as programmatically suggest memories, dreams, and foreshadow a change of fortune.

### *Roméo au tombeau des Capulets*

Similar to the finale of Beethoven's Ninth, Roméo's final scene in *Roméo au tombeau*

uses the technique of thematic recall of fragments of the main themes of previous movements. Yet differences exist in the more specific use of this technique and how it unfolds two completely different hybrid forms. Beethoven's use of recalled themes from all three previous movements culminates – by the *loi du crescendo* – into the melody of joy, which is then treated in variations (according to Berlioz). In Berlioz's death scene, Roméo's theme returns as an aria of lament that begins with dissonant and abrupt gestures (m.48), followed by a recall of Juliette's theme (m. 76) misaligned with Roméo's theme, and more disorderliness (mm. 124-47) as the themes struggle but fail to reunite in the key of A Major, before finally settling on the finale chorus with a message of transcendence. Thus, in contrast to Beethoven's thematic recall to initiate transformations as variations of the joy theme, Berlioz's process of thematic recall sets in motion transformations that alter Roméo's theme to create a reversal of the *loi du crescendo* by a gradual disintegration of structure, extended and subdivided into three main sections: *Roméo au tombeau des Capulets*; *Largo: Invocation – Réveil de Juliette*; and *Joie délirante, désespoir, dernières angoisses et mort des deux amants*, as we see in Table VI:

Table VI: No. 6 *Roméo au tombeau des Capulets*

*Roméo au tombeau des Capulets: Allegro agitato e disperato, con moto :*

Suggests Roméo entering the tomb: orchestra confides his private thoughts, actions, and emotions to the audience. Overall goal of A Major (“love key”)

First section (mm. 1-17): short melodic motives, staccato;

Unsettled tonality (F, B-flat Major, E minor at m. 16) and rhythm (duple and triple meter)

Second section (mm. 18-33): short opening motives now transformed to create disruption without change in tempo marking by sustained chords that use altered instrumentation, repeated V of C-sharp; mixed with rests, fermatas; harmonic motion to V of C-sharp;

Transition (mm. 34-47)

*Largo (C#-): Invocation: Réveil de Juliette (mm. 48-75)*

Suggests Roméo's (wordless) Aria: "Death, that hath suck'd the honey of thy breath" (V.3); desire: mixed modes - *genre instrumental expressif*

Roméo's theme clear but coloured by remote harmony (falls to C# minor after climax D Major); instrumentation: muted cello, tenor register of bassoons, horn and cor anglais, 12/8 meter, accents shift to weak beats; descending figure in cellos (m.71) with ambiguous harmony created by trill, suggests the moment when Roméo takes poison.

*L'istesso tempo (m.76):* Suggests Juliette awakens – '*melodies of timbres*': new instrumentation. Disruptions: melodic fragment of Juliette's theme (from *Scène d'amour*) in clarinet misaligned with Roméo's response in cello and basses throughout; brief wandering harmony outlining V of A; 6/8 meter with fermata rests

*Joie délirante: Allegro vivace ed appassionato assai (A+, key of love, m. 90)*

Sudden juxtaposed tutti orchestral texture and *f* dynamic (at m. 90) from previous paradoxical expression; no clear bass, yet suggests A Major

*L'istesso tempo (m.101):* motives become clearer, Roméo's declaration (m. 108)

Roméo's "blast" and "distraction" (mm. 124-47) climax upon climax builds on fragmentation and thematic transformation of Roméo's theme.

*Dernières angoisses et mort des deux amants: "Garrick's ending": final dialogue*

Silence breaks the frenzied cycle (m.148); superimposed triple/duple meters (m. 150)

*L'istesso tempo (m.170):* Suggests the lovers' last moments: bass motion by fourths

(from m. 169, F minor, C minor, G Major, E Major) yet brief melodic phrases limited to chromatic string ostinato – Roméo's last breaths (B flat to D flat); brief disruptive melodic descent (m.186) suggests Juliette grabs Roméo's dagger, followed by a grim B-flat-A bass figure

*un poco riten. a tempo:(m. 193)* violin recitative and silence; sudden *ff*> (m.211)

suggests Juliette stabs herself, followed by grim B-flat-A in bass; solo oboe final soliloquy – melody of timbre; cello *pizz.* (E-A cadential notes), fermata rests. *Perdendo, pppp*, structural absence of music represents hero's absence.

In the second main section, *Largo: Invocation* (mm. 48-75), Berlioz musically suggests Roméo's aria to Shakespeare's lines, "Death, that hath suck'd the honey of thy breath" (Act 5, scene 3). In this passage, Berlioz's use of mixed modes suggests Roméo's grief by undermining his fragmented theme above unstable meter, rhythm, and harmony: 12/8 meter with accents that shift to weak beats, shifting harmony with a climax on D Major chord (m. 65, as a 6/4) that falls



However, Juliette's melody reappears broken into fragments played by a clarinet, rather than as a recall of her love song in the *Adagio*. Her fragmented state undermines the type of expanded melodic fusion that occurs with Roméo's theme in the love scene. Moreover, Juliette's melodic fragments are misaligned with Roméo's response in the cellos and basses. Roméo's response is enhanced by triple meter, gentle dynamics, and harmony that indicates motion to the 'love' key of A+ (ends on E), and yet, suggestive of the tragedy, these elements are off-set by irregular accents. Roméo's chromatic theme disintegrates into fragments that play against harmonic decay and the encroachment of long pauses (fermatas begin at m.87 and continue interspersed throughout).

In the final section, *Joie délirante: Allegro vivace, ed appassionato assai*, Berlioz extends and transforms Roméo's theme (which appears at m. 108) to create a breakdown between the modes of action. Berlioz's use of the title *Joie délirante* in combination with the implied program that Juliette is now awake, suggests that this musical passage depicts Roméo's declaration of love juxtaposed with his overwhelming distress at their tragic fate. Initially, the reunion of the lovers stirs the memory of the love scene, suggested by a blare of A major (love key), duple meter, and full tutti orchestration at *Allegro vivace ed appassionata assai* (m.90). Here Berlioz implies that he is about to create a grand crescendo, like those he praised in Beethoven's Fourth, Fifth, and Ninth Symphonies, by expanding orchestration. However, Berlioz's passage suggests Roméo's response to the eternal entrapment by death and the tomb. Musically Berlioz represents Roméo's interior response by treating mixed modes to create what sounds to be a frenzied cycle of aimless climax upon climax (beginning at m.124) – directly following the last statement of the ominous *thème cyclique* (m. 123, winds, F-E-Eb-D; as per my

discussion of the *Scène d'amour*, this is a thematic motive that recurs throughout the symphony, like a traditional *passus duriusculus* associated with death). Here melody and harmony seem unsynchronized and disrupted, though there is an implied pull towards a restatement of Roméo's declaration from the *Scène d'amour* (as in m. 146 of No. 3) and the love key of A Major. Instead, however, Roméo's theme wavers between half-steps, beginning as three notes (F, G, A) above a chromatic descent in the bass (C to G# mm. 124-30) that collides with a tutti *sf* D chord, followed by similar wanderings to tutti tonal modulations on C (m. 135) and F # (m. 138), reflective of the expanded tonality refined by the *points de repère* (demarcation points) in No. 2, *Roméo seul*.

Silence breaks this cycle at m. 148, where Roméo's fragment corrodes amid superimposed triple and duple meters. Here Berlioz departs from Beethoven's use of rhythmic superimposition in the *Eroica* (in the first movement *Allegro*, mm.25-35; see musical example 3 in Chapter II). As discussed in Chapter II, Berlioz admires how Beethoven's use of rhythmic hemiola enhances the melody in the creation of a dramatic expression of "uncontrollable fury" followed by "painful recall of memories." Yet departing from Beethoven's use of hemiola to create titanic force of expression, Berlioz, by contrast, develops this technique to underscore the 'death' of the main theme.

At *L'istesso tempo* (mm. 170-192), Berlioz depicts Roméo's final scene, reflective of his notion of a Beethovenian 'soliloquy' as a deep personal expression of melancholy with a subsiding orchestral texture. Here Berlioz appears to be alluding to the finale of the Seventh Symphony, which he likened to *Hamlet's* final scene. Yet, unlike Beethoven's 'soliloquy,' which melodically progresses into a full final statement, here Berlioz keeps Roméo alive so that

he and Juliette may die together. In a musical scene that presents an original concept of instrumentation to enhance melodic fragments – to create ‘melodies of timbres’ – Berlioz presents Juliette’s final solo oboe melody following Roméo’s death, which then simply decays into silence.<sup>80</sup>

Musically, Berlioz suggests Roméo’s final scene (beginning at m. 170) by layering his fragmented chromatic motive (largely C – C# – d) on a mixture of ambiguous harmony (beginning at m. 170) that creates almost atonal strides: Bb (mm. 170-1), F (mm. 172-4), C (m. 175-7), G (mm. 178-81), and E (182-84), finally to the single pitch of A (m. 185) – Roméo’s last moment – in cellos and basses marked with a fermata and *mf*>*pp* that dissolves into a bass tremolo (G# to A). This harmonic bass motion is accompanied by a string ostinato (that spans only Bb to Db), punctuated by unsettling tutti tonal markers and the Beethovenian use of sudden *ff*>*p*. The orchestra then shifts focus on Juliette, her final statements begin as three descending solo unaccompanied violin fragment (m. 193-6; 202-4; 215-25) separated by silence and the tutti punctuations. A grim slow tremolo (Bb-A in the basses, mm. 213-4) before her final descending solo, marked *pppp*, *perdendo*, indicates that she has stabbed herself, her death marked by silence. Like his *Harold en Italie*, Berlioz’s symphony ends with the main characters absent.

On one level, Berlioz may have drawn inspiration for this movement from his study of Beethoven’s *Eroica*, notably the funeral march. However, here Berlioz opens new realms of expressivity to explore music as funeral oration. In the Preface to his 1847 edition of *Roméo et Juliette* (and subsequent printed scores), Berlioz states that this ‘scene’ addresses the

---

<sup>80</sup> Here Berlioz reflects his personification of the oboe, as discussed in his “Critical Study,” notably in Beethoven’s *Eroica*, to effect expressions of lament and create “*mélodies de timbres*.” This is similarly noted by Deshoulières, 163.

imagination, which is only understood by an “elite audience extremely familiar with the fifth act of Shakespeare’s tragedy with Garrick’s ending, and with the most exalted poetic feelings.” As discussed earlier in this chapter, Garrick’s version prolonged the final moments of the lovers to allow for a dramatic farewell. Berlioz generally reflects Garrick’s ending by his musical suggestion of a dialogue. One may even suggest that Berlioz’s creation of Roméo’s climactic A Major ‘blast’ (beginning at m. 124), which initiates a directionless frenetic passage with no sign of an immediate climactic goal, reflect’s Garrick’s final lines for Romeo, “My powers are blasted./Twixt death and life I’m torn, I am distracted!” Yet, because of ambiguous nature of Berlioz’s novel form, he advises that this movement “should be cut ninety-nine times in a hundred.”<sup>81</sup> Though the movement may be appreciated without the aid of his program, he indicates here that full understanding of his compositional techniques also requires insight into the poetic idea of the literary narrative.

*Roméo au tombeau* is an unconventional hybrid form that fuses symphony and drama, by expanding traditional symphonic elements in combination with the spirit of dramaturgy (a dramatic representation/adaption of a play). By casting the instruments as actors, who represent the main actions of Shakespeare’s final tomb scene, Berlioz creates a new dimension to the genre of “*tombeau*.”<sup>82</sup> Berlioz does not use musical traditions of Renaissance or Baroque dance to depict the *tombeau* (notably the pavane). Instead, this movement is a purely metaphorical representation of the genre, which incorporates elements of the *tombeau*, illustrated in Berlioz’s

---

<sup>81</sup> Berlioz includes this note on his 1847 and subsequent scores.

<sup>82</sup> On this topic, see Rémy Stricker, “Dramaturgie berliozienne,” in *Dictionnaire Berlioz*, 155-6; Stricker, *Berlioz dramaturge* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2003); Christophe Deshoulières, “Tombeau de Monsieur Guillaume Shakespeare,” in *Hector Berlioz*, 162-9.

use of repeated motives, chromatic descent (the notable sinking figure, signaling when Roméo takes the poison, at m. 71), slow moving harmonies in the minor mode, sustained or pedal tones. However, this is not to create an elevated formal expression of classical antiquity, as Berlioz noted in Beethoven's development of "antique beauty" in the *Eroica*. Instead, these traditional musical elements create nostalgic elements that reflect Berlioz's romantic concept of Shakespearean imagery, under the influence of Beethoven's "Shakespearean" musical language. Here Berlioz reflects Hugo's literary ideal to create the new poetry with elements that evoke the past. Berlioz creates a metaphorical image of the *tombeau* mixed with an overwhelming intimate emotional expression, and in the wake of this mixture, tragedy unfolds. This type of mixed mode resembles the overriding expression of tragedy that Berlioz experiences in the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony with its reference to *Othello*. Similarly, Romeo's tragedy unfolds musically as disruption, incongruity, and loss – by short fragmented motives; an unsettled tonal scheme, with remote neighbour modulations; shifting rhythm (duple moves to single compound meter or conflict of hemiola); irregular phrasing, disrupted by fermatas, and suspensions; and alternating scoring for orchestra, often over stagnant, discordant harmony.

Berlioz's originality is ultimately illustrated in his combination of elements from the dramatic tradition of *dramaturgie* and the musical tradition of the *tombeau*, mixed into the broader scope of his dramatic-lyric musical narrative. He develops the *tombeau* as the basis for a new type of musical form, as a new structure that expresses the quasi-mystical, and deeply hidden personal sentiments of Juliette recalling the lively image of her beloved Roméo, represented by the various transformations of his theme. In combination with *tombeau*, Berlioz raises the theatrical spectacle of dramaturgy to a metaphorical level, which creates a gap by

paradoxically developing dramaturgical elements with the absence of representational actors. These musical innovations contribute to Berlioz's combination of genres to effect an unprecedented and complex overriding expression, which is at once linked to the familiar and traditional, and yet by its novelty also invokes mystery and the unexpected. The total effect musically suggests a Shakespearean mixture of personal crises, mental anguish, on one hand, and love and eternity on the other.

As a symphony that incorporates voices, Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* also reflects his study of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony as a novel dramatic-lyric form, successfully generated by thematic treatments, notably by its use of the *loi du crescendo* and by the invention of a *pont*. If we recall from his essay on the Ninth Symphony (Chapter II), Berlioz described Beethoven's development of *loi du crescendo* as both a formal and expressive expansion. To Berlioz, Beethoven's novel form unfolds as a texturally expansive end-weighted form that propels towards a climactic final expression of joy. This "law," as illustrated in Chapter III, also represents Berlioz's aesthetic value of the poetic. It is an original technique that creates unprecedented acoustic-sensory-expressive effects and supersedes prosaic, conventional procedures. From his earliest critiques (as discussed in Chapter I and II), Berlioz encapsulated the ideal of originality in his promotion of Beethoven as a "rule-breaker" and a "composer for the ear, not the eye." In this same spirit, Berlioz developed his *loi du crescendo* reflective of his study of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and of his understanding of Shakespeare's play, seeing in it a rising tide of dramatic tension, of love and terror, created by the integration of voices within a symphony. To Berlioz, Beethoven's use of voices added a dramatic element that contributed to

the expansion of musical narrative expression of a united universal voice of transcendence.

Berlioz's use of chorus largely represents the divisive musical narrative voice of the rigid and feuding Veronese society, as a mimetic element that directly contrasts with the indefinite expression of the symphony, and yet that contributes to the effect of a tragic resolution.

Berlioz exploits the sonorous and expressive differences between the voices and instruments to effect an original hybrid or dramatic-lyric form, which crescendos to a climactic central symphony – that climaxes both at the centre of the symphony and its central movement, the *Scène d'amour* – contained within a vocal narrative frame. To this end, Berlioz expresses a poetic idea of paradox in a mixed-genre two-part structure (see Table I): Part I (the Introduction, and movements 1-4) explores the love of Roméo and Juliette, beginning with the voices to introduce the musical themes by association with the words. Part II (movements 6-7) is the tragic denouement and final reconciliation, ending with the voices offering final commentary. In the centre of this musical divide is Queen Mab's Scherzo (movement 5), which structurally joins the two parts. Reflective of its programmatic position as a turning point between the two worlds of reality, this scherzo is an amorphous movement that seamlessly connects with the other movements, but in which there are no transformations of the main themes. Generally, on either side of the scherzo are opposed states of the main themes: the gradual melodic expansion towards the climax in the *Scène d'amour*, followed by a general deconstruction towards the finale. In the broadest scope, for example, Roméo's theme outlines a broad arch: first emerging in the Prologue, "alone," after the orchestra opens as combative mood and fugato of the Introduction (in B-), then transforming by expansion to lyricism and delicacy (in the middle love scene), and finally corroding into fragments (the tomb scene). Thus, Roméo's theme illustrates

Berlioz's original development of melodic transformations by a reversal of two contrasting and highly original thematic processes: thematic expansion that includes a transfiguration with another (Juliette's) theme to form a composite, and thematic fragmentation that ultimately dissolves the main theme. Roméo's transforming theme traverses through a field of mixed genres, shifting orchestral textures, and ephemeral expressions. In effect, Berlioz's thematic transformations suggests the link between theme and *persona*. Roméo's theme is treated as an individual entity that responds to his orchestral texture: by a process of layering, it appears to remain distant (in No. 2); by thematic fragments that link with another theme, it appears to be absorbed by the surrounding orchestral scene (in No. 3). To this end, Berlioz creates a musical narrative that largely presents a theatrical perspective from the viewpoint of Roméo. Here Berlioz's layering technique differs from traditions of melodic superimposition found in opera, and from Beethoven's treatment of thematic motives to create structural unity. Instead, by focusing on Roméo's narrative, Berlioz creates a type of mixed mode that underlines the notion of disunity or paradox on several structural levels, from the broader elements of texture and expression to the more specific relationship with other main themes. Though my focus here is on Roméo's theme, Berlioz seems to develop mixed modes at all levels. On a smaller scale, Berlioz applies a similar process of paradoxical thematic transformations for his other individual themes. For example, the bass solo recitative (which personified the Prince) changes from *arioso*, *cantabile*, to declamatory, expressing transformations of rage to prayer. On a larger scale, Berlioz's mixed modes extends to transformations of the vocal themes, which traverse throughout the symphony by contrasting expressions and textures in operatic and oratorio styles, variously for set for small chorus, soloists, two large choruses off stage.

By drawing on Berlioz's musical-literary critical methodology of evaluating Beethoven's symphonies, I have attempted to illustrate Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* as a mixed mode unfolding in a dramatic-lyric form. Berlioz's musical form, like Beethoven's, is most fully understood as a symbiotic relationship between outward action (technical musical process/literary plot) and secret, overpowering emotion (expression as part of the larger poetic idea). Exemplifying French Romanticism, Berlioz reinvents musical language as an expression of the poetic. He unfolds original poetic ideas, in ways that reflect his discussions of Beethoven's musical process as a "voice" that thrives on its own internal contradictions, created by mixed modes of genres and expressions. My exploration of Berlioz's symphony – through his perception of Beethoven's symphonies– also illustrates his own value of instrumental music above all other art forms, with its ability to give voice to a diversity of underlining social and moral issues. Beethoven's influence is evident, and diverse, and yet subsumed into Berlioz's own signature style of poetic music. Berlioz creates a complex multi-levelled relationship between words and music – his romantic notion of poetic form – appealing to various levels of understanding, but which ultimately raises music to the level of metaphorical expression.

Berlioz's combination of *genre instrumental expressif* with voices creates a double musical-literary narrative that reflects his praise of Beethoven's alternating theatrical perspective, particularly in the symphonies of "High Drama," with references to Shakespeare's *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *Twelfth Night* ( as discussed in Chapter III). The universal appeal of these symphonies attributed to his ability to express a diversity of overwhelming and conflicting emotions, subsumed into a subjective personal narrative. By contrast, Berlioz's narrative is more chameleon-like, allowing him at once to bring to light the dark sufferings of individual characters

(symphony) or groups (vocal) and yet to remain apart from it. Significantly, Berlioz's style of musical narrative draws close correlations with Shakespeare's literary style of theatrical ambiguousness. Modern literary critics explain Shakespeare's vague or vacillating element as an "oblique style of compressed poetry," found particularly in his plays after *Hamlet*.<sup>83</sup> As I have argued, in his "Critical Study," Berlioz observes that Beethoven created a similar mixed mode effects in music, largely by his treatment of melody. Berlioz describes this musical process in the spirit of Hugo's Shakespeare, by darting from one metaphor to another, arousing listeners' alertness and imagination to a speedy completion of the sense and imagery.

In *Roméo et Juliette*, Berlioz bases his literary narrative on Shakespeare's use of thematic expansionary-fragmentary development to unfold main themes (dramatic action and character development) in a centrally located dramatic climax. Musically, Berlioz unfolds a story within a story, like Shakespeare, by spinning a diversity of contrasting vocal and instrumental genres that personify characters or events as musical themes: of love and war, the mundane and sublime, and the rational with fantasy. He draws on his study of Beethoven's thematic transformations to develop techniques that reflects the diverse discursive shifts of Shakespeare's play, by thematic transformations that peak in the central *Adagio*. By this move, Berlioz integrates his literary and musical narratives into kaleidoscopic shifts between characters, scenes, and events. This aspect of Berlioz's musical narrative represents a very modern expression (which persists today) of the image of a 'public voice.' In this regard, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and Berlioz's *Roméo et*

---

<sup>83</sup> Wolfgang Clemen, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art: Collected Essays* (London, New York: Methuen, 2005), 150; Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (New York: Norton, 2005); Russ McDonald, *Shakespeare's Late Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 43-6.

*Juliette* represent two style of dramatic-lyric musical narrative: whereas Beethoven gives expression to a unified and universal 'public voice,' Berlioz gives voice to a diversity of private expressions made public – and thus creates the new poetic in music.

## Conclusion

In a recent evaluation of the current state of Berlioz scholarship, Jacques Barzun notes the need for an exploration of Berlioz's "aesthetic."<sup>1</sup> In attempts to take a step towards illustrating Berlioz's musical aesthetic, I have explored his "Critical Study" as his manifesto of the new poetic in music, which uses Beethoven's symphonies as models. I hope to have demonstrated that in his promotion of Beethoven's "romantic" symphonies as "poetic" forms, Berlioz conveys a concept of the symphony that is unique and specific to French Romanticism. Here I have suggested a perspective on Berlioz's musical aesthetic that reflects Hugo's new literary aims to create "absolute" poetry. By linking Hugo's broad-ranging ideals with Berlioz's musical aesthetic, I have attempted a reinterpretation of Berlioz as a new breed of composer-critic, and his promotion of Beethoven's symphonies within his new aesthetic of the poetic in music. Hugo promoted the creation of the new drama as poetry that intermingled all the generic elements of drama and poetry, the mimetic and the indefinite, beauty and the grotesque. So too, Berlioz promotes criteria for the modern poetic in Beethoven's music as mixed modes of expression that unfold a dramatic-lyric form. Ideally, Hugo's ideal of the new poetic in literature represented both the deep subjectivity of the individual artist and the collective diversity of various dialects and intellectual abilities. For Berlioz, Beethoven's symphonies serve as models of the new poetic that eclipse all other art forms by nature of their indefinite expression.

---

<sup>1</sup> Barzun, "Fourteen Points about Berlioz and the Public, or Why There Is Still a Berlioz Problem," in Bloom, ed., *Berlioz: Past, Present, Future* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 200.

Beethoven's music thus has the supreme ability, Berlioz claims, to ignite one's imagination, which "relieves one's sufferings." As creator of the new poetic in music, Beethoven is poet-Titan, who for Berlioz "vanquishes" all predecessors.

As such, the gist of my discussion has been to determine Berlioz's criteria for the modern poetic in music by the contextualization of his critiques on Beethoven within French Romanticism. My aim in the previous chapters was to illustrate some of the key components in Beethoven's music that most occupy Berlioz as critic and, in turn, to explore how Berlioz as composer develops these key components in his *Roméo et Juliette*, composed at the peak of his Beethoven study. By drawing on Berlioz's original musical-literary methodology, as established in his "Critical Study," I intended to explore the reciprocal influence of Berlioz's study of Beethoven on his own emerging new style of composition, largely in the treatment of melody and orchestration. Ultimately, I hope to have illustrated that Berlioz often leans on Beethoven's symphonic models, though his own symphony represents an original synthesis of his own eclectic interests in French musical and theatrical traditions, literature and poetry, French Romantic ideals, and a variety of modern compositional tools that reflect his study of Beethoven's symphonies. I have aimed in part to demonstrate that the subtle mixture of the musical, the poetic, the critical-pedagogical, and the cultural that intersect in Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* exemplifies the same aesthetic of the poetic that he promotes in Beethoven's symphonies. Finally, I would like to suggest ways in which my small steps may lead to further discussion in Berlioz scholarship.

## Berlioz as Composer-Critic: New Precedents for French Music Journalism

My discussion suggests that Berlioz's reviews of Beethoven's symphonies are significant documents of historical information on the topics of concert culture, including the socio-political changes affecting musical life in Paris, the prevailing philosophical and aesthetical ideas that ultimately indicate the value of music, and the moral aims and social importance of both the poet and the critic. He describes, for instance, the phenomenon of a devoted following around a single composer; the active listening and enthusiastic response of audiences; the repeated programming of Beethoven's symphonies; and the rising standards in both orchestral performances and conducting. These events mark the advent of modern concert life and performance practice. Thus, my discussion contributes to a range of topics concerned with the history of music journalism and the sociological study of concert culture.

Additionally, Berlioz's "Critical Study" marks the advent of modern journalism by addressing the role of music criticism and the critic.<sup>2</sup> Further research on the topic of the history of music journalism may consider how my discussion of Berlioz's study of Beethoven illustrates his critical ideals as well as practical and realistic standards for critics at large, by his development of a journalistic *persona* that acts as a mediator between audiences and Beethoven's symphonies. As stated in his "Critical Study," Berlioz's goal is to "penetrate the inner meaning" of Beethoven's symphonies. This creates a precedent for critics to mirror the poet's vision. Berlioz's critical role as defender of "true art" stems from his anger against critical falsehoods and "corrected" editions or performances of Beethoven's music. In turn, his "Critical Study"

---

<sup>2</sup> A similar trend was growing in literary criticism. In his "*Lettres sur la littérature*," Balzac establishes a similar critical ideal, suggesting practical methodologies for journalism at large. Balzac, *Des Artistes* 34, 359-60.

establishes that an ‘ideal’ music journalist is a successful creator who is alert, objective, and open-minded.

### Berlioz as *critique poétique* and French Romantic Literature

In attempts to situate Berlioz’s his romantic aesthetic within French Romanticism, I discovered a relatively unexplored area of Berlioz research that links his critical promotion of Beethoven as poet with several trends in French romantic literature. In particular, much literature of the 1830s similarly portrays a central protagonist who is also a poet within the socio-political context of the time, notably, for example, in short stories (*contes fantastiques*) published in the *Gazette* alongside Berlioz’s critiques. Balzac’s *Gambara*, for example, is the tale of a musician who resembles Beethoven, and who creates such advanced and forward-looking music that only geniuses can understand it.<sup>3</sup> These stories reflect a general current in Romanticism to portray “real poets” as a means to address the social position and moral aims of the artist.

Like his Romantic contemporaries, Berlioz, in his “Critical Study,” presents realistic goals for both the poet – and the critic – to mirror the needs of modern man and future generations. Importantly, however, Berlioz departs from some of his romantic literary contemporaries, notably Balzac with his principal focus on realism, by combining both realistic issues and goals with the titanic metaphor of Beethoven as poet. In this regard, Berlioz’s promotion of Beethoven reaches both the common man and reflects the mythical image of the

---

<sup>3</sup> Similarly, in the “*Avant-propos*” to his *La Comédie humaine* (1842), Balzac clarifies his artistic goal as a secretary to his generation, developing his initial idea in his *Théorie de la démarche* (1833) that great poets serve to record their ages. Balzac proposes that men of genius mirror their times as spokesmen for their eras, as a means to effect changes in society. Thus, the artist had a social obligation to produce art that positively effected and morally influenced the minds of men.

poet promoted by Hugo or Byron. As such, Berlioz's image of Beethoven poet attains both idealistic and practical significance.

Berlioz's "Critical Study" seems to have influenced French Romantic literary descriptions of music, particularly noted in the works of Balzac and Sand, many of which were published concurrently in the *Gazette* along with Berlioz's essays on Beethoven. In 1837, Balzac was writing about musicians and music in his stories *Gambara*, *Massimilla Doni*, as several characters in *La comédie humaine*, and in his novel *César Birotteau*. These stories, which were portray fictitious protagonists as misunderstood geniuses who closely resemble the character of Beethoven, creating music far too advanced for their age. Moreover, *César Birotteau* is deeply affected by a concert of a Beethoven symphony, described in Berliozian terms: "*grande comme un poème*," "*la grande symphonie de Beethoven éclata dans sa tête et dans son coeur*," which – by peculiarities in "*tous les modes*" – created "divine" and "enchanted" effects like a mixture of perfumes, colours, sentiments, and beauty.<sup>4</sup> Here we see Berlioz's influence on Balzac's description of Beethoven's music on several levels, largely by twinning Beethoven's music with the images of a "poem." Reflective of Berlioz's essays on the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies, Balzac describes how Beethoven's radical treatments of "all the modes" creates a titanic explosion and an experience of synaesthesia.

Berlioz's friend and co-worker Sand also developed common literary links between the topic of music with memory, nature, and love, both in her general portrayal of music as a "divine

---

<sup>4</sup> Following a concert at the Paris Conservatory in November 1837, Balzac wrote several letters to Madame Hanska, expressing his deeply felt inspiration from hearing the finale to Beethoven's Fifth symphony. His personal feelings and synaesthetic sensations worked out at the end of Part I of *César Birotteau*.

language,” and in her writings of Beethoven’s music. For example, as briefly discussed in Chapter III, Sand shared with Berlioz in a similar Romantic affinity towards Beethoven. This is illustrated in her first letter of *Lettres d’un voyageur* (1834-36), in which she recounts how listening to Beethoven’s *Pastoral* symphony reminded her of visiting the Tyrolian countryside. Like Berlioz’s value of thematic transformation as a means to spiritually transform the listener (as in Beethoven’s Ninth), Sand stresses the importance of improvisation as a link with the divine, and a transforming experience by its power to evoke memory.<sup>5</sup>

In her later writings, Sand reflects Berlioz’s Shakespearean descriptions of Beethoven’s Romantic symphonies in her portrayal of music as a combination of sounds, visions, and feelings so absorbing that it seems to verge on madness, such as portrayed in her novel *Consuelo* (1842-4). Like Berlioz, Sand generally values music’s power to evoke expressions of ambiguity, the romantic sublime and the indefinite: smelling perfumes, hearing music from an unknown source, and the physical responses to vivid memories and imagery, combine to portray a sense of pursuing something just beyond one’s grasp. In her *Correspondances* and in her *Lettres*, Sand parallels this feeling to the actions of a composer who is seeking to capture his inspiration through a free musical improvisation. The feeling of anticipation that she experiences while listening to music then becomes identified as a direct response to a composer’s communicating this feeling in his “*improvisations étranges*.” In this regard, Sand reflects both French musical traditions and Berlioz’s aesthetic value of melodic transformation.

My discussion may also contribute to exploring how Berlioz’s critical promotion of Beethoven as poet inspired a second type of French romantic literary prototype – one that built on

---

<sup>5</sup> George Sand, *Lettres d’un voyageur* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1971), 4.

the image of Berlioz himself as poet. This type of romantic protagonist featured in another new literary genre that emerged in the 1830s, the *roman musical*. Based on my readings, this type of protagonist is found in such musical novels as Felix Davin's *Une séduction* (1833), A. Karr's *Fa dièze* (1834), Albert de Calvimont's *Mois de mai* (1835), Ernest Légouvé's *Edith de Falsen* (1840), and J. A. David's *Jacques Patra* (1840). These musical novels feature a young composer like Berlioz who is opposed to the Italian school, exposed to endless obstacles and persecution while pursuing his creation of true art. In the latter, his aim was to create imaginative, fantastical music of mixed genres and epic proportions. This type of discussion indicates how my project may contribute to the contextualization of Berlioz's "Critical Study" as a reflection of and influence on trends in French Romantic literature, which extended into the early twentieth century, notably represented by Romain Rolland's Nobel Prize (1915) winning novel *Jean-Christophe*.

#### The Impact of Berlioz's Aesthetic on Emerging Musical-Literary Forms

My project contributes to a new trend in Berlioz scholarship that places Berlioz's interdisciplinary compositions at the crossroads of French Romanticism. During the course of my research, I found indications that Berlioz's aesthetic may have inspired a growing trend in French Romanticism towards interdisciplinary art forms. For instance, following the publication of his essays on Beethoven (1837-8), some interesting correlations are found in the artistic ideals of George Sand, who aimed to develop an interdisciplinary musical-literary genre in her stories *Le Contrebandier* (1837), and *Carl* (1843), which were published in the *Gazette*.<sup>6</sup> Both stories

---

<sup>6</sup> *Le Contrebandier* (*Gazette*, January 1, 1837).

portray a protagonist who reflects Berlioz's socio-political Romantic image of Beethoven as poet within a new type of double musical-literary narrative. Sand's goal in *Le Contrebandier* was modelled on a piano piece that Franz Liszt dedicated to her, called *Le Contrebandier, Rondeau fantastique sur un thème espagnol* (1836).<sup>7</sup>

Like Berlioz's use of a Preface to explain the artistic goals of his own compositions, Sand includes an Introduction to her story that contains a repository of aesthetic ideals in her goal to unite music and poetry. Here we read echoes of Berlioz's musical aesthetic, particularly his notion of a musical-literary integration by program, programmatic elements, or text, as promoted in his essays on Beethoven's *Pastoral* and Ninth Symphonies. Sand tells us that her story is modelled on both the original song and on Liszt's piece, in order to achieve the transformation of a literary genre into a trans-genre form, which she called the "*lyrico-fantastique*." However, the effect of her formal structure projects a conscious emphasis on form that overrides a free sense of literary expression. Her results were not successful, and scholars, readers, and critics have forgotten this tale, largely because of its lack of developing a complexity of theme and characterization to suit literary conventions of coherence and narrative merit. Though Sand's concept remains largely unappreciated, her experiment set a literary precedent, and established a

---

<sup>7</sup> Liszt modelled his piano piece on a Spanish song popularized by Manuel Garcia, in which the text of the song tells the story of a scam artist, who shifts both his personality and his careers in order to adapt to his environment. His *Rondeau fantastique*, however, has not survived with a reputation as an outstanding piece and is not mentioned in the standard edition of his works; however, several recordings and printed editions exist, including petrucci's online source; the piece is included as a supplement (S. 252) to the *Franz Liszt: New Edition of the Complete Works*, ser. 1-2 suppl., Bd. 2, (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Budapest: Editio Musica, 1970 –). The original edition was published in Vienna by Tobias Haslinger (1837-40).

foundation for her conception of *Carl*.<sup>8</sup>

*Carl* illustrates Sand's establishment of a transgenre form, as a literary genre that incorporates music and musical elements as semiotic tools, thematic topics, and devices of formal design, which illustrates strong links with Berlioz's notion of romantic musical form. Significantly, Sand's literary process and structural design correspond on many levels with Berlioz's treatment of the mode of melody, by thematic 'strophic' transformations, which generate her formal unfolding. Moreover, like Berlioz's *Harold en Italie*, these elements contribute to her creation of a double musical-literary narrative that unfolds scenes and events around the portrayal of a central poet-protagonist, whose is twinned with his own musical theme. Unique to *Carl* is the integration of nine notated musical excerpts, composed by Fromental Halévy, which are embedded within her story as signals to readers on the importance of music in her story. By this move she indicates her goal to create a dramatic-lyric form that leans more towards the aesthetic goals of Berlioz than Hugo.

Similar to Berlioz's aesthetic of mixed modes, in *Carl*, Sand portrays music as a supernatural force that represents both reality and fantasy. In this story, Sand's underlying view of music is a universal form of communication that is unrestricted by class, tradition, or time, reflective of Berlioz's promotion of Beethoven's music as a universal expression.<sup>9</sup> More

---

<sup>8</sup> Sand's story *Carl* was commissioned by Maurice Schlesinger as part of his Beethoven promotion in his arts journal, *La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*. It appeared in serialized format, in three installments, and prominently placed on the front page: January 1, 8, 16th, (1837).

<sup>9</sup> Sand perceives spiritual qualities in music, which lead her to believe that music is a language able to express an "infinite veneration" unfulfilled by poetry. Music's capacity to express the inexpressibility of speech makes it a divine form of communication, or "*le langage divin*", transmitting ideas and deep sentiments. She believed that music originated in human speech, but that it developed into a form of wordless communication. To literally portray this conception of music, she developed a vocabulary to capture music's character, role, and its effects, including her exploring the traditional link

specifically, Sand's story illustrates several fundamental structural and aesthetic links with Berlioz's *Harold en Italie*, notably by her portrayal of the central protagonist Carl as a wandering, misunderstood and alienated minstrel-poet, whose identity is represented by his own melodic theme. Moreover, Sand develops these twin themes – Carl and his melody – by a process of thematic transformations, largely reflective of Berlioz's "transformation" of melody. To this effect, with the main themes established in her opening section, Sand's story spans out in a widening, cumulative development of these themes, linked to her central exploration of the realizing the identities of Carl and uniting their connections to Carl's music.

The twinning of Carl with his theme forms a linchpin that leads both the narrator and the reader through a kaleidoscope of visual and auditory experiences created by images and literary topics associated with the topic of music. Like Berlioz's treatment of Romeo's theme, Sand sets these initial themes into motion to develop mixed modes that explore the conflicting gaps between polarities of various real and unreal images. Sand's germinal themes of altered states and confused identity foreshadow the narrator's eventual madness and the cumulative melding of the two identities of Carl.

Sand adds momentum to this critical unfolding by introducing the visual element of notated musical inserts. After an exhaustive search, I find that Sand's story appears to set a precedent in this regard. Printed music appears in the story at climactic moments to highlight significant instances of confusion around the identity of Carl. Sand's inclusion of printed music

---

between poetry and music. Sand treats thematic treatment, as improvisation, similarly in "Le Contrebandier," *Consuelo, Les Maîtres Sonneurs*, her autobiographical *Entretiens journaliers*, 2: 981; and in her *Lettres d'un voyageur*, 7<sup>th</sup> letter LV,2: 819. Scholars acknowledge that her ideas were influenced by her associations with Berlioz, Chopin, and Liszt; see Powell, *While the Music Lasts*.

also creates a bridge to translate these ideals into an entertaining multi-sensory fashion that reflects Berlioz's social concerns with the reception of new artistic forms, notably by his inclusion of a program as a pedagogical tool. Significantly, her inclusion of printed music also reflects Berlioz's notion of a dramatic-lyric form, as the integration of music and poetic elements. Berlioz's impact on Sand is also indicated in the finale episode of *Carl*, where the unstable psyche of the protagonist is transfigured in a fanfare-like scene of transcendence and joy, reminiscent of Berlioz's description of the finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Finally, Sand's story, like Berlioz's "Critical Study," indicates the attitudes and beliefs of audiences and readers, who were educated in musical traditions and familiar with both the Romantic image of Beethoven and his music.

#### Beethoven Poet: The Dramatic Symphonist

Berlioz's concept of symphonic form is unique and specific to French Romanticism in its disintegration of classical procedures and order, particularly in the way that form is conceived as a function of melody. Continued research into Berlioz's concept of form would have to consider how Berlioz promotes Beethoven's loosening of conventions to integrate new types of musical parameters, notably lyrical vocal idioms within a dramatic symphonic structure. I demonstrated how Berlioz's concept of form develops largely by the "mode of melody." A more broad-ranging study of his organic concept of form would explore Berlioz's treatment of all "nine modes of action" as a means to examine the subtleties of Berlioz's transforming musical process. By illustrating Berlioz's main interests in specific compositional aspects of Beethoven's symphonies, I hope that my discussion will encourage continued exploration of Berlioz's own

compositions as a process of transformation and as a symbiotic relationship between form and content.

Importantly, Berlioz's value of Beethoven's symphonies as poetic forms documents a change in aesthetical and philosophical ideals on music, moving away from the values of mimesis, a singular *topos* and pleasure, logic and adherence to convention, towards a system that values music for qualities of indefinite expressions, a personal musical narrative, imagination and multi-sensory experience, a mixture of high emotional expression, and novelty. This process, as I have discussed in the previous chapters, underlies what Berlioz understands as Beethoven's seamless integration of a mixture of dramatic and lyrical elements in an original form. At the heart of Beethoven's romantic symphonies for Berlioz is a poetic idea of "High Drama," the modern "Pittoresque," or "Transcendence." Berlioz understands Beethoven's symphonies as poetic forms, and how his own methods may be applied to illustrate a similar perspective of *Roméo et Juliette*, as an original dramatic-lyric form that resonates with a central poetic idea.

Though distinctly French, Berlioz shares with his German Romantic counterparts, E. T. A. Hoffmann and A. B. Marx, a wish to establish evaluative criteria – based on a process of musical analysis and criticism – to determine "true art" through extra-musical meaning and transcendentalism. Berlioz also reflects issues of reception addressed by Marx, specifically pertaining to audience etiquette and the programming of works in their complete forms to foster an appreciation of the intrinsic value of instrumental music.<sup>10</sup> Like his German Romantic counterparts, Berlioz aims to establish the social and historical importance of music as a means

---

<sup>10</sup> A. B. Marx, "Über die Anforderungen unserer Zeit an musikalische Kritik; in besonderm Bezuge auf die Zeitung," *BAMZ*, 1824;253. Sanna Pederson, "A.B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National identity," *Nineteenth-Century Music*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Autumn, 1994), 89-98.

of raising moral and ethical awareness, and as a means towards social progress. This, in turn, defines the role of the artist as a leader. Beethoven as a radical-poet is an image that Berlioz drew largely from Hugo's ideals. In this regard, Berlioz's "Critical Study" is an aesthetic manifesto that differs from Marx's more practical theoretical applications to explain Beethoven's symphonies. Yet correlations exist between Berlioz's romantic image of Beethoven as poet and Marx's early journalistic promotion of the poet-god who would advance the world with artistic beauty: "the poet stands truly at the height of humanity and is their king!"<sup>11</sup> The poet-god created art that was viewed as an edifying experience, nourishing "to our mind and heart."<sup>12</sup> But where Marx forwarded the moral and unifying experience of the symphony as a "national treasure," Berlioz acknowledged no such political or cultural boundaries. For Berlioz, Beethoven was universal.

Berlioz's Romantic image of Beethoven Poet offers an alternative to the reception of Beethoven Hero. Part of the Beethoven hero trope builds on an understanding of Beethoven's music as an "expression of the conditions of self-hood."<sup>13</sup> Burnham, for example, conflates the notion of Beethoven hero into a master trope – a "quest plot, or hero's journey" – not as a programmatic reading, but as a type of narrative that reflects how we hear the "self-conscious" surges, struggles, and 'victory' on a moral and mythical level in Beethoven's music.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the heroic master trope provides a metaphor for underlying archetypal processes. Similarly, Berlioz's

---

<sup>11</sup> Marx, quoted in Pederson, 90-1.

<sup>12</sup> A. B. Marx quoted in Pederson, 89.

<sup>13</sup> Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, 24.

<sup>14</sup> Burnham, 24-5.

poetic trope provides analogy as a metaphorical translation to convey the both the technical and aesthetic meaning of Beethoven's musical process as an expression of both subjectivity and universality. Beethoven hero reflects the notion of universality as the public experience of listening to Beethoven's music as the deeply subjective expression of the individual hero with whom we may identify. Similarly, Beethoven Poet reflects the dual expressions of universality and subjectivity, yet these, according to Berlioz, exist on many levels. On one level, this dualism is an intermingled element of Beethoven's musical narrative. Within Berlioz's concept of a personal narrative, Beethoven's transformations of lyrical themes as expressions of deep subjectivity and the romantic sublime made more powerful in contrast with moments of forceful dramatic action. On another level, Beethoven Poet expresses both universality and subjectivity by his kaleidoscopic theatrical perspective that reflects both the personal and the universal struggle in the quest for self-actualization. Within Berlioz's concept of mixed modes, we may hear the voice of diversity represented in Beethoven's original mixture of genres, styles, and modes, reflecting both tradition elements with novelty, and the sacred with the profane. On another level, Beethoven Poet suggests that we hear Beethoven's music within a concept of dramatic theatrical illusion. Thus, Beethoven Poet is at once the "composer," "hero," and "poet."

### Berlioz Poet

Finally, my project aims to contribute another perspective to a recent trend in Berlioz scholarship that attempts to explain Berlioz's music as a mixture of genres and compositional techniques drawn from both French musical traditions and from his study of Beethoven's music, to create an original creation of music as metaphorical expression. Here I hope to have provided

a perspective of Berlioz's music within his own romantic musical aesthetic of poetic form, as established in his "Critical Study." Berlioz's critiques on Beethoven illustrate that he preferred not to make a choice between purely technical discussion, as *critique savant*, and poetic description, as *critique poétique*. Instead, he both integrated and exploited their differences for critical effect. As I have illustrated, Berlioz's "Critical Study" demonstrates his awareness of a range of audience reception towards Beethoven's music. This element of Berlioz's music reflects the modern social concerns of the early nineteenth-century reception of Beethoven's music in Paris. Thus, Berlioz's own development of modern program music may be understood on many levels, by programmaticists and formalists, as well as those who wish to understand Berlioz's music, as a double musical-literary narrative, and an expression of ambiguity. The issue of the "Berlioz problem" underlines my argument that Berlioz's "Critical Study" provides a methodology by which to understand Beethoven's music, and ultimately Berlioz's own compositions beyond the formal models of the Germanic analytical tradition. However different, the range of observations on Berlioz's music illustrates the inherent complexity, the power and the glory of his music.

## Bibliography

- Abbate, Carolyn. *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Abrams, M. H., ed. *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1975.
- Adorno, Theodor W. "Late Style in Beethoven." In *Essays on Music*, edited by Richard Leppert, with new translations by Susan H. Gillespie, 564–8. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Albright, Daniel. *Berlioz's Semi-operas: Roméo et Juliette and La Damnation de Faust*. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2001.
- Arens, H. *Kommentar zu Goethes Faust I*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1982.
- Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, Nina. "Romanticism: Breaking the Canon." *Art Journal* 52, no. 2, *Romanticism* (Summer 1993): 18–21.
- Aucagne, Julie. "Berlioz critique de Beethoven." In *Berlioz homme de lettres*, edited by Georges Zaragoza, 75–90. Neuilly-lès-Dijon, France: Éditions du Murmure, 2006.
- Baguley, David, ed. *A Critical Bibliography of French Literature*. Vol. 5, *The Nineteenth Century*, Part 1. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1994.
- Bailbé, Joseph-Marc. *Le roman et la musique en France sous la Monarchie de Juillet*. Paris: Lettres Modernes Minard, 1969.
- . *Berlioz: Artiste et écrivain dans les "mémoires."* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1979.
- Balzac, Honoré de. *La Comédie humaine*. Paris: Gallimard, 1961.
- . *Philosophic Studies, Vol. IV: La Comédie humaine, Gambara, Massimilla Doni, etc.* Philadelphia: George Barrie & Son, 1899; selected works reprinted in *Nouvelles et Contes de Balzac*. Edited by Pierre-George Castex. Paris: Centre de documentation universitaire, 1963.
- . *Lost Illusions*. Translated by Donald Adamson. London: Grant & Cutler, 1971.
- Banks, Paul. "Harold, de Byron à Berlioz," in *Hector Berlioz*, edited by Christian Wasselin and Pierre-René Serna, 152–60. Paris: Editions de L'Herne, 2003.

- Baron, John H. "A.W. Schlegel's Mystic Principle and the Music of Beethoven." *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 31, no. 4 (Summer 1973): 531–7.
- Barrault, Emile. *Aux artistes: Du passé et de l'avenir des beaux-arts (Doctrine de Saint-Simon)*. Paris: A. Mesnier, 1830.
- Bartoli, Jean-Pierre. "Forme narrative et principes du développement musical dans la *Symphonie fantastique* de Berlioz." *Musurgia: Analyse et pratique musicales* 2/1 (1995): 26–50.
- . *Dictionnaire Berlioz*, s.v. "Variation." Paris: Fayard, 2003.
- . "Beethoven, Shakespeare, and Berlioz's *Scène d'amour*." In *Berlioz: Scenes from the Life and Work*, edited by Peter Bloom, 138–60. Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008.
- Barzun, Jacques. *Berlioz and His Century: An Introduction to the Age of Romanticism*. Cleveland, OH: World, 1956. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- . "Fourteen Points about Berlioz and the Public, or Why There is Still a Berlioz Problem." In *Berlioz: Past, Present, Future*, edited by Peter Bloom, 193–201. Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003.
- . "The Music in the Music of Berlioz." In *Berlioz: Scenes from the Life and Work*, edited by Peter Bloom, 11–25. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008.
- Beethoven, Ludwig van. *Konversationshefte*. Munich: Allgemeine Verlagsanstalt, 1924.
- . *Sämtliche Briefe*. Vienna: C. W. Stern, 1907–1911.
- . *Symphonies Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 in Full Score*. New York: Dover, 1989.
- . *Symphonies Nos. 5, 6 and 7 in Full Score*. New York: Dover, 1989.
- . *Symphony No. 3 in E-flat Major, Op. 55 "Eroica"*. New York: Dover, 1997.
- . *Symphony No. 6 in F Major, Op. 68 "Pastorale"*. New York: Dover, 1998.
- . *Symphony No. 9 in D Minor, Op. 125 "Choral"*. New York: Dover, 1997.
- . *Beethoven Symphonies Nos. 6–9*. Transcribed for Solo Piano by Franz Liszt. Introduction by Alan Walker. New York: Dover, 2001.

- Beguïn, Albert. *L'Âme romantique et le rêve: essai sur le romantisme allemande et la poésie français*. Paris: José Corti, 1939; 1946.
- Berger, Karol. "Diegesis and Mimesis: The Poetic Modes and the Matter of Artistic Presentation." *Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994): 407–33.
- Berlioz, Hector. *A Travers chants: études musicales, adorations, boutades et critiques par Hector Berlioz*, Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, Libraires Éditeurs, 1862.
- . *Les Années romantiques, 1819–1842: Correspondance*. Edited by Julien Tiersot. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1903.
- . *Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*. Translated by Rachel Holmes and Eleanor Holmes, and edited by Ernest Newman. New York: Tudor, 1932; *Mémoires*. Edited by Pierre Citron. Paris: Flammarion, 1991.
- . *Voyage musical en Allemagne et en Italie: Études sur Beethoven, Gluck et Weber. Mélanges et nouvelles*, vols. I. and II. Paris: Jules Labitte, Libraire-Editeur, 1844. Reprint, London: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1970.
- . *Correspondance générale de Hector Berlioz*. Vol. I: 1803-32. Edited by Pierre Citron. Paris: Flammarion, 1972.
- . *Symphonie Fantastique and Harold In Italy*. New York: Dover, 1984.
- . *The Art of Music and Other Essays (A Travers chants)*. Translated and edited by Elizabeth Csicsery-Ronay. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- . *A Critical Study of Beethoven's Nine Symphonies*. Translated by Edwin Evans/Introduction by D. Kern Holoman. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000.
- . *Roméo et Juliette: Symphonie dramatique*. London: Ernst Eulenburg, 2002.
- . *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes*. Edited by Peter Bloom. Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter, 2003.
- . *Hector Berlioz: New Edition of the Complete Works*, Hugh Macdonald, general editor. Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter, 1969-2006.
- Berlioz, Hector, and Richard Strauss. *Treatise on Instrumentation*. Translated by Theodore Front. New York: Dover, 1991.

- Besser, Gretchen R. *Balzac's Concept of Genius: The Theme of Superiority in the "Comédie humaine."* Geneva: Libraire Droz, 1969.
- Bloom, Peter. "François-Joseph Fétis and the 'Revue Musicale' (1827–1834)." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972.
- . "Berlioz in the Year of the *Symphonie fantastique*." *Journal of Musicological Research* 9 (1989): 67–88.
- , ed. *Berlioz: Past, Present, Future: Bicentenary Essays*. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003.
- , ed. *Berlioz: Homme de lettres*. Dijon: Éditions du Whisper, 2006.
- , ed. *Berlioz: Scenes from the Life and Work*. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008.
- Blunt, Anthony. *Nicolas Poussin*. London: Pallas Athene, 1995.
- Bonds, Mark Evan. *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- . "Sinfonia anti-eroica: Berlioz's *Harold en Italie* and the Anxiety of Beethoven's Influence." *Journal of Musicology* 10, no. 4 (1992): 417.
- . *After Beethoven: Imperatives of Originality in the Symphony*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- . "Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* Vol. 50, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1997): 387–470.
- Bony, Elaine. "The Influence of E.T.A. Hoffmann on George Sand." In *George Sand: Collected Essays*, edited by Janis Glasgow, 42–52. New York: Whitson, 1985.
- Bordry, Guillaume. "'Je ne suis pas un homme de lettres': Berlioz, écrivain paradoxical." In *Hector Berlioz: Regards sur un dauphinois fantastique* (Actes du colloque de 16, 17, 18 octobre 2003, Grenoble, France), edited by Alban Ramaut, 95–108. Saint-Étienne, France: L'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006.
- Botstein, Leon. "Sound and Structure in Beethoven's Orchestral Music." In *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven*, edited by Glenn Stanley, 165–185. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

- Bourgeois, René. "Les Deux Cordes de la lyre: Ou Goethe jugé par George Sand." In *Hommage à George Sand*. Edited by Léon Cellier, 93-9. Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1969.
- Bowie, Andrew. "Music and the Rise of Aesthetics." In *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, edited by Jim Samson, 29-54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Boyd, John. *The Function of Mimesis and Its Decline*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1980.
- Bradley, A. C. *Shakespearean Tragedy: Lectures on Hamlet, Othello, King Lear and Macbeth*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1991.
- Brinks, Ellen. "The Male Romantic Poet as Gothic Subject, Keats's Hyperion and The Fall of Hyperion: A Dream." *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 54, no. 4 (2000): 427-54.
- Brittan, Francesca. "Berlioz and the Pathological Fantastic: Melancholy, Monomania, and Romantic Autobiography." *Nineteenth-Century Music* 29, no. 3 (2006): 211-39.
- Brombert, Victor. *The Hidden Reader*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Bronowski, Jacob. *The Identity of Man*. New York: Natural History Press, 1971.
- Brookner, Anita. *Romanticism and Its Discontents*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000.
- Broyles, Michael. *Beethoven: The Emergence and Evolution of Beethoven's Heroic Style*. New York: Excelsior, 1987.
- Burnham, Scott. *Beethoven Hero*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Burwick, Frederick, and Jurgen Klein. *The Romantic Imagination: Literature and Art in England and Germany*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996.
- Bury, Henri Blaze de. *Meyerbeer et son temps*. Paris: Michel Lévy, 1856.
- Byron, Lord George Gordon. "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage." *The Norton Anthology of English Literature, 1599-1628*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1975.
- Cairns, David. *Berlioz. Volume 2: Servitude and Greatness*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

- Carew, Derek. "The Consumption of Music." In *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, edited by Jim Samson, 237–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Castex, Pierre George. *Anthologie du conte fantastique français*. Paris: José Corti, 1947.
- . *Le conte fantastique en France de Nodier à Maupassant*. Paris: José Corti, 1951.
- Castil-Blaze, François-Henri-Joseph. *Dictionnaire de musique moderne*, 2 vols. Paris: Au magasin de musique de la Lyre moderne, 1821; second edition, 1825.
- Catteau, Dominique. *Hector Berlioz ou la Philosophie Artiste, I*. Paris: Publibook, 2001.
- Chafe, Eric. *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J. S. Bach*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Chailley, Jacques. "Roméo et Juliette." *Revue de musicologie*, T.63e, No. 1<sup>er</sup>/2<sup>e</sup>, Colloque Hector Berlioz (1977): 115–22. Reprinted in *Florilège d'analyses musicales*, vol. 2. Paris: Leduc, 1984.
- Chantler, Abigail. *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Aesthetics*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006.
- Chapman, Hugh. *Michelangelo*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Charlton, David, ed. *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism*. Translated by Martyn Clarke. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Chatman, Seymour. "What Novels Can Do That Films Can't (and Vice Versa)." *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1, *On Narrative* (Autumn 1980): 117–36.
- Chollet, Roland. *Balzac journaliste: le tournant de 1830*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1983.
- Ciardi, John. *How Does a Poem Mean?* 2nd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981.
- Citron, Pierre. "Autour de Gambara II: Gambara, Struntz et Beethoven." *Année balzacienne* (1967): 165–70.
- Citron, Pierre, and Cécile Reynaud, eds., with Jean-Pierre Bartoli and Peter Bloom. *Dictionnaire Berlioz*. Paris: Fayard, 2003.
- Claudon, F. "Balzac et Beethoven." *Année balzacienne* (1971): 101–7.

- Clavaud, Monique. *Hector Berlioz: visages d'un masque: littérature et musique dans la 'Symphonie fantastique' et 'Lélio'*. Lyon: Jardin de Dolly, 1980.
- Clemen, Wolfgang. *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art: Collected Essays*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Cohen, H. Robert. "The Nineteenth-Century French Press and the Music Historian: Archival Sources and Bibliographic Resources." *Nineteenth-Century Music* 7, no. 2, 1983: 136–42.
- Collier, Peter, and Robert Lethbridge, eds. *Artistic Relations: Literature and the Visual Arts in Nineteenth-Century France*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Comini, Alessandra. *The Changing Image of Beethoven*. New York: Rizzoli, 1987.
- Condé, Gérard. "Berlioz as Composer-Critic." In *Berlioz: Scenes from the Life and Work*, edited by Peter Bloom, 89-100. University of Rochester Press, 2008.
- Cone, Edward T. *Fantastic Symphony: An Authoritative Score, Historical Background, Analysis, Views and Comments*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1971.
- Cook, Nicholas. *Beethoven: Symphony No. 9*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Cook, Roger, ed. *A Companion to the Works of Heinrich Heine*. New York: Camden House, 2002.
- Csicsery-Ronay, Elizabeth. "À travers le champ critique." In *Hector Berlioz*, edited by Christian Wasselin and Pierre-René Serna, 64–8. Paris: L'Herne, 2003.
- Czerny, Carl. *On the Proper Performance of All Beethoven's Works for the Piano*. Stuttgart: Translated and edited by Paul Badura-Skoda. Vienna: Universal, 1970.
- Dahlhaus, Carl. *Nineteenth-Century Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Dante Alighieri. *The Divine Comedy*. Translated by John Ciardi. New York: New American Library, 2003.
- Dauphin, Claude, ed. *Le Dictionnaire de musique de Jean-Jacques Rousseau: une édition critique*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2008.
- Dennis, David B. *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870–1989*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Deshoulières, Christophe. "Tombeau de Monsieur Guillaume Shakespeare." In *Hector Berlioz*, edited by Christian Wasselin and Pierre-René Serna, 162–9. Paris: L'Herne, 2003.

- Dèvries, Alan, and François Lesure. *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*. Geneva: Minkoff, 1979.
- Devriès, Anik. "Les éditions musicales de Sieber." In *Revue de Musicologie* 55 (1969): 20-46.
- Diderot, Denis. *Oeuvres complètes*. Edited by J. Assézat and Maurice Tourneux. Paris, 1875.
- Didier, Beatrice. "Problèmes de sémiologie musicale dans *Consuelo*." In *La Porporina*, edited by Léon Cellier, 131-9. Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1976.
- . "George Sand critique musical dans ses lettres." *Présence de George Sand* 12 (October 1981): 13-21.
- . *George Sand, écrivain: "Un grand fleuve d'Amérique"*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998.
- . "Berlioz and Faust." *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France: l'époque de Berlioz: écrivains et artistes* (Jul.-Sept. 2004): 561-73.
- Dieckmann, Herbert. "Diderot's Conception of Genius." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2 (April 1941): 151-82.
- Dömling, Wolfgang. "En songeant au temps: Über einige Aspekte der Musik Hector Berlioz." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 33/4 (1976): 250-4.
- Durant, Will, and Ariel Dumont. *The Age of Napoleon: A History of European Civilization from 1789 to 1815*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975.
- Edge, Dexter. "Viennese Music Copyists and the Transmission of Music in the Eighteenth-Century." In *Revue de Musicologie* 84/2 (1998): 298-304.
- Einstein, Alfred. *Music in the Romantic Era*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1947.
- Elias, Norbert. *The History of Manners: The Civilizing Process, Volume I*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. New York: Pantheon, 1978.
- Ellis, Katharine. *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris, 1834-1880*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Engelke, Luis C. "François-Joseph Gossec's *Military Symphony*." *International Trumpet Guild Journal* (June 2001): 62.

- Finch, G. J. "Metaphor and Poetic Discourse." *Oxford Journals* 44 (1995): 56–70.
- Forbes, Elliot, ed. *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Friedländer, Walter. *Nicolas Poussin: A New Approach*. New York: Abrams, 1964.
- Genette, Gérard. *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*. Translated by Jane E. Lewin. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980.
- Gerard, Yves, ed. *Hector Berlioz: Critique musicale 1823–1863*. 5 vols. Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1996–2004.
- Gibbs, Raymond W., Jr. "When is Metaphor? The Idea of Understanding in Theories of Metaphor." *Poetics Today* 13 (Winter 1992): 575–606.
- Gillman, Margaret. "The Poet According to Diderot." *Romantic Review* 37, no. 1 (1946): 37–54.
- Gombrich, Ernst Hans. *In Search of Cultural History*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969.
- Goodman, Nelson. "Twisted Tales or Story, Study, and Symphony." *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1, *On Narrative* (Autumn 1980): 103–19.
- Goodwin, Alan. *The New Cambridge Modern History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Goslee, Nancy. *Uriel's Eye: Miltonic Stationing and Statuary in Blake, Keats and Shelley*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1985.
- Gramit, David. *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Grant, Richard. "Sequence and Theme in Victor Hugo's *Les Orientales*." *PMLA* 94, no. 5 (Oct. 1979): 894–908.
- de Grazia, Margreta. "Shakespeare and the Craft of Language." In *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*, edited by Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells, 50–6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Greenberg, Wendy. "Structure and Function of Hugo's Condensed Metaphor." *The French Review* 55, no. 2 (December 1982): 257–66.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2005.

- Grout, Donald J. and Claude Palisca. *A History of Western Music*. 6<sup>th</sup> edition. New York: W. W. Norton, 2001.
- Guelke, Peter. *Zur Neuauflage der Sinfonie Nr. 5*. Stuttgart: Metzler; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000.
- Guiomar, Michel. *Le masque et le fantasme: l'imagination de la matière sonore dans la pensée musicale de Berlioz*. Paris: J. Corti, 1970.
- Hagen, Dorothy. "French Musical Criticism between the Revolutions." PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1965.
- Haine, W. Scott. *The World of the Paris Café*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Hall, James, ed. *Hall's Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*. London: St. Edmundsbury Press, 2001.
- Halsall, Albert. *Victor Hugo and the Romantic Drama*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Hammermeister, Kai. *The German Aesthetic Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Hillery, David. "Lamartine: The Méditations poétiques." *The French Review* 69, no. 5 (April 1996): 812–3.
- Hoffmann, E.T.A. *E.T.A. Hoffmann's musikalische Schriften: mit Einschluss der nicht in die gesammelten Werke aufgenommenen Aufsätze ueber Beethoven, Kirchenmusik, etc.: nebst Biographie*. Cologne: H. Vom Ende, 1899 reprint E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Musical Writings: Kreisleriana; The Poet and the Composer; Music Criticisms*. Edited by David Charlton. Translated by Martyn Clark. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Holmes, Richard. *The Age of Wonder: The Romantic Generation and the Discovery of the Beauty and Terror of Science*. London: Harper Press, 2009.
- Holoman, D. Kern. "Feuilletons," in "Catalogue of Prose Works." *Catalogue of the Works of Hector Berlioz*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987.
- . "The Emergence of a Style: *Les Francs-Juges* and *Symphonie fantastique*." In *Berlioz*, 72–110. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- . *Le Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

- Hugo, Victor. *Oeuvres complètes*. 10 volumes. Paris: Paul Ollendorff, 1952.
- . *Théâtre complet*. Edited by J. J. Thierry and Josette Méléze. Paris: Gallimard, 1963.
- . *Cromwell*. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1968.
- Janson, H. W., and Dora Jane Janson. *The Picture History of Painting*. New York: Harry Abrams, 1975.
- Johnson, James. "Beethoven and the Birth of Romantic Musical Experience in France." *Nineteenth-Century Music* 15, no. 1 (Summer 1991): 23–35.
- Kawabata, Maiko. "Virtuoso Codes of Violin Performance: Power, Military Heroism, and Gender (1789–1830)." *Nineteenth-Century Music* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 87–107.
- Kelly, Thomas Forrest. *First Nights: Five Musical Premieres*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Kemp, Ian. "Romeo and Juliet and Roméo et Juliette." In *Berlioz Studies*. Edited by Peter Bloom, 37–79. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Kerman, Joseph. *Concerto Conversations*. Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Kermode, Frank. *Romantic Image*. New York: Routledge Classics, 2002.
- de Keyser, Ignace. "Les Instruments de musique jugés par Hector Berlioz." In *Berlioz: Homme de lettres*, edited by Georges Zaragoza, 131–56. Neuilly-lès-Dijon, France: Murmure, 2006.
- Kinderman, William. *Beethoven*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Kinsky, Georg. *Das Werk Beethovens; Thematische-Bibliographisches Verzeichnis seiner sämtlichen vollendeten Kompositionen*. Munich: G. Henle, 1955.
- Knapp, Raymond. "A Tale of Two Symphonies: Converging Narratives of Divine Reconciliation in Beethoven's Fifth and Sixth." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53, no.2 (Summer 2000): 291–343.
- Knittel, K. M. "The Construction of Beethoven." In *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, edited by Jim Samson, 118–56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Kolb, Jocelyne. "Romantic Irony." In *A Companion to European Romanticism*. Edited by Michael Ferber, 376–92. Blackwell: Wiley Online Library, 2005.

- Kollmann, Augustus Frederic Christopher. *An Essay on Practical Musical Composition*. London, 1799.
- Kraus, Beate Angelika. *Beethoven-Rezeption in Frankreich: Von ihren Anfängen bis zum Untergang des Second Empire*. Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2001.
- Kropfing, Klaus. *Wagner and Beethoven: Richard Wagner's Reception of Beethoven*. Translated by Peter Palmer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Kunze, Stefan, ed. *Ludwig van Beethoven. Die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit: Gesammelte Konzetherichte und Rezensionen bis 1830*. Laaber, Germany: Laaber-Verlag, 1987.
- Lachman, Lilach. "History and Temporalization of Space: Keats's Hyperion Poems." *Poetics Today*, vol. 22, no.1 (Spring 2001): 89–127.
- Lamotte, Frédéric Georges. "Berlioz et la presse." In *Hector Berlioz: Regards sur un dauphinois fantastique* (Actes du colloque de 16, 17, 18 octobre 2003, Grenoble, France), edited by Alban Ramaut, 73–94. Saint-Étienne, France: L'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006.
- Landey, Peter. *Anton Reicha*. New York: Pendragon Press, 2000.
- Langford, Jeffrey. "The 'Dramatic Symphonies' of Berlioz as an Outgrowth of the French Operatic Tradition." *Musical Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (1983): 85–103.
- . "The Symphonies," In *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, edited by Peter Bloom, 53–68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Larousse, Pierre, ed. *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*. Paris: Administration du Grand dictionnaire universel, 1867.
- Lesure, François. *Les premières éditions françaises de Beethoven, 1800–11*. Munich: Gedenkschrift Günter Henle, 1980.
- Levinson, Jerrold. *The Oxford Handbook of Aesthetics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Liszt, Franz. "Hector Berlioz: Harold en Italie." Transcription for Piano. In *Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke Franz Liszt*, Ser. 2. Budapest: Editio Musica, 1970.
- Locke, Arthur Ware. *Music and the Romantic Movement in France*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 2009. First published 1920 by E. P. Dutton.

- Locke, Ralph P. *Music, Musicians, and the Saint-Simonians*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Lubin, George. "George Sand et Hector Berlioz: Drame perdu pour une étoile sans emploi." In *Hommage à George Sand*, edited by Léon Cellier, 18–23. Grenoble: University of Grenoble, 1969.
- Macdonald, Hugh, ed. *Selected Letters of Berlioz*. Translated by Roger Nichols. New York: W. W. Norton, 1995.
- . *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Magill, Frank N., ed. *Masterpieces of World Philosophy*. New York: Harper & Rowe, 1961.
- Magnani, Luigi. *Beethoven's Konversationshefte*. Munich: Piper Verlag, 1962.
- Mansel, Philip. *Paris Between Empires, 1814–1852*. London: John Murray, 2001.
- Marix-Spire, Thérèse. *Les Romantiques et la musique: Le cas George Sand, 1804–1838*. Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1959.
- Marston, Nicholas. "Symphonies." In *The Beethoven Compendium*, edited by Barry Cooper, 214–18. London: Thames & Hudson, 1996.
- Marx, Adolf Bernhard. *Lehre von der musikalischen Composition*. Berlin: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1837; reprint: *Musical Form in the Age of Beethoven: Selected Writings on Theory and Method*. Edited and translated by Scott Burnham. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . *Music of the Nineteenth Century and its Culture: A Method of Musical Instruction*. Translated by August Wehrhan. London: R. Cocks, 1855.
- Massin, Jean, et Brigitte Massin. "Beethoven et la Révolution Française." In *L'Arc: Beethoven*, edited by Jean Massin, 3–14. Paris: Librairie du Ponchelle, 1990.
- Masson, Scott. "Romanticism." In *The Oxford Handbook of English Literature and Theology*, edited by Andrew W. Hass, David Jasper, and Elisabeth Jay, 115–30. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Massip, Catherine, and Cécile Reynaud, eds. *Berlioz: La voix du romantisme*. Paris: Fayard, 2003.

- McDonald, Russ. *Shakespeare's Late Style*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- McGann, Jerome, ed. *Byron*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Meyer, Leonard. *Style and Music: Theory, History, and Ideology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Micznik, Vera. "Of Ways of Telling: Intertextuality and Historical Evidence in Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette*." *Nineteenth-Century Music* 24/1 (Summer 2000): 21–61.
- . "Music and Narrative Revisited: Degrees of Narrativity in Beethoven and Mahler." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 126, no. 2 (2001): 193–249.
- . "The Musico-Dramatic Narrative of Berlioz's *Lélio*." In *Musical Voyager*, edited by David Charlton and Katherine Ellis, 184–207. Bern: Peter Lange, 2007.
- Milner, Max. *Le romantisme, I: 1820–1843*. Paris: Arthaud, 1973.
- . *La Fantasmagorie: Essai sur l'optique fantastique*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982.
- Mongrédién, Jean. *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism, 1789–1830*. Translated by Sylvain Frémaux. Portland, Or: Amadeus Press, 1996.
- Moses, Claire. "Saint-Simonian Men/Saint-Simonian Women: The Transformation of Feminist Thought in 1830s France." In *The Journal of Modern History* 54 (June 1982): 240–67.
- Moreau, Pierre. *Le romantisme*. Paris: Del Duca, 1957.
- Moses, Claire G. "Saint-Simonian Men/Saint-Simonian Women: The Transformation of Feminist Thought in 1830s' France." *Journal of Modern History* 54, no. 2 (June 1982): 240–67.
- Muratore, Mary Jo. *Mimesis and Metatextuality in French Neo-Classical Text*. Geneva: Droz Librairie, 1994.
- Murphy, Kerry. *Hector Berlioz and the Development of Music Criticism*. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1988.
- . "Joseph Mainzer's 'Sacred and Beautiful Mission': An Aspect of Parisian Musical Life of the 1830s." *Music and Letters* 75, no.1 (1994): 33–46.

Nattiez, Jean-Jacques. *Fondements d'une semiologie de la musique*. Paris: Union Générale d'Édition, 1975.

———. “La Linguistique: Voie nouvelle pour l’analyse musicale?” *Les Cahiers canadiens de musique* 4 (1972): 101–15.

Neilson, William. *The Harvard Classics: French Fiction of Balzac, Sand, Musset, Daudet and Maupassant*. New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1917.

Newman, William. *The Sonata in the Classical Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963; 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York: Norton, 1983.

Pederson, Sanna. “A. B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity.” *Nineteenth-Century Music* 18, no. 2 (Autumn 1994): 87–107.

Pichois, Claude. *Le romantisme II: 1843–1869*. Paris: Arthaud, 1979.

Plantinga, Leo. *Schumann as Critic*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967.

———. “Schumann’s View of ‘Romantic.’” *Musical Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (April 1966): 221–32.

Powell, David A. *George Sand*. Boston: Twayne, 1990.

———. “Musical-Literary Intertextuality: George Sand and Franz Liszt.” In *Correspondances: Studies in Literature, History, and the Arts in Nineteenth-Century France*, edited by Keith Busby, 165–76. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992.

———. “‘Histoire du rêveur’, ou le ‘rêve de mélodie’: Le Fantastique musicale chez George Sand.” In *George Sand et son temps: Hommage à Annarosa Poli*, edited by Elio Moselez, 505–22. Geneva: Slatkine, 1993.

———. “Music Conductive to Dream: Sand and the Musical Fantastic.” In *Le Siècle de George Sand*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998, 321–33.

———. *While the Music Lasts: The Representation of Music in the Works of George Sand*. London: Associated University Presses, 2001.

Prendergast, Christopher. *The Order of Mimesis: Balzac, Nerval, Stendhal, Flaubert*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Rady, Peter. *Fair Ophelia: Harriet Smithson Berlioz*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

- Ramaut, Alban. *Hector Berlioz: compositeur romantique français*. Paris: Actes Sud, 1993.
- , ed. *Hector Berlioz: Regards sur un dauphinois fantastique* (Actes du colloque de 16, 17, 18 octobre 2003, Grenoble, France). Saint-Étienne, France: L'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006.
- . "Berlioz et ses livrets ou Berlioz et l'intention dramatique." In *Hector Berlioz: Regards sur un dauphinois fantastique* (Actes du colloque de 16, 17, 18 octobre 2003, Grenoble, France), edited by Alban Ramaut, 109–33. Saint-Étienne, France: L'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006.
- . "Le Thomas Moore d'Hector Berlioz." In *Hector Berlioz: Regards sur un dauphinois fantastique* (Actes du colloque de 16, 17, 18 octobre 2003, Grenoble, France), edited by Alban Ramaut, 213–21. Saint-Étienne, France: L'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006.
- Rambeau, Marie-Paule. *Chopin dans la vie et l'oeuvre de George Sand*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985.
- Rauseo, Chris. "Berlioz et la réunion des arts: Rhétorique et esthétique dans la critique musicale, 1830–1841." In *Berlioz: Homme de letters*, edited by George Zaragosa, 49–59. Dijon, France: Editions du Whisper, 2006.
- Reeve, Katherine Kolb. "The Poetics of the Orchestra in the Writings of Hector Berlioz." PhD diss., Yale University, 1978.
- . "Rhetoric and Reason in French Music Criticism of the 1830s." In *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties*, edited by Peter Bloom, 537–51. New York: Pendragon Press, 1987.
- Reibel, Emmanuel. *L'Écriture de la critique musicale au temps de Berlioz*. Paris: Librairie Honoré de Champion, 2005.
- Reynaud, Cécile. *Berlioz*. Paris: Editions Jean-Paul Gisserot, 2000.
- Riemenschneider, Albert. "A List of the Editions of Bach's Well Tempered Clavier." *Notes* 14 (1942): 38–45.
- Ringer, Alexander. "A French Symphonist at the Time of Beethoven: Étienne Nicolas Méhul." *Musical Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (1951): 543–65.
- Ritzel, Fred. *Die Entwicklung der "Sonatenform" im musik-theoretischen Schrifttum des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1968.

- Rodgers, Stephen. *Form, Program, and Metaphor in the Music of Berlioz*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Rolland, Romain. *Beethoven the Creator*. Translated by Ernest Newman. New York: Harper & Bros., 1929. Reprint New York: Dover, 1964.
- Rosen, Charles. *Sonata Forms*. New York: Norton, 1980.
- . *The Romantic Generation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- . *Romantic Poets, Critics, and Other Madmen*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Dictionnaire de musique: Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre. Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 5. Paris: Gallimard/Pléiade, 1995.
- Rushton, Julian. *The Musical Language of Berlioz*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- . *Berlioz: Roméo et Juliette*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- . *The Music of Berlioz*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Russell, Bertrand. *A History of Western Philosophy and Its Connexion with Political-social Circumstances from the Earliest Times to Present Day*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964.
- Saint-Gerard, Jacques-Philippe. "Métaphores, correspondancières du début du XIXe siècle: Linguistique, style, synthesis." *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 26 (1998): 1–23.
- Saloman, Ora F. "La Cépède's *La Poétique de la musique* and *Le Sueur*." *Acta Musicologica* 47 (1975): 144–54.
- . *Listening well: Beethoven, Berlioz and other music criticism in Paris, Boston, and New York, 1764-1890*. New York: Peter Lang, 2009.
- Sammons, Jeffrey L. *Heinrich Heine: The Elusive Poet*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1969.
- Sand, George. *Lettres d'un Voyageur*. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1971.
- . *Consuelo; La Comtesse de Rudolstadt*. Edited by Simone Vierende and Renée Bourgeois. Meyland, France: Éditions de l'Aurore, 1983.

- . *Journal intime*. Translated by Marie Jenney Howe. Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1984.
- . *Correspondance de George Sand*. Edited by Georges Lubin. Paris: Garnier, 1995.
- Sanders, Ernest H. "The Sonata-Form Finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony." *Nineteenth-Century Music* 22, no. 1 (1998): 54–60.
- Schacher, Thomas. *Hector Berlioz: Roméo et Juliette*. Munich: Fink, 1998.
- Schindler, Anton Felix. *The Life of Beethoven*. Mattapan: Gamut Music Co., 1966.
- Schlegel, F. *Athenaeum*, I, part 2, 28ff. Berlin: Vieweg-Frolich, 1798–1800.
- Schlesinger, Maurice, ed. *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (microfilm) Paris: Schlesinger, 1831–40.
- Schlosser, Johann Aloys and Barry A. R. Cooper. *Beethoven: The First Biography*. New York: Amadeus Press, 1996.
- Schumann, Robert. *On Music and Musicians*. Translated by Paul Rosenfeld. New York: Pantheon, 1946.
- Schrade, Leo. *Beethoven in France: The Growth of an Idea*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1978.
- Schroder, Maurice. *Icarus: The Romantic Image of the Artist: Visual Culture under the July Monarchy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961.
- Scruton, Roger. *The Aesthetics of Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Senner, Wayne M., ed. and trans., with Robin Wallace and William Meredith. *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions by His German Contemporaries*, Vol. 1 (Op. 1–54); Vol. 2 (Op. 55–72). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999 and 2001.
- Seybert, Gislinde. "George Sand und die Musik. Zur Vermittlung von Musik im Text: 'Symphonie pastorale de Beethoven.'" In *Musik und Literatur*. Edited by Albert Bier and Gerold W. Gruber, 159–68. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995.
- Sipe, Thomas. *Beethoven: Eroica Symphony*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Sisman, Elaine R. "Tradition and Transformation in the Alternating Variations of Haydn and Beethoven." In *Acta Musicologica* 62 (May–December 1990): 152–82.
- Smith, Paul, and Carolyn Wilde. *A Companion to Art Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.

Smithers, Howard. *A History of the Oratorio: The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Snyder, Susan. "The Genres of Shakespeare's Plays." In *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*, edited by Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells, 83–8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Solomon, Maynard. *Beethoven*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York: Schirmer, 2001.

Star, Allison. "Crosscurrents of Performance Practice in Nineteenth-Century Editions of Beethoven's *Piano Sonata in E major, Opus 109*." *Musicological Explorations* 5 (2004): 42–60. Condensed edition in *Provincial Newsletter: B.C. Registered Music Teachers' Association* (Winter 2004): 18-19, 21-25, 37. Presented at the annual Pacific Northwest American Musicology Society meeting, University of Victoria, Victoria, BC, 2004.

———. "The Romantic Image of Beethoven: *Contes fantastiques* in *Le Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 1834–1840." Presented at the 16th Annual Pacific Northwest Graduate Students Conference, University of Victoria, Victoria, BC, 2004, and the annual Pacific Northwest American Musicology Society meeting, Reed College, Portland, OR, 2005.

———. "Synaesthesia in the French Musical *Fantastique*: A Confluence of Poetry and Music in George Sand's 'Carl' and Hector Berlioz's 'Harold in Italy.'" Presented at the 17th Annual Pacific Northwest Graduate Students Conference, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, 2006.

———. "Beethoven Poet: Hector Berlioz's 'A Critical Study of Beethoven's Nine Symphonies' at the Crossroads of French Romanticism." Presented at the International Symposium, "*Pouvoirs du langage, langages du pouvoir*," Faculties of Humanities and Fine Arts, University of Victoria and l'Université Paris III, La Sorbonne Nouvelle, April 22–24, 2008.

Steen, Gerard. "Analysing Metaphor in Literature." *Poetics Today* 20, no. 3 (Autumn 1999): 499–522.

Stevens, Denis. *A History of Song*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1981.

Stevens, Jane. "An 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Description of Concerto First-Movement Form." In *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (1971): 85-95.

Streletski, Gérard. "Berlioz et la société de son temps." In *Hector Berlioz: Regards sur un dauphinois fantastique* (Actes du colloque de 16, 17, 18 octobre 2003, Grenoble, France), edited by Alban Ramaut, 29–52. Saint-Étienne, France: L'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006.

Stricker, Rémy. *Berlioz dramaturge*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2003.

- Stroh, Patricia. "Evolution of an Edition: The Case of Beethoven's Op. 2." *Notes* 57, no. 2 (2000): 289–329.
- Strunk, Oliver, ed. *Source Readings in Music History*. Revised ed. General editor, Leo Treitler. New York: W. W. Norton, 1998.
- Subotnik, Rose. "Romantic Music as Post-Kantian Critique: Classicism, Romanticism, and the Concept of Semiotic Universe." In *On Criticizing Music*, edited by Kingsley Price, 74–98. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1982.
- Tanner, Peter H. "Timpani and Percussion Writing in the Works of Hector Berlioz." Ph. D. thesis: Catholic University of America, 1969.
- Tarn, Julien Frédérique. *Le Marquis de Custine, ou, Les malheurs de l'exactitude*. Paris: Fayard, 1985.
- Theisen, Bianca. "The Drama in Rags: Shakespeare Reception in Eighteenth-Century Germany." *On Literary Form: From Kleist to Bernard* 121 (April 2006): 502–13.
- Thompson, William. *Understanding Les fleurs du mal: Critical Readings*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1997.
- Tieck, Ludwig. *Der Runenberg; "An den Leser dieser Blaetter; Raffaels Erscheinung; Sehnsucht nach Italien; Herzensergiessungen Eines Kunst-Liebenden Klosterbruders*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1961.
- Todorov, Tzvetan. *Introduction à la littérature fantastique*. Paris: Seuil, 1970.
- Tolley, Thomas. *Painting the Cannon's Roar: Music, The Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2001.
- Tovey, Donald Francis. *Essays in Musical Analysis*. Vol. IV: *Illustrative Music*. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Treitler, Leo. *Music and the Historical Imagination*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Tusa, Michael. "Noch einmal: Form and Content in the Finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony." *Nineteenth-Century Music* 22, no. 3 (Spring 1999): 300–2.
- Vallentin, Antonia. *Heine: Poet in Exile*. New York: Doubleday, 1956.

- Vigier, Philippe. *Paris pendant la monarchie de juillet*. Paris: Association pour la publication d'une histoire de Paris, 1991.
- Wackenroder, Wilhelm Heinrich. "Von zwei wunderbaren Sprachen, und deren geheimnisvoller Kraft; Das merkwuerdige musikalische Leben des Tonkuenstlers Joseph Berlinger." In *Herzensergiessungen eines Kunst-Liebenden Klosterbruders* (1799). Stuttgart: Reclam, 1961.
- Waldauer, Joseph L. "Society and the Freedom of the Creative Man in Diderot's Thought." In *Diderot Studies V*, edited by Otis Fellows, 200-20. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1964.
- Walker, Alan. *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years, 1811-1847*, vol. 1. Revised edition. New York: Faber & Faber, 1989.
- Wallace, Robin. *Beethoven's Critics: Aesthetic Dilemmas and Resolutions during the Composer's Lifetime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Weber, William. *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Beethoven to Brahms*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Webster, James. "Sonata Form." In *Grove Music Online*, [www.Grovemusic.com](http://www.Grovemusic.com). Accessed 7/10/2010.
- Weiskel, Thomas. *The Romantic Sublime*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.
- White, Hayden. *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1987.
- Will, Richard. "Time, Morality, and Humanity in Beethoven's 'Pastoral' Symphony." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50, no. 2/3 (1997): 271-329.
- Williams, Adrian. *Portrait of Liszt*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.
- Wilpert, Giro von. *Goethe Encyclopedia*. Stuttgart: Koerner, 1998.
- Wyn Jones, David. *Beethoven: The Pastoral Symphony*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1995.