

Beethoven-Geflechte. A Beethoven Tapestry

Networks and Cultures of Memory

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Aristocratic Dedications and Spas as a Networking Strategy. Beethoven and the Nobility

Martin Scheutz

Vienna as one of the most dynamic residence cities of the Holy Roman Empire

Vienna, as one of the capitals of the Holy Roman Empire (until 1806) and later as the undisputed metropolis of the Austrian Empire, was a lucrative place for members of various classes in the late 18th century; civil servants, entrepreneurs, nobles and workers found various sources of income here. The growth figures of the royal capital Vienna also illustrate the great social, economic and political-administrative attractiveness of the city, which lay at the center of west-east-Danube and north-south trade. While in the first census under Maria Theresia in 1754, Vienna with its suburbs only had 175,043 inhabitants, by around 1800, the population had already reached 231,949.¹ Between 1820 and 1830, Vienna, the largest consumer center in Central Europe, exhibited the most dynamism with annual growth rates of 2.3% (previously they had only been 0.5%).² After the deaths of Joseph II and then, less than two years later, Leopold II, the Habsburg Monarchy lurched from enlightened absolutism to restoration, from fear of revolution to censorship and to the Austrian Jacobin conspiracy in 1794. Chiefly determining their domestic and foreign policy were, until 1815, the Coalition Wars, including the two occupations of the city in 1805 and 1809, and thereafter, politically, the Congress System and the restorationist Carlsbad Decrees (1819) and, economically, the beginning of

1 The present text owes much to the detailed suggestions made by Constanze Köhn, Birgit Lodes and Melanie Unseld – many thanks! Andreas Weigl, *Demographischer Wandel und Modernisierung in Wien*, Kommentare zum Historischen Atlas von Wien 1 (Vienna, 2000), 55–63.

2 Ernst Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs* (Vienna etc., 2001), 216–17.

the Industrial Revolution with its new spirit of entrepreneurship.³ The concentration of bureaucracy, military, nobility and court in the city led to the trades gradually dispersing into the Viennese suburbs, where commercial and early industrial districts flourished – as in the “Brillantengrund” of Schottenfeld, for example.⁴

Vienna was the center of the old, Austria-wide aristocracy or *Erste Gesellschaft*, which found its employment opportunities primarily in the central administration, at court, in the army and in the Catholic Church. As patrons, these approximately 100 families, who were able to significantly increase their share of the city’s real estate between 1779 and 1849,⁵ competed with the imperial court.⁶ These first-society families also imitated the *Séjour* of the imperial court, spending the summer in the country and the winter in Vienna. The *Zweite Gesellschaft*, “second society,” consisting of the old lower nobility (simple aristocracy [“von”], knights, barons) and the newly ennobled, could also hold high positions in the administration and the army or achieve great wealth as bankers and industrialists, but a glass ceiling separated them from the first society. The families of around 20 princes and 70 counts, secured and woven together through marriage, formed the old nobility – the first society in Vienna.⁷ Beethoven, who in 1792 arrived at the seat of the Viennese Court from the Electoral Court of Bonn, came to a city where a new ruler, Franz II, had just ascended the throne (coronation July 14, 1792 in Frankfurt). Some 14 years later, the Konsumstadt (consumer city) of Vienna was downgraded from the hub of the empire with its many diplomats to a purely “Austrian” administrative and governmental center. However, with the Congress of Vienna in 1814–15 (including patriotic music by its musical star Beethoven), the Danube

3 See Ernst Bruckmüller, *Österreichische Geschichte von der Urgeschichte bis zur Gegenwart* (Vienna etc., 2019), 313–21.

4 On the bourgeois entrepreneurs, see especially Ingrid Mittenzwei, *Zwischen gestern und morgen. Wiens frühe Bourgeoisie an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert*, *Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie 7* (Vienna, 1998).

5 The high nobility was able to buy up numerous town houses during this time: Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Die Wiener Altstadt. Von der mittelalterlichen Bürgerstadt zur City* (Vienna, 1977), 153–154.

6 Bertrand Michael Buchmann and Dagmar Buchmann, “Die Epoche vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis um 1860,” in *Wien Geschichte einer Stadt*, vol. 3, *Von 1790 bis zur Gegenwart*, eds. Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Opll (Vienna, 2006), 15–46, at 27–30.

7 According to the American envoy John Lothrop Motley (1814–1877, ambassador in Vienna 1861–1867) who was shocked by Viennese court society, without proof of a “flawless” family tree, ironically, a “native could enter this society no more easily than the moon”: Brigitte Hamann, “Der Wiener Hof und die Hofgesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Hof und Hofgesellschaft in den deutschen Staaten im 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Karl Möckl, *Deutsche Führungsschichten in der Neuzeit 18* (Boppard am Rhein, 1990), 61–78, at 72. On the Viennese court, see Martin Scheutz, *Der Wiener Hof und die Stadt Wien im 20. Jahrhundert. Die Internalisierung eines Fremdkörpers*, *Enzyklopädie des Wiener Wissens 11* (Vienna, 2010).

metropolis's importance experienced a new diplomatic and economic peak. The world of the old high nobility – including Lobkowitz, Kinsky, Pálffy and Esterházy – had been changed by the state bankruptcy of 1811. And after 1815, their patronage practices were transformed by a dynamically developing music market and new performance practices. Thus, towards the end of his life, the nobility played a lesser role in Beethoven's financial affairs than at the beginning of his career.⁸ Beethoven might have arrived in 1792 as a virtuoso “keyboard tiger” and a potential court servant in search of a position as Court Kapellmeister, but he died in 1827 as a bourgeois, “national” musical prince and “honorary citizen” of Vienna, who – through skillful negotiations with publishers, careful granting of performance rights and prudent transactions concerning dedications – had achieved share equity and relative prosperity.

From the perspective of a musician, aristocratic Vienna was not only a potentially rewarding location for court music, but also for cultural life and music publishing. In addition to the important court orchestra, which boasted fine instrumentalists and singers and played mainly at court concerts and church ceremonies, there were five music theaters (Burgtheater, Theater an der Wien, Kärntnertortheater, Leopoldstädter Theater and Josefstädter Theater),⁹ which together shared an orchestra that could also be booked for concerts and academy events at certain times, numerous churches as important music venues, and restaurants (such as the Mehlgrube or the Augarten), in whose larger halls musical events were held. They might also enter the service of a high nobleman as a house musician or house virtuoso and then function as the musical calling card of their lord or noble house in public.¹⁰ Although there was no regular, professional concert business, musicians could take the initiative to organize academy events at their own risk in theaters, multi-purpose halls or even outdoors, and sometimes there were also benefit concerts, for example after a fire. The salons, which were considered accessible to the public, also offered good venues for musicians to perform, and after 1800 the range

8 Jan Caeyers, *Beethoven. Der einsame Revolutionär. Eine Biographie* (Munich, 2017), 666–67, 113–14; on the nobility's participation in the subscription lists, see Martin Geck, *Ludwig van Beethoven* (Reinbek, 2020), 49–50; Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius. Musical Politics in Vienna 1792–1803* (Los Angeles etc., 1995), 37–44.

9 Otto Biba, Art. “Theater in Wien,” in *Das Beethoven-Lexikon*, eds. Heinz von Loesch and Claus Raab, *Das Beethoven-Handbuch* 6 (Laaber, 2008), 768–69.

10 Caeyers, *Beethoven* (as in fn. 8), 193: About the manic, music-obsessed Franz Joseph Maximilian von Lobkowitz: “For a decade and a half, Lobkowitz was a kind of music ‘godfather,’ a combination of Secretary of State for Culture, General Director, impresario, library manager, conservatory director and top lobbyist for the arts.” Using the example of music competitions, Caeyers writes in *Beethoven*, 127–28, “It took Lichnowsky little time to realize that Beethoven might fill the gap left by Mozart's death and that he himself had the unique opportunity to distinguish himself through him before other old noble families and before the rising *Briefadel* [newly ennobled commoners] and rich bourgeoisie.”

of performance opportunities began to expand rapidly. The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Society of Friends of Music), founded in 1812, was able to establish its own orchestra of professional musicians and well-trained “dilettantes” for its own performances.

The following article attempts to characterize the nobility as a social formation in its own right and then locates Beethoven’s dedicatory behavior in the field of tension between nobility and bourgeoisie. As a site of encounter between middle-class and aristocratic guests, the spa cities became a field of experimentation for a newly constituted society after the Napoleonic Wars.

The nobility as a socially heterogeneous group during the “saddle time” (1750–1850)

According to Zedler’s *Universal-Lexicon*, the entire nobility – numerically the smallest group of the early modern population and comprising first and second societies – operates in European history as a privileged and landed gentry, internally differentiated between high and low nobility, through “an honorary status conferred by the highest authority in recognition of preceding virtues and services, and which is bequeathed to descendants.”¹¹ The titled nobility or the intrinsically heterogeneous aristocracy possessed no obvious external features, but understood itself rather on the one hand as a group “‘embodying’ a clear self-image and an innate sense of superiority,”¹² and on the other as an expression of acquired legal titles, which through considerable effort was displayed in the most diverse forms (including documentary proof of noble ancestry, family trees, genealogical studies, coats of arms). In the Holy Roman Empire, the nobility as a whole – which comprised about 0.3 to 1% of the population, it varied from region to region – saw itself as the bearer of special inherited virtues (forms of behavior and cultural practices) and its individual families saw themselves as guardians of a specific house tradition. At the same time, from the beginning of the modern era the former warrior class increasingly transformed itself into the administrative elite – at court,¹³ in the (impe-

11 Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, vol. 1 (Halle/Saale etc., 1732), column 467.

12 Gerhard Ammerer, Elisabeth Lobenwein, and Martin Scheutz, “Adel, Umriss einer sozialen Gruppe in der Krise. Zur Einleitung,” in *Adel im 18. Jahrhundert. Umriss einer sozialen Gruppe in der Krise*, eds. Gerhard Ammerer, Elisabeth Lobenwein, and Martin Scheutz, Querschnitt 28 (Vienna, 2017), 7–19, at 7.

13 On court administration, see Martin Scheutz, “Die Elite der hochadeligen Elite. Sozialgeschichtliche Rahmenbedingungen der obersten Hofämter am Wiener Kaiserhof im 18. Jahrhundert,” in Ammerer/Lobenwein/Scholz, *Adel* (as in fn. 12), 141–94.

rial) church, in the military,¹⁴ and in the central and regional administration of the Habsburg Monarchy. Above all, the consummate presentation of family tradition – i.e., the glorious ancestral and kinship ties – were characteristic of nobility throughout Europe, whereby it attempted to merge past and present together. The emphasis on a special, glorious family tradition made the aristocratic present seem part of an indisputable natural order, but it also placed a great burden on the present holder of the family honor: successfully continuing the line, increasing the house’s fame, profitably managing the estates and cultivating an aristocratic, even arrogant, self-image were associated demands that had to be successfully fulfilled before the curious eyes of the rest of society. But abundant examples from Beethoven’s environs reveal how challenging the demand to maintain financial liquidity in particular was: the music-loving Joseph Franz Maximilian Lobkowitz (1772–1816) was put into receivership due to his financial plight, and the princely House of Kinsky found itself in dire financial straits after the unexpected death of Ferdinand Johann Nepomuk in 1812. Efficient management of an aristocratic estate or a noble “Hantierung” such as a bank or an industrial enterprise had to provide the means for one’s life both at court and in the expensive Viennese society – no easy task in view of the Napoleonic wartime economy, continental blockade, 1811 national bankruptcy and ongoing economic crises.

At the end of the 18th century, the nobility found itself on the one hand confronting the compulsion to integrate, but on the other still emphasizing its unique self-image and habitus as a special form of distinction.¹⁵ The broad aristocratic social formation became blurred in the saddle period between 1750 and 1850 as it increasingly absorbed newly ennobled members of middle-class descent, the so-called *Briefadel*.¹⁶ In addition, in the wake of the French Revolution, increasingly indefensible noble privileges were gradually abolished. The aristocracy’s proverbial “staying on top” as the state’s premier class demanded above all tenacious defense of its sociocultural and symbolic capital¹⁷ and adjustment to the new political culture and the altered economic conditions. Adapting to a new era after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire

14 Laurence Cole, “Adel und Militär am Ende des Alten Regimes,” in Ammerer/Lobenwein/Scholz, *Adel* (as in fn. 12), 117–40.

15 *Der europäische Adel im Ancien Régime. Von der Krise der ständischen Monarchien bis zur Revolution (ca. 1600–1789)*, ed. Ronald G. Asch (Cologne etc., 2001).

16 Ewald Frie, “Adel und bürgerliche Werte,” in *Bürgerliche Werte um 1800. Entwurf – Vermittlung – Rezeption*, eds. Hans-Werner Hahn and Dieter Hein (Cologne etc., 2005), 393–414; Michael G. Müller, “Adel und Elitenwandel in Ostmitteleuropa. Fragen an die polnische Adelsgeschichte im ausgehenden 18. und 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa* 50 (2001), 497–513.

17 Rudolf Braun, “Konzeptionelle Bemerkungen zum Obenbleiben: Adel im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Europäischer Adel 1750–1950*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*. Sonderheft 13 (Göttingen, 1990), 87–95, at 93.

in 1804/06 and maintaining an independent social identity became the nobility's central tasks: in the face of fundamental economic and social change, they had to deal flexibly with tradition and lineage, family and marriage ties, and upholding a status-appropriate lifestyle, as well as their habitus and political participation in power.¹⁸

The latest research on the nobility around 1800 therefore underscores the competition and disparity within this social formation, as it had to develop new behavioral dispositions against the background of economic crises caused by the Coalition Wars such as the 1811 national bankruptcy or the political reorientation due to the Napoleonic Wars (for example, the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire). The old society of estates was transformed into a newly structured national society, involving a shift in elites.¹⁹ However, it also seems important to conceptually relate the "citizenry" and the "nobility," because in urban as well as suburban areas, their lives were so closely intertwined through both competitive and cooperative relationships.²⁰ Considering the saddle period from the perspective of early modern research, one is likely to see a society of largely intact estates, whereas from the perspective of the 19th century, one tends to see an emerging "bourgeois society."²¹ Recent studies, for example, interpret the social biotope of Weimar-Jena around 1800 as a "laboratory of bourgeois value production,"²² whereas other studies see the period as a

18 Ronald G. Asch, "Zwischen defensiver Legitimation und kultureller Hegemonie. Strategien adliger Selbstbehauptung in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Selbstverständnis - Selbstdarstellung - Selbstbehauptung. Der Adel in der Vormoderne I*, eds. Gudrun Gersmann and Michael Kaiser, issue of *zeitenblicke* 4/2 (2005), <http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2005/2/Asch/index_html> (accessed March 20, 2023); Ewald Frie, "Adel um 1800. Oben bleiben?," in *Selbstverständnis - Selbstdarstellung - Selbstbehauptung. Der Adel in der Vormoderne II*, eds. Gudrun Gersmann and Michael Kaiser, issue of *zeitenblicke* 4/3 (2005), <http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2005/3/Frie/index_html> (accessed March 20, 2023).

19 Müller, "Adel und Elitenwandel" (as in fn. 16), 497–513.

20 *Adel und Bürgertum in Deutschland 1770–1848*, ed. Elisabeth Fehrenbach, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs 31 (Munich, 2009). See also Marko Kreutzmann, *Zwischen ständischer und bürgerlicher Lebenswelt. Adel in Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach 1770 bis 1830*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Thüringen 23 (Cologne etc., 2008).

21 Rebekka Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums. Eine Familiengeschichte (1750–1850)*, Bürgertum 14 (Göttingen, 2000).

22 Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Kurorte im Reich des 18. Jahrhunderts – ein Typus urbanen Lebens und Laboratorium der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Eine Problemskizze," in *Bäder und Kuren in der Aufklärung. Medizinaldiskurs und Freizeitvergnügen*, eds. Raingard Eßer and Thomas Fuchs, *Aufklärung und Europa* 11 (Berlin, 2003), 15–35. For an overview of "Education" (Michael Maurer); "Work, Diligence, and Order" (Dieter Hein); "Marriage, Family, and Gender" (Katja Deinhardt and Julia Frindte); "Independence and Participation" (Lothar Gall), see Hahn/Hein, *Bürgerliche Werte* (as in fn. 16), 227–38; 239–52; 253–72; 291–301.

“laboratory before [classical] modernity” for the nobility.²³ The aristocracy and the bourgeoisie tentatively approached each other creating temporary transitional spaces; but at the same time both social groups attempted to preserve the distinctions between them. Although the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie preserved the social distinctions between them, they also approached each other creating temporary experimental and transitional spaces in the process.

The aristocratic patronage system – Beethoven’s work as a site for exchanging social capital

Dedications on title pages of artistic works or on thesis pages of dissertations functioned as both an outwardly visible expression of an artist’s appreciation of, patronage by or affiliation to a person or institution (a monastery, city, or fraternity), and a more or less profitable form of income for artists and scientists.²⁴ Artists, including musicians, were “part of an artistic production system”²⁵ and dedications are usually understood as expressing a relationship between a patron and a musician. According to Marcel Mauss, every gift requires a counterpart; specifically, gifts respond to prior and anticipated performance, which could be manifest not only in monetary terms but also in “friendship.” But publishers also intervened in the choice of a dedicatee to “raise the financial return on a musical work or the status of an author.”²⁶ The aristocracy used pre-modern clientele systems in an attempt to assert private interests in the public sphere.²⁷ For his part, Beethoven’s concern when dedicating pieces of music was to obtain material and immaterial advantages from the patron (e.g., a position, the granting of loans) or to express appreciation for advantages already gained.²⁸

23 Frie, “Adel um 1800” (as in fn. 18), 15; 14: “While for the nobility as a class the time around 1800 was a period of upheaval, in which the past was considered to be dead and the future seemed unpredictable, this was even truer for the individual noble families.”

24 Günter Brosche, Art. “Widmungen,” in Loesch/Raab, *Beethoven-Lexikon* (as in fn. 9), 845–49.

25 Laurenz Lütteken, Art. “Auftraggeber. Musik,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger, vol. 1 (Stuttgart etc., 2005), columns 838–40, at 838.

26 Axel Beer, *Musik zwischen Komponist, Verlag und Publikum. Die Rahmenbedingungen des Musikschaffens in Deutschland im ersten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing, 2000), 371.

27 In German scholarship, “modern” means the long 19th century, 1789–1914; “early modern” in this essay therefore refers to the period around the turn of the 19th century.

28 For an overview, see for example Hillard von Thiessen, Art. “Klientel,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger, vol. 6 (Stuttgart etc., 2007), columns 780–86.

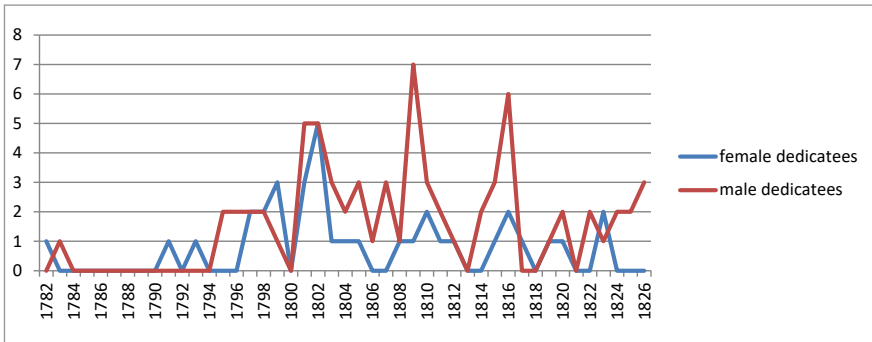


Fig. 1: Dedications separated according to gender (1792–1826), survey according to LvBWV 2, 864–72. © Martin Scheutz

Artists of the pre-modern age, in which dedications must be understood as paratexts, had to proceed in a highly strategic and businesslike manner due to the fact that the practice signaled affiliation to a patron as a client and therefore often required them to address high-ranking personalities as potential “benefactors” for this purpose. The line of communication often ran from bottom to top.²⁹ Some high-ranking dedicatees, often not personally known to the artists, paid considerable funds or gave valuable material goods for the dedication address. From the perspective of the dedicatees, economic capital could be transformed into social-symbolic capital. According to the Beethoven catalog, a total of 63 dedicatees are listed on the printed title pages of his composed works.³⁰ Of these, 40 are men, 23 women, and towards the end of his life, the number of dedications to men increases significantly compared to those to women (see Fig. 1). Front-runners in the dedication statistics were Archduke Rudolph (1788–1831)³¹ with 11 works, Joseph Franz Maximilian, seventh Prince Lobkowitz with seven, Karl Alois, Prince Lichnowsky (1761–1814)³² with five, and Prince Nikolai Borisovich Galitzin (1794–1866)³³ as the youngest with four works. Among the women, Countess Anna Luise Barbara Keglevicz (after

29 Andre Horch, *Buchwidmungen der Frühen Neuzeit als Quellen der Stadt-, Sozial- und Druckgeschichte. Kritische Analyse der Dedikationen in volkssprachlichen Mainzer Drucken des 16. Jahrhunderts unter Verwendung statistischer, netzwerkanalytischer und textinterpretatorischer Methoden*, Mainzer Studien zur Neueren Geschichte 32 (Frankfurt am Main, 2014); Reinhard Wittmann, “Der Gönner als Leser – Buchwidmungen als Quellen der Lesergeschichte,” in *Parallelwelten des Buches. Beiträge zu Buchpolitik, Verlagsgeschichte, Bibliophilie und Buchkunst. Festschrift für Wulf D. von Lucius*, ed. Monika Estermann (Wiesbaden, 2008), 1–28, at 5; on the relationship between bourgeois authors and noble patrons see 14–19.

30 This information refers to the dedications on the title page: LvBWV 2, 864–72.

31 Clive, 295–97.

32 Clive, 202–5.

33 Clive, 135–37.

marriage, Princess d'Erba-Odescalchi, 1780–1813³⁴) ranks first with four dedications.³⁵ Surprisingly, several important and influential families are missing from the dedicatees without any discernable cause. While the Prussian and English royal house and the tsarist house and its milieu (Tsar/Tsarina, Rasumovsky, Galitzin, Browne-Camus) are prominently represented, the conspicuous absence of the imperial family (apart from Archduke Maximilian Franz and Archduke Rudolph)³⁶ in this highly noble bouquet is striking. Recent research clarifies the accurate class-based “fit”³⁷ of Beethoven’s dedications, but also their articulation of the gender hierarchies found in the 18th and 19th centuries. The social rank and the instrumental mastery of the dedicatee determined how “elevated” the style with respect to genre and how demanding the compositions were for performers or listeners: piano works and occasionally songs were dedicated to women; symphonies and other public works as well as string quartets were mostly received by high-ranking men, or men in government (see Fig. 2 and Fig. 3).³⁸ Beethoven dedicated to the banker Moritz Johann Graf Fries³⁹ not only the Seventh Symphony Op. 72 in 1817, but also two violin sonatas Op. 23 and Op. 24 in 1801 and the String Quintet in C major Op. 29 in 1802. Based on his knowledge of their musical practices, Beethoven responded sensitively to the interests of the dedicatee. In 1802, for example, Beethoven dedicated a piano sonata (C sharp minor Op. 27, No. 2) to his piano student, Countess Julie Guicciardi (1784–1856).⁴⁰ The Count and (until 1807) Russian envoy Andrey Razumovsky (1752–1836),⁴¹ Lichnowsky’s brother-in-law, as organizer

34 Clive, 250.

35 Ernst Hertrich, “Beethovens Widmungsverhalten,” in *Der “männliche” und der “weibliche” Beethoven. Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress vom 31. Oktober bis 4. November 2001 an der Universität der Künste Berlin*, eds. Cornelia Bartsch, Beatrix Borchard, and Rainer Cadenbach, *Schriften zur Beethoven-Forschung* 18 (Bonn, 2003), 221–236, at 21.

36 Through dedications, Beethoven reached the level of the imperial chamberlains and to some extent the imperial family (WoO 87: Cantata on the Death of Joseph II, WoO 88: Cantata on the Accession of Emperor Leopold II, WoO 18/19: Military Marches for Archduke Anton Viktor, Septet, Op. 20 dedicated to Empress Marie Therese); Bernhard R. Appel, “Widmungsstrategien. Beethoven und die europäischen Magnaten,” in *Widmungen bei Haydn und Beethoven. Personen – Strategien – Praktiken. Bericht über den Internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn, 29. September bis 1. Oktober 2011*, eds. Bernhard R. Appel and Armin Raab, *Schriften zur Beethoven-Forschung* 24 (Bonn, 2015), 139–70, at 154: “Despite various strategic composition- and performance-based efforts, Beethoven never reached the Emperor but instead encircled him, as it were, with a number of worthy persons from the imperial environment.”

37 For a broad overview of Beethoven’s behavior regarding dedications, see Birgit Lodes, “Zur musikalischen Passgenauigkeit von Beethovens Kompositionen mit Widmungen an Adelige,” in Appel/Raab, *Widmungen bei Haydn und Beethoven* (as in fn. 36), 171–202.

38 Hertrich, “Beethovens Widmungsverhalten” (as in fn. 35).

39 Clive, 120–21.

40 Clive, 142–43.

41 Clive, 277–78.

of chamber music evenings and violinist, paid for and received the three string quartets Op. 59, which were dedicated to him in 1808.

The social composition of the dedicatees tends towards the high and low nobility. Dedications to members of ruling houses were socially attractive, but not always financially successful.⁴² The dedicatees comprise nine members of ruling houses (seven men), 13 members of the high nobility (eight men), 28 members of the low nobility (12 men), five entrepreneurs (only men) and eight artists (only men) – 50 nobles (27 men, 23 women) thus contrasted with only 13 middle-class men (see Fig. 4). The absence of middle-class women is striking. Symphonies were mostly dedicated to members of ruling houses and the high nobility.⁴³ String quartets were dedicated to commoners as well as aristocrats – Op. 131 and Op. 135 to Johann Nepomuk Wolfmayer (1768–1841) in 1826, for instance.⁴⁴ Other commoners were in receipt of piano works, Op. 76 for the bank clerk and secretary Franz Oliva (1786–1848) in 1810,⁴⁵ or songs and canons, *Abendlied unterm gestirnten Himmel* WoO 150 (as well as WoO 189–190) for the physician Anton Georg Braunhofer (1780–1845).⁴⁶

The end of the Holy Roman Empire not only dealt a lasting blow to early modern aristocratic culture, but also to its members' employment opportunities, due to the fact that traditional occupations in the central administration of the Holy Roman Empire, imperial diplomacy, the imperial church system or the Imperial Court Council were partially eliminated.⁴⁷ Among the dedicatees of Beethoven's works, the imperial nobility continue unbroken through the 1804–06 break. Beethoven's very earliest dedications (in the pieces composed in Bonn up to 1792), included benefactors such as the von Breuning family of the Bonn nobility. Even after the end of the Holy Roman Empire, Vienna retained the significance for the aristocracy it had always had, and the relations between the region and the former imperial centers remained close: the

42 Appel, "Widmungsstrategien" (as in fn. 36).

43 The piano reduction of Symphony No. 7 was dedicated to Elisabetha, Tsarina of Russia, who was considered for the *Missa solemnis* (BGA 1807); Symphony No. 9 was dedicated to Frederick William III of Prussia; Symphony No. 2 to Karl Lichnowsky; Symphony No. 3 to Franz Joseph Lobkowitz; Piano Concerto No. 3 to Louis Ferdinand of Prussia; Piano Concerto No. 5 and the *Missa solemnis* to Archduke Rudolph.

44 Clive, 401.

45 Clive, 250–52.

46 Clive, 45–46. WoO 189 and 190 ("Doktor sperrt das Tor dem Tod," "Ich war hier, Doktor, ich war hier") were dedicated in gratitude to the physician Anton Georg Braunhofer in Baden 1825, LvBWV 2, 513–15; Op. 38 was dedicated to the violinist Johann Adam Schmidt in gratitude for medical services, LvBWV 1, 223.

47 Wolfgang Burgdorf, "Finis Imperii – Das Alte Reich am Ende. Ein Ergebnis langfristiger Entwicklung?" in *Lesebuch Altes Reich*, eds. Stephan Wendehorst and Siegrid Westphal, *bibliothek Altes Reich 1* (Munich, 2006), 13–20, at 18: the fall of the Old Reich "without sound or song" in August 1806.

family of the Frankfurt Senator (after 1816) Franz Brentano (1765–1844),⁴⁸ the Frankfurt silversmith family Graumann (later of Dorothea von Ertmann, 1781–1849),⁴⁹ the Bonn Waldstein⁵⁰ families acted as dedicatees, and many of these nobles met Beethoven in Vienna. In addition to the imperial nobility, Tsar Alexander and Tsarina Elisabeta as well as the Russian nobility were of great importance: Prince Nikolai Galitzin, who never met Beethoven personally,⁵¹ the Governor of the Grand Duchy of Poznan and participant of the Congress of Vienna Prince Antoni Henryk Radziwiłł (1775–1833),⁵² and the diplomat Count Andrey Razumovsky,⁵³ who was severely affected by the fire at his palace in 1814, or the Curonian brigadier general Count Johann Georg von Browne-Camus (1767–1827) and his wife⁵⁴ who emerged in the 1790s as Beethoven's most ardent patrons after Lichnowsky.⁵⁵

The Austrian aristocracy – which comprised the Inkolat from the various parts of the Habsburg Monarchy such as Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary and the Austrian hereditary lands – features prominently among Beethoven's dedicatees. Bohemian families clearly predominated, especially high noble families, such as Kinsky, Lichnowsky,⁵⁶ Lobkowitz, Schwarzenberg,⁵⁷ and Thun-Hohenstein.⁵⁸ Hungarian magnate families, such as Esterházy⁵⁹ and Erdődy,⁶⁰ which had lived in Vienna since the beginning of the 19th century, were also well represented. Aside from the high nobility, the whole Austrian aristocracy is repre-

48 Clive, 47–48.

49 Dedication of Op. 101 to Dorothea Baroness von Ertmann in 1817: Clive, 102–4.

50 Dedication of Op. 53 to Count Ferdinand Ernst Waldstein in 1805.

51 Dedications of Op. 124, and of the string quartets Opp. 127, 130 and 132 to Prince Nikolai Borisovich Galitzin in 1825, 1826, and (twice) 1827, respectively. Galitzin had commissioned the string quartets.

52 Dedications of Opp. 108 and 115 to Prince Antoni Henryk Radziwiłł in 1810–1820 and 1814 or 1815: Clive, 275.

53 Dedication of Opp. 59, 67, and 68 to Count Andrey Razumovsky in 1808, 1809, and 1809.

54 Dedication of Opp. 9, 22, WoO 46 and Op. 48 to Count Johann Georg von Browne-Camus in 1798, 1802, 1802, and 1803; dedication of WoO 71, Op. 10 and WoO 76 to Countess Anna Margarete Browne-Camus in 1797, 1798, and 1799: Clive, 60–61.

55 See Birgit Lodes, "Jenseits der Einsamkeit: Beethoven am Hof und im Salon," in Birgit Lodes, Melanie Unseld, and Susana Zapke, *Wer war Ludwig van? Drei Denkanstöße*, Wiener Vorlesungen 197 (Vienna, 2020), 13–34, at 25–6.

56 The Lichnowsky family holding in Silesia technically belonged to the Prussian royal family: see Julia Ronge's contribution to this volume. The occurrence of the Bohemian national saint Nepomuk in his given name, Carl Alois Nepomuk Vinzenz Leonhard, makes clear his affiliation to the Bohemian nobility.

57 Dedication of Op. 16 to Prince Joseph Johann Nepomuk von Schwarzenberg in 1801.

58 Dedication in 1798 of Op. 11 to Maria Wilhelmine Countess of Thun-Hohenstein, née Ulfeld, whose daughters married into the Lichnowsky and Razumovsky family.

59 Dedication of Op. 45 to Princess Maria Josepha Hermenegild Esterházy de Galantha in 1804.

60 Dedication of Opp. 70 and 102 to Countess Anna Maria Erdődy in 1809 and 1819.

sented by Hungarian families such as that of the Count Brunsvik de Korompa,⁶¹ whose wealth lay in Buda (Ofen in German), the Keglevicz de Buzin family,⁶² and Silesian nobles such as the Oppersdorff family from Głogów (Glogau).⁶³ But some of Beethoven's dedicatees came from aristocratic families with a Jewish background (whose existence directly resulted from the Josephine Patent of Tolerance), such as the Eskeles family,⁶⁴ descended from Moravian rabbis and ennobled in 1797, or that of Joseph von Sonnenfels.⁶⁵

Beethoven's aristocratic dedicatees divide into high noble latifundium owners, such as the Erdődy, Esterházy, Kinsky, Lichnowsky, Liechtenstein or Oppersdorff families and noble court officials and *Briefadel*, such as treasury official Karl Nickl von Nickelsberg, Court War Council official Stephan von Breuning (originally from Bonn), and lawyer and Court War Council Konzipist (a civil servant in Austria-Hungary called upon to draft "concepts," i.e., programs, theories, solutions to problems etc., for their institution), Ignaz von Gleichenstein. In around 1809, Beethoven dedicated the Violin Concerto Op. 61 to Stephan von Breuning (1774–1827),⁶⁶ who had studied the violin together with Beethoven in Bonn, and dedicated the piano transcription of the work (Op. 61a) to his wife Julie (née Vering, 1791–1809), a fine pianist. Also notable was the son of the court physician Johann Baptist Pasqualati (1777–1830),⁶⁷ who created wealth as a court factor (or "court jew," a Jewish banker who lent money to royalty) and wholesaler and acted as a landlord, lender, lawyer and advisor in Beethoven's network. Joseph Deym von Střítež (1752–1804), the husband of Josephine von Brunsvik (1779–1821), worked as court statute and built up the famous Müller waxworks.⁶⁸ Of particular advantage to Beethoven were the nouveau riche bankers such as the co-founder of the Austrian National Bank Bernhard Freiherr von Eskeles (1753–1839),⁶⁹ the prototypical squanderer Moritz Johann Christian Graf Fries or the precisely calculating silk-ware manufacturer, theater tenant and director of the Theater an der Wien, Peter Andreas Freiherr von Braun (1758–1819).⁷⁰ For comparison, the profes-

61 Dedication of Opp. 57 and 77 to Count Franz Brunsvik de Korompa in 1807 and 1810; dedication of Op. 78 to Countess Therese Brunsvik de Korompa in 1810.

62 Dedication in 1797 and 1801 of Opp. 7 and 15 to Countess Anna Luise Barbara von Keglevicz, who when married became Princess d'Erba-Odescalchi.

63 Dedication of Op. 60 to Imperial Count Franz Joachim Wenzel Oppersdorff in 1808/09.

64 Dedication of WoO 151 to Marie von Eskeles.

65 Piano Sonata Op. 28 (1802).

66 On Stephan von Breuning, see Clive, 53; on his wife Julie, see Clive, 54.

67 Clive, 258–59.

68 Gabriele Hatwagner, "Die Lust an der Illusion – über den Reiz der 'Scheinkunstsammlung' des Grafen Deym, der sich Müller nannte," diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 2008.

69 Clive, 104.

70 Michael Lorenz, "Neue Forschungsergebnisse zum Theater auf der Wieden und Emanuel Schikaneder," in *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 63/4 (2008), 15–36; Clive, 43–45.

sions of the bourgeois dedicatees: Anton Georg Braunhofer and Johann Adam Schmidt (1759–1809) were doctors,⁷¹ Johann Nepomuk Wolfmayer a rich cloth merchant, and Karl Kövesdy (later ennobled, died 1800) the Viennese Stadtbriest (military administrator), Beethoven commemorating his departure to the front in 1796.

Beethoven was not always successful in his efforts to secure dedications given that, due to the deluge of requests, some territorial princes exercised the “Privilegium de non respondendo.”⁷² For his *Wellington’s Victory (Wellingtons Sieg oder die Schlacht bei Vittoria)* Op. 91, which was popular throughout Europe, Beethoven received neither response nor any apparent form of financial compensation from English king George IV (1762–1830). The dedications to Prince Lobkowitz, by contrast, yielded comparatively large sums of money: 200 fl. for the six String Quartets Op. 18 and 1,040 fl. for the Third Symphony.⁷³ The dedication of the three Violin Sonatas Op. 30 in 1803 to the Russian Tsar Alexander I (1777–1825) was initially unsuccessful. Only after dedicating the Polonaise Op. 89 to the Tsarina in 1815 did Beethoven finally receive 100 ducats from her for the sonatas.⁷⁴

Channels of communication in advance of dedications, especially with ruling houses, were labyrinthine and their contents confidential, as they were for the Ninth Symphony, for which many dedication ideas were floated: “It would be more advantageous if Beethoven were to dedicate the symphony to a foreign ruler. [... T]he emperor of Russia will no doubt also send a gift.”⁷⁵ After carefully considering possible dedicatees, such as the King of Saxony, the Prussian King Frederick William III was finally secured via the Prussian envoy in Vienna.⁷⁶ The Prussian monarch expressed his gratitude by sending a diamond ring on December 12, 1826, which Beethoven sold straight away in the second

71 Clive, 318–19.

72 Cited in Beer, *Musik* (as in fn. 26), 372. On May 14, 1805, a brief note on the subject of “Ein Worth über den Dedications-Unfug” appeared in the Berlin journal *Der Freimüthige* 96 (1805).

73 Tomislav Volek and Jaroslav Macek, “Beethoven und Fürst Lobkowitz,” in *Beethoven und Böhmen. Beiträge zu Biographie und Wirkungsgeschichte Beethovens*, eds. Sieghard Brandenburg and Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff (Bonn, 1988), 203–17, at 205, 213.

74 LvBWV 1, 177–78.

75 LvBWV 1, 818.

76 LvBWV 1, 818: At the beginning of March 1826, Beethoven turned to the Prussian envoy in Vienna, Franz Ludwig Prince Hatzfeld zu Trachenberg: “Ich bin im Begriff, meine größte *Symph.* die ich bisher geschrieben, herauszugeben. Ich würde es mir zu höchster Ehre u. Gnade rechnen, wenn ich Selbe S.M. dem K. v. Preußen widmen dürfte. Ich nehme mir daher die Freyheit, E.D. zu bitten, daß dieselbe die Gnade haben möchten, dieß S.M. zu eröffnen; u. d. Sache auf eine günstige Arte vorzutragen. E.D. werden keine Unehre damit einlegen. Auch wünsche ich, daß S.M. wissen möchten, daß ich ebenfalls zu Ihren Unterthanen vom Rhein gehöre, u. als solcher um somehr wünschte, ihnen meine Ehrfurcht zu bezeugen.” BGA 2129 (“I am about to publish the greatest symphony which I have so far composed. I would count it

half of December.⁷⁷ For dedicating the Piano Variations WoO 71 to the Countess Anna Margarete von Browne-Camus, according to Ferdinand Ries, Beethoven received a riding horse as a gift from her Riga-born husband, the Russian military officer and landowner Johann Georg von Browne-Camus.⁷⁸ The Russian Prince Galitzin accepted the dedication to the overture to Carl Meisl's *The Consecration of the House* (*Die Weihe des Hauses*) Op. 124, but the 25 ducats he promised in gratitude did not arrive in Vienna during Beethoven's lifetime.⁷⁹ Thus, Beethoven dedicated the Piano Sonata Op. 7 in 1797 and the Piano Concerto Op. 15 in 1801 to the high noble Hungarian Countess Anna Luise Barbara von Keglevicz,⁸⁰ his pupil since at least 1797, who in 1801 married Prince Innocenzo d'Erba-Odescalchi (1778–1831), the later Vice President of the Society of Friends of Music (1818–1821).⁸¹ The various "strategic" dedications to Josephine von Braun (among others, the two Piano Sonatas Op. 14 in 1799 and the Sonata for Piano and Horn Op. 17 in 1801), the wife of theater director Peter von Braun, apparently failed in their purpose. Performance opportunities and the provision of concert halls were essential to composers;⁸² but in the end, von

the highest honour and favour if I might be allowed to dedicate it to H.M. the King of Prussia. Hence I am taking the liberty of requesting Y.E. to be so gracious as to inform H.M. and to put my affair before him in a favourable manner. By so doing Y.E. will not bring any dishonour on yourself. Moreover I should like H.M. to know that I too am one of his Rhenish subjects and as such desire all the more to do him homage." LoB 1508).

77 LvBWW 1, 819: On December 7, Beethoven wrote to Franz Gerhard Wegeler: "Vor Kurzem hat ein gewisser Dr. Spicker meine letzte große *Symphonie* mit Chören nach Berlin mitgenommen; sie ist dem Könige gewidmet, u. ich mußte die *Dedication* eigenhändig schreiben. Ich hatte schon früher bey der Gesandtschaft um Erlaubniß, das Werk dem Könige zueignen zu dürfen, angesucht, welche mir auch von ihm gegeben wurde. Auf Dr. Spickers Veranlassung musste ich selbst das *corrigirte* Manuskript mit meinen eigenhändigen Verbesserungen demselben für den König übergeben, da es in die k. Bibliothek kommen soll. Man hat mir da etwas von dem *rothen Adler-Orden* 2^{ter} Klasse hören lassen; wie es ausgehn wird, weiß ich nicht." BGA 2236 ("A short time ago a certain Dr. Spiker took with him to Berlin my latest grand symphony with choruses; it is dedicated to the King, and I had to write the dedication with my own hand. I had previously applied to the Legation for permission to dedicate this work to the King, which His Majesty then granted. At Dr. Spiker's instigation I myself had to give him the corrected manuscript with the alterations in my own handwriting to be delivered to the King, because the work is to be kept in the Royal Library. On that occasion something was said to me about the Order of the Red Eagle, Second Class. Whether anything will come of this, I don't know, for I have never striven after honours of that kind. Yet at the present time for many other reasons such an award would be rather welcome." LoB 1542).

78 LvBWW 1, 52.

79 LvBWW 1, 806.

80 Clive, 250; on the dedication of Op. 78 to Therese von Brunsvik, see LvBWW 1, 490; on the dedication of WoO 74 to Josephine von Brunsvik, see LvBWW 2, 184–85.

81 LvBWW 1, 36, 79.

82 For dedications in gratitude for performance opportunities (for example, Razumovsky), see LvBWW 1, 328.

Braun did not let Beethoven use the Theater an der Wien for an academy event as the composer had hoped.⁸³

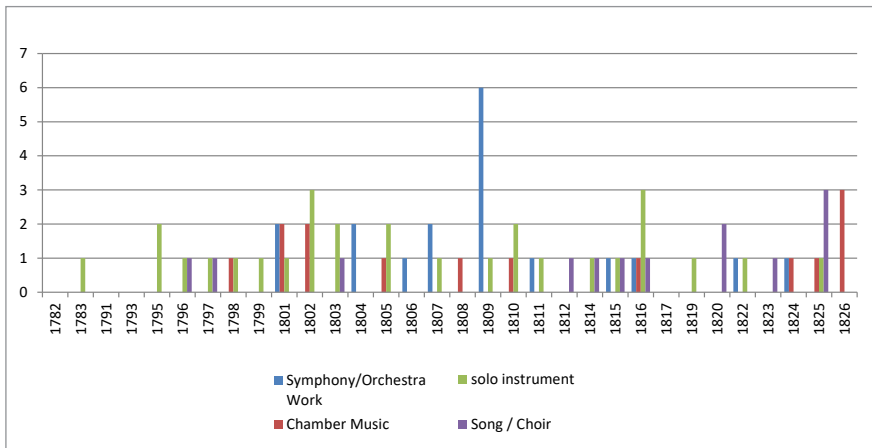


Fig. 2: Male dedicatees by musical genre (1782–1826), survey undertaken using LvBWV 2, 864–72. © Martin Scheutz. Works for piano, violin or cello are understood as solo instrumental works, but not duets, say, for piano and cello. Dedications on manuscripts or special dedicatory copies of a print run have not been included.

83 LvBWV 1, 73: Kaspar Karl van Beethoven on April 22, 1802, to Gottfried Christoph Härtel in Leipzig: His brother was “jetzt zu nichts aufgelegt, weil ihm der Theater-Direktor *Baron v. Braun* der bekanntlich ein dummer und roher Mensch ist, das Theater zu seiner Akademie abgeschlagen, und es andern äuserst mittelmäsigen Künstlern überlasen hat, und ich glaube daß es Ihn mit recht verdriesen muß, sich so unwürdig behandelt zu sehn, besonders da der Baron keine Ursache [hat] und der Bruder seiner frau mehrere Werke gewidmet hat,” BGA 85. (Beethoven was “now in no mood for anything, because the theater director *Baron v. Braun*, who, as is well known, is a stupid and coarse man, has turned down [my brother’s] request to use the theater for his academy and given its use instead to other extremely mediocre artists, and I believe that he is right to feel he’s being treated disgracefully, especially since the Baron has no reason and my brother has dedicated several works to his wife.”) See also Birgit Lodes’ contribution in this volume.

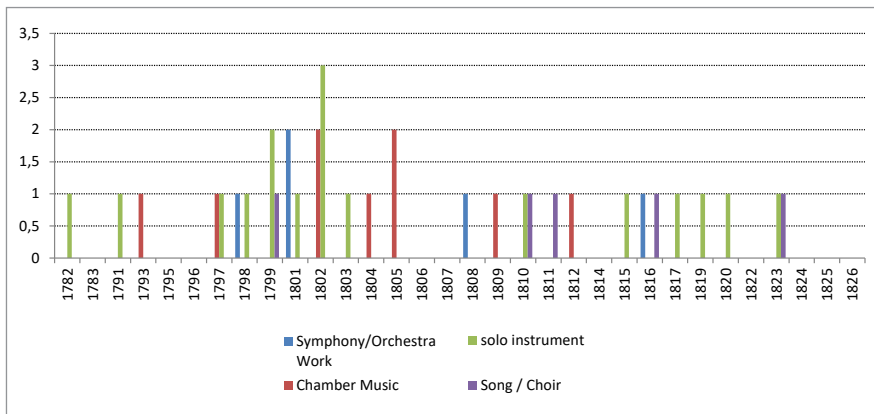


Fig. 3: Female dedicatees according to musical genres (1782–1826), survey according to LvBWV 2, 864–72. © Martin Scheutz

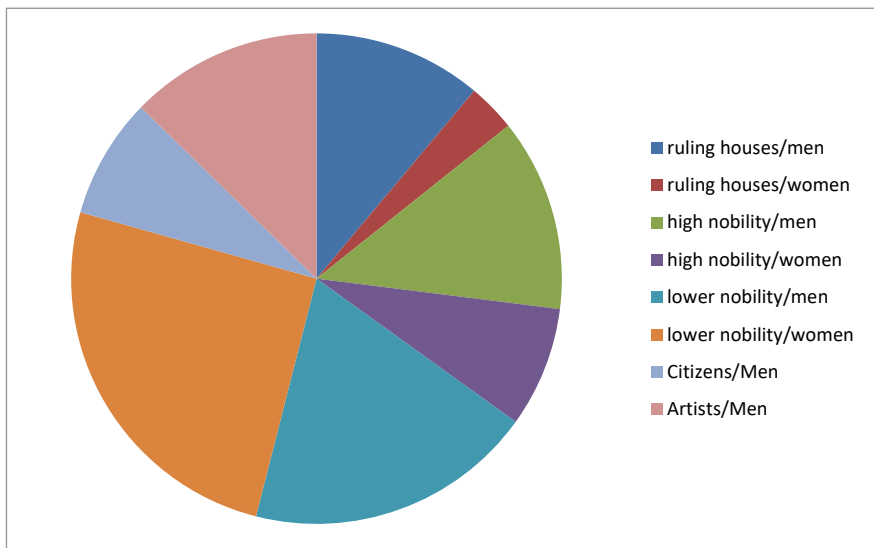


Fig. 4: Dedicatees by social status (63 data: 40 men, 23 women), survey undertaken using LvBWV 2, 864–72. © Martin Scheutz

Beethoven demonstrated his awareness of the underlying mechanisms at work in dedications when dedicating his Piano Sonata Op. 109 to Maximiliane Brentano (1802–1861) in 1821: “nun Es [= die Widmung] ist keine, wie d.g. in Menge gemißbraucht werden – Es ist der Geist, der edle u. bessere Menschen

auf diesem Erdenrund zusammenhält, u. keine Zeit den zerstören kann.”⁸⁴ Or, while working on the Ninth Symphony, which he had first wanted to dedicate to his pupil Ferdinand Ries: “da Sie [Ferdinand Ries], wie es scheint eine *Dedication* von mir wünschen, wie gern willfahre ich Ihnen, lieber als dem größten großen Herrn[,] *entre nous* der Teufel weiß, wo man nicht in ihre Hände gerathen kann.”⁸⁵ Due to his increasing financial difficulties, Beethoven would sometimes even rededicate pieces of music before going to press: thus, Op. 51 was not dedicated to Julie von Guicciardi, but rather to Maria Henriette von Lichnowsky (1769–after 1829) in 1802.⁸⁶ Beethoven regretfully informed Franz Joachim Reichsgraf Oppersdorff (1778–1818)⁸⁷ by letter that “Noth zwang mich [...] an Jemanden andern zu veraußern [sic].”⁸⁸

In his dedications to men, Beethoven was clearly “calculating” how he could best exploit the dedicatees for his own purposes. And he repeatedly used his aristocratic network to push negotiations in the direction he desired. Anna Maria Countess of Erdödy (Op. 70; 1778–1837)⁸⁹ and Ignaz Freiherr von Gleichenstein (Op. 69) were involved in negotiations for the annuity contract and pension of 4,000 gulden in 1808/09 with Prince Franz Joseph Maximilian Lobkowitz, Prince Ferdinand Johann Nepomuk Kinsky (1781–1812)⁹⁰ and Archduke Rudolph; in return, they received dedications as symbolic payment for their activities.⁹¹ When the pension contract was secured after a lengthy legal battle arising from a combination of the state bankruptcy of 1811, Kinsky’s tragic death in a riding accident in 1812, and the financial difficulties of each

84 Letter from December 6, 1821, LvBWV 1, 699; BGA 1449 (“Well, this is not one of those dedications which are used and abused by thousands of people – It is the spirit which unites the noble and finer people of this earth and which *time can never destroy*.” LoB 1062).

85 Letter from the beginning of May 1823, LvBWV 1, 818; BGA 1641 (“Since you, it seems, would like to have a dedication from me, how gladly will I gratify your desire, much more gladly, *entre nous*, than the desires of the greatest bigwigs. The devil knows how one is to avoid being manhandled by them.” LoB 1175).

86 LvBWV 1, 279. On Maria Henriette von Lichnowsky, see Clive, 202. The First Symphony Op. 21 (published 1801) was also rededicated; it was first addressed to his then employer, Elector Maximilian Franz, but then – Maximilian Franz had since died – to Gottfried van Swieten, LvBWV 1, 127. The String Quartet Op. 131 has a long history of rededication: it was first dedicated to Johann Nepomuk Wolfmayer, then to Joseph von Stutterheim, then once again to Wolfmayer, LvBWV 1, 889. The dedication history of the “Eroica” could also be cited here.

87 Clive, 252–53. Beethoven received 500 fl. each for the Fourth and Fifth Symphony from Count Oppersdorff: Knud Breyer, Art. “Finanzen,” in Loesch/Raab, *Beethoven-Lexikon* (as in fn. 9), 246–50, at 248.

88 Letter from November 1, 1808, LvBWV 1, 335; BGA 340 (“But necessity drove me to hand over to someone else [...]” LoB 178).

89 Clive, 101–2.

90 Clive, 183–84.

91 Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff, “‘O Unseeliges Dekret.’ Beethovens Rente von Fürst Lobkowitz, Fürst Kinsky und Erzherzog Rudolph,” in Brandenburg/Gutiérrez-Denhoff, *Beethoven und Böhmen* (as in fn. 73), 91–145.

of the two princes' houses in 1815, Beethoven dedicated the Six Songs Op. 75 to Princess Karolina Kinsky (1782–1841), perhaps as a kind of eulogy.⁹² Apparently, Beethoven often made dedications in return for services he had received.⁹³ Thus, the dedication of the String Quartet Op. 131 to Joseph Freiherr von Stutterheim (1764–1831)⁹⁴ in 1826, a military officer and regiment leader from Lemberg, seems to have been a token of gratitude for taking on Beethoven's nephew Karl van Beethoven (1806–1858)⁹⁵ as a cadet in the regiment, following his failed suicide attempt.⁹⁶ In addition, there were also occasional pieces expressing “gratitude,” such as New Year greetings and entries in *Stammbücher* (autograph albums).⁹⁷

Beethoven addressed only around 30% of his male but 75% of his female dedicatees as social equals with the informal “du.”⁹⁸ While the dedications mentioned so far illustrate that Beethoven respected the aristocratic patron/client system, his dedications to the lower nobility, to whom Beethoven considered himself to be of equal rank, and the bourgeois testify that he communicated more symmetrically with these two groups.⁹⁹ Myriad intentions can be ascertained from Beethoven's many dedications to his young female piano students. As well as expressing his personal esteem to the dedicatee, he was also considering the effect it would have on his network.¹⁰⁰ Beethoven believed that dedications were appreciated by women – which made them especially valuable because many of his female dedicatees were recognized in Vienna as out-

92 LvBWV 1, 473; for more detail, see Birgit Lodes, “Gaben und Gegengaben. Ehepaare des Wiener Hochadels als Beethovens Mäzene,” in *Beethoven. Menschenwelt und Götterfunken*, ed. Thomas Leibnitz (Salzburg etc., 2019), 54–67, at 63–64.

93 Dedication in gratitude for patronage: Beethoven used the communication and transport facilities of the banking house of Count Moritz Johann Christian Fries, who was a member of the founding committee of the Society of Friends of Music (Vice-President 1815–17). The piano competition with Daniel Steibelt also took place in Fries's house in the spring of 1800: LvBWV 1, 137. The dedication of the Piano Concerto No. 2, Op. 19 to Carl Nickl Edler von Nickelsberg (1738–1805), Privy Councillor of the Imperial and Royal Finance and Commerce Court, was probably related to Beethoven's brother Kaspar Karl's possible employment in the *Universal-Staatschuldenkassa*, LvBWV 1, 112.

94 Clive, 361.

95 Clive, 17–20.

96 LvBWV 1, 864.

97 *Stammbuch* piece for the Baroness Maria von Eskeles (1760–1826) WoO 151, LvBWV 2, 358; WoO 176: new year's canon for Countess Anna Maria Erdödy, LvBWV 2, 494. On *Stammbuch* practice see Henrike Rost's and Birgit Lodes' contributions to the present volume.

98 Hertrich, “Beethovens Widmungsverhalten” (as in fn. 35), 22.

99 Birgit Lodes has rightly pointed out that the importance of aristocratic women (e.g. Lichnowsky, Kinsky etc.) for Beethoven has been almost completely ignored, especially in his biography, even though Beethoven dedicated many works to them, see Lodes, “Gaben und Gegengaben” (as in fn. 92).

100 On the dedication of piano works to women, see the contribution by Birgit Lodes in the present volume.

standing pianists.¹⁰¹ In 1817, Beethoven dedicated the Piano Sonata Op. 101 to Dorothea von Ertmann,¹⁰² his piano student since around 1804, who promoted his music through her exceptional playing. The dedication ran as follows: “Der Zufall [im Sinne von ‘die Gelegenheit’] macht, daß ich auf folgende Dedication gerathen.”¹⁰³ But there were also other reasons for dedications: They could function as wedding gifts,¹⁰⁴ memorial gifts marking the anniversary of a late wife’s death,¹⁰⁵ or as a symbol of gratitude for medical services or financing a publication (to Franz Brentano, for example, for the *Missa solemnis*).¹⁰⁶

Dedications made patronage and clientele networks visible. Beethoven could not only market himself through publishing revenues,¹⁰⁷ the granting of exclusive performance rights or performance fees, but also by drawing on the resources and connections of his aristocratic patrons, as is evident in his choices of residence. Many of the 29 confirmed apartments of Beethoven’s 35 Viennese years¹⁰⁸ – from 1800 on, Beethoven mostly spent the summer months in the countryside – were connected in some way to his noble patrons and patrons, especially in the years up to 1809. Beethoven frequently lived in houses belonging to his noble patrons or near important aristocratic salons such as the Uhlfeld Palace near the Friars Minor Conventual Church (Minoritenkirche),¹⁰⁹ an important music salon in Vienna. From 1794 to 1795, Beethoven lived in a city apartment owned by Prince Lichnowsky;¹¹⁰ from May to June 1804, Beethoven stayed with Stephan von Breuning in one of Prince Esterházy’s houses, a stay that ended in a quarrel with his long-time friend.¹¹¹ The end of

101 LvBWV 1, 770: In connection with the English edition of Op. 120, in a letter to Ferdinand Ries dated July 16, 1823: “Die Dedication an Ihre Frau konnte ich nicht selbst machen, da ich ihren Namen nicht weiß. Machen Sie also selbe im Namen Ihres und Ihrer Frau Freundes; überraschen Sie die Ihrige damit; das schöne Geschlecht liebt dies.” BGA 1703 (“I could not draft the dedication to your wife myself because I do not know her name. So write it out on behalf of your and your wife’s friend. Give your wife a surprise with this, for the fair sex likes to have surprises –” LoB 1209).

102 Clive, 102–4.

103 LvBWV 1, 639. (“Chance [in the sense of ‘opportunity’] allows me to make the following dedication.”)

104 About Op. 61, LvBWV 1, 346–47.

105 Dedication of Op. 118 in 1814 on the third anniversary of Eleonore Pasqualati’s death (1787–1811), LvBWV 1, 639.

106 See also the dedication of the *Diabelli Variations* Op. 120 to Antonie Brentano, LvBWV 1, 770.

107 Matthias Tischer, Art. “Verlage / Verlagswesen”, in Loesch/Raab, *Beethoven-Lexikon* (as in fn. 9), 811–13.

108 Kurt Smolle, *Wohnstätten Ludwig van Beethovens von 1792 bis zu seinem Tod* (Bonn, 1972); Knud Breyer, Art. “Wohnungen,” in Loesch/Raab, *Beethoven-Lexikon* (as in fn. 9), 853–57.

109 Dedication of Op. 11 in 1798 to the patron of Mozart, Haydn, and Gluck, Countess Maria Wilhelmine von Thun-Hohenstein (daughter of the Imperial Count Anton Corfiz von Uhlfeld, who ran the abovementioned salon, LvBWV 1, 57.

110 Smolle, *Wohnstätten Ludwig van Beethovens* (as in fn. 108), 14.

111 Garnisongasse 11, Smolle, *Wohnstätten Ludwig van Beethovens* (as in fn. 108), 26–27.

princely patronage also meant the end of tenancies. The composer and music writer Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814) reported in 1808: “Endlich fand ich ihn, in einer großen, wüsten, einsamen Wohnung [...]. Er wohnt und lebt viel bei einer ungarischen Gräfin Erdödy, die den vorderen Theil des großen Hauses bewohnt, hat sich aber von dem Fürsten Lichnowsky, der den oberen Theil des Hauses bewohnt und bei dem er sich einige Jahre aufhielt, gänzlich getrennt [...]”¹¹² Beethoven also behaved controversially in this Krugerstraße apartment (where he stayed in the winter of 1807–08 and from fall 1808 to early 1809) when a dispute arose with the owner of the house, the Countess Erdödy, over a servant.¹¹³ From October 1804 to summer 1808 and from the beginning of 1810 to March 1814, he stayed at Baron Pasqualati’s house.

Beethoven was clearly dependent on his aristocratic network for his regular income until the late 1810s. When his employment as court musician to Elector Maximilian Franz (1756–1801) ended in 1794 and his salary stopped, Beethoven was forced to stabilize his finances in Vienna, not least through an intelligent dedication policy. From 1800 on, he received an annual salary of 600 florins from Prince Lichnowsky. Lichnowsky effectively continued the support Waldstein had previously provided in Bonn until a quarrel at Hradec/Grätz Castle in 1806 – or perhaps also changes in the Bohemian high nobleman’s financial circumstances¹¹⁴ – put an end to these payments.¹¹⁵

Beethoven’s increasing deafness forced him to abandon his performing career in 1808 and, in order to prevent him from accepting the job of Kapellmeister at the Cassel court and keep him in Vienna, Archduke Rudolph, Princes Kinsky and Lobkowitz drew up a contract in March 1809 offering him a lifelong pension of 4,000 florins a year. The state bankruptcy of 1811,¹¹⁶ devaluation of the Viennese currency (which lost 40% against the Dutch guilder)¹¹⁷ and rising

112 Krugerstraße 10, Smolle, *Wohnstätten Ludwig van Beethovens* (as in fn. 108), 39. (“At last I found him in a large, desolate, lonely apartment [...]. He lived and spent a great deal of time with a certain Hungarian Countess Erdödy, who lived in the front part of the large house, but kept completely apart from Prince Lichnowsky, who lived in the upper part of the house and with whom he had stayed for several years [...].”) This passage by Reichardt also shows that Lichnowsky’s relationship to Beethoven had broken down after the legendary Grätzer affair of 1806: see Julia Ronge’s chapter.

113 Claus Raab, Art. “Erdödy,” in Loesch/Raab, *Beethoven-Lexikon* (as in fn. 9), 220–21.

114 Jürgen May, “Beethoven and Prince Karl Lichnowsky,” in *Beethoven Forum* 3 (1994), 29–38, at 34–35, 37.

115 No authentic document exists. See Julia Ronge’s contribution in the present volume.

116 Peter Rauscher, “Staatsbankrott und Machtpolitik. Die österreichischen Finanzen und die Kosten des Wiener Kongresses,” in *Der Wiener Kongress. Die Erfindung Europas*, eds. Thomas Just, Wolfgang Maderthaner, and Helene Maimann (Vienna, 2014), 254–67.

117 Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff, “‘O Unseeliges Dekret!’ Beethovens Rente von Fürst Lobkowitz, Fürst Kinsky und Erzherzog Rudolph,” in “*Alle Noten bringen mich nicht aus den Nöthen!*” *Beethoven und das Geld*, eds. Nicole Kämpken and Michael Ladenburger, Veröffentlichungen des Beethoven-Hauses 16 (Bonn, 2005), 28–44.

inflation reduced the value of the pension. Lobkowitz's temporary insolvency from 1813 and the Kinsky's unexpected death in 1812 drove Beethoven to file lawsuits against his contractual partners, which with lawyer Johann Nepomuk Kanka's help were successful. The court hearings on Beethoven's pension reached their climax during the Congress of Vienna.¹¹⁸ After 1815, Lobkowitz was again solvent and Beethoven was able to reach an agreement with the Kinsky heirs. Lobkowitz only appeared rarely in Vienna after the financial collapse – Beethoven's patron of many years could no longer be seen in the first Viennese society.

Spas as laboratories for a new middle-class and aristocratic contact space – opening and closing social meeting places

For a long time, spa towns as a separate type of locality between city and village were regarded as a rather insignificant field of research, which mainly attracted the interest of regional historians, who focused on famous female and male spa visitors to the site. Only in the last 20 years or so has research depicted European spa towns or “fountains of health” with predicates such as “urbanity in the countryside,”¹¹⁹ “laboratory of civil society,”¹²⁰ “mondaine.”¹²¹ Recent research emphasizes the tension between urban planning and infrastructural modernity, on one hand, and the garden town idyll, the promenades and recreation, on the other. In the spa resorts – sitting somewhere between health and holiday resorts, and synonymous with luxury and excessive consumption – the nobility and the middle-classes mingled in an opulent atmosphere of leisure, sociability, bucolic idyll and, due to the visitors from far-flung places, exoticism.¹²² Situated between the bourgeois, aristocratic and court cultures, spa towns can be described as what Foucault referred to as *heterotopias*. Heterotopias are delimited, illusionary, compensatory spaces distinguished by socio-cultural and economic difference to the worlds their mem-

118 Maria Rößner-Richarz, “Beethoven und der Wiener Kongress aus der Perspektive von Beethovens Briefen und Dokumenten,” in *Beethoven und der Wiener Kongress (1814/15). Bericht über die vierte New Beethoven Research Conference Bonn, 10. bis 12. September 2014*, eds. Bernhard R. Appel, Joanna Cobb Biermann, William Kinderman, and Julia Ronge, *Schriften zur Beethoven-Forschung* 26 (Bonn, 2016), 79–118, at 86–89.

119 Reinhold P. Kuhnert, *Urbanität auf dem Lande. Badereise nach Pyrmont im 18. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 77 (Göttingen, 1984).

120 Lotz-Heumann, “Kurorte im Reich“ (as in fn. 22), 15–35.

121 Burkhard Fuhs, *Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft. Kultur und Geschichte der Kurstädte 1700–1900* (Hildesheim, 1992).

122 Andrea Pühringer, “Der Taunus – Konjunkturen einer traditionsreichen Bäderlandschaft,” in *Die Taunusbäder. Orte der Heilung und der Geselligkeit*, eds. Christina Vanja and Heide Wunder (Kassel, 2019) 149–76.

bers usually inhabit – in Beethoven’s case, the capital and royal residence of Vienna.¹²³ Spa towns in the saddle period also underwent a substantial change. In the 18th century, they were only used seasonally between April and September and French gardens were cultivated to express their identifying characteristic of urbanity in the countryside. Around 1800, the image of the spa town had come increasingly to resemble the landscape or an English landscape garden. The sovereign princes appeared in a spirit of “bonum commune” and, against a mercantilist background, as determined patrons of spa towns, most of which were denominationally neutral and functioned as temporary summer residences, as Karlsbad and especially Baden bei Wien illustrate.

During the summer months, spa towns became places of information exchange where national and international professional news was shared and political decisions were discussed. Intensively patronized by sovereign princes, they also served as prime marriage markets for the “fountain guests”: potential alliances could be negotiated and marriage options that fitted the new saddle-period concept of love explored through low-level flirting.¹²⁴ It is not entirely coincidental, therefore, that Beethoven wrote his letter to the legendary “Immortal Beloved” (dated July 6–7, 1812) while visiting a spa resort.¹²⁵ Spa towns were also places of encounter for Beethoven. In 1812, for example, the couple Franz and Antonie Brentano came to Teplitz while Beethoven was there to take the waters or, hardly distinguishable, for a summer holiday. However, according to the spa list, the famous interpreter of Beethoven’s piano works Dorothea von Ertmann had also been in Karlsbad since June 25, 1812.¹²⁶

Beethoven was certainly interested in the curative potential of the resorts due to his deteriorating health, but at the same time, in keeping with the developing fashion of the “aristocratic” summer retreat, he very rarely spent his summers in the capital and seat of royal power. Instead, he chose to stay in Heiligenstadt, Hetzendorf, Jedlesee, Nußdorf, Penzing, Unterdöbling, and Oberdöbling; but Mödling (1799, 1818–20)¹²⁷ was also a popular summer destination. Beethoven’s small, but select library illustrates his interest. He owned

123 Foucault used the term heterotopia only for a short period: Michel Foucault, *Die Heterotopien. Der utopische Körper. Zwei Radiovorträge*, trans. Michael Bischoff (Frankfurt am Main, 2005), 7–22.

124 Ute Lotz-Heumann, “Der Kurort als Heterotopie des 18. Jahrhunderts und der Sattelzeit. Die Entstehung einer bürgerlichen Kultur und Gesellschaft,” habilitation thesis, Humboldt University of Berlin, 2010, 259.

125 Claus Raab, Art. “Unsterbliche Geliebte,” in Loesch/Raab, *Beethoven-Lexikon* (as in fn. 9), 798–801; Caeyers, *Beethoven* (as in fn. 8), 203–12, 330–49, 463–71, 559–68.

126 Max Unger, “Beethovens Teplitzer Badereise von 1811 und 1812,” in *Neue Musikzeitung* 30 (1931), 86–93, at 90.

127 Beethoven also wanted to buy a house in Mödling: Walter Szmolayn, “Beethoven-Funde in Mödling,” in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 26 (1971), 9–16, at 12–13.

a copy, for example, of that early classic of balneographic literature, Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland's (1762–1836) 1815 survey of the “most excellent healing springs in Germany.”¹²⁸ The Prussian court physician and prolific writer Hufeland – the physician of Wieland, Goethe, Herder and Schiller¹²⁹ – emphasized the special healing power of the three Teplitz thermal springs not only on gout, but also on deafness (understood in contemporary terms as paralysis of the hearing).¹³⁰ Beethoven also possessed Carl Schenk's book on spas in Lower Austria.¹³¹ But while Beethoven visited spa towns for their therapeutic effects on his digestive troubles, gout and hearing loss, he also valued the opportunity to make contact with patrons, writers, and musicians, without forgetting, in the case of Baden, the imperial house, through the person of the emperor himself. Spa lists have been printed for Baden since 1805, making it possible to determine who else was there during Beethoven's stay. Composing was not Beethoven's sole occupation at the health resorts, he also held in-depth discussions that transgressed the boundaries of social status and geographical origin; he established contacts and set various projects in motion. Although Beethoven, as is well known from contemporary witnesses, lived rather frugally and spent comparatively little on clothing or furnishings for a member of the upper middle class, his summer sojourns at the spas were nevertheless quite expensive. It remains unclear how much actually Beethoven took advantage of the cure and instead simply enjoyed the relaxing summer retreat. Hybrid forms – mixing therapy and relaxation, consuming on the nobility's invitation and at his own expense – were common at the spas. It is quite unlikely, as has been claimed, that, in 1797 and again in 1802 on the advice of his physician Johann Adam Schmidt, Beethoven took the cure for his ear complaint in the

128 Hans Jäger-Sunstenau, “Beethoven – Akten im Wiener Landesarchiv,” in *Beethoven-Studien. Festgabe der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zum 200. Geburtstag von Ludwig van Beethoven*, ed. Erich Schenk, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 270 (Vienna, 1970), 11–36, at 22; Knud Breyer, “Bibliothek Beethovens,” in Loesch/Raab, *Beethoven-Lexikon* (as in fn. 9), 112–14; Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland, *Praktische Uebersicht der vorzüglichsten Heilquellen Teutschlands* (Berlin, 1815).

129 Christina Kröll and Hartmut Schmidt, “Bäderkunde und Badepraxis in der Goethe-Zeit,” in “Was ich dort gelebt, genossen ...” *Goethes Badeaufenthalte 1785–1823. Geselligkeit – Werkentwicklung – Zeitereignisse*, ed. Jörn Göres (Königstein, 1982), 13–42, at 14–15. Kröll and Schmidt's text gives a valuable insight into taking and drinking the waters at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century; it also contains a collection of excerpts from the balneological literature of the time.

130 Sigrid Bresch, “Beethovens Reisen zu den böhmischen Bädern in den Jahren 1811 und 1812,” in Brandenburg/Gutiérrez-Denhoff, *Beethoven und Böhmen* (as in fn. 73), 311–48, at 317.

131 Carl Schenk, *Taschenbuch für Badegäste Badens und Niederösterreichs* (Vienna etc., 1805).

Erdődy-controlled Hungarian spa town Pistany (today Piešťany in Slovakia).¹³² Although the archives are not completely clear, he continued to return to Baden from 1803 (sometimes only before or after cures there),¹³³ and in 1811/12 made a longer trip to Teplitz, Karlsbad and Franzensbrunn.¹³⁴

Summer health resorts were places where artists could enhance their visibility and garner public acclamation for performing at charitable events. The tension between aristocratic demands for representation and bourgeois demands for equality opened up spaces for artists in both social spheres. Moreover, potentially lucrative lines of communication could be established through concerts, private performances or personal encounters. For example, although Beethoven was undoubtedly deeply affected by the catastrophic fire that almost completely destroyed Baden on St. Anne's Feast Day, July 26, 1812, while he was holidaying in the far-flung Bohemian spa triangle of Teplitz-Karlsbad-Franzensbrunn, and his desire to raise money for the victims is illustrated by his disappointment that the benefit concert that he held together with the Turin violinist Johann B. Pelledro in Karlsbad on August 12, 1812 did not make more money, the event would also have provided an opportunity to promote his talents and maintain or even expand his network.¹³⁵ On the whole, spas were less places of rest for artists, but rather places of work, where they were expected to demonstrate their virtuosity within the framework of charity events. In Teplitz, for example, the Clary-Aldringic Palace boasted a separate chateau theater from 1778, where operas and concerts were performed.¹³⁶

132 Smolle, *Wohnstätten Ludwig van Beethovens* (as in fn. 108), 17, 21; on the uncertain archival basis of this, see Marianne von Czéke, "Séjours de Beethoven en Hongrie," in *Neues Beethoven Jahrbuch* 6 (1935), 52–58, at 53.

133 Theodor von Frimmel, "Beethoven im Kurort Baden bei Wien," in *Neues Beethoven Jahrbuch* 4 (1930), 39–106; Alfred Willander, "Beethovens Aufenthalte in Baden," in *Beethoven in Baden*, ed. Beethovenhaus Baden (Baden, 2018), 10–24; Knud Breyer, Art. "Sommeraufenthalte," in Loesch/Raab, *Beethoven-Lexikon* (as in fn. 9), 698–700. Frimmel writes that Beethoven was not in Baden in 1802, unlike Breyer. Beethoven's summer stays: Baden – 1803, 1804, 1807–1810, 1812–1817, 1821–1825; Hetzendorf – 1805; Graetz/Ober-Glogau – 1806; Mödling – 1818–1820; Teplitz – 1811; Teplitz, Karlsbad, Franzensbrunn – 1812. Regarding the stay at Gneixendorf in 1826, see Theodor von Frimmel, "Beethovens letzter Landaufenthalt," in Theodor von Frimmel, *Bausteine zu einer Lebensgeschichte des Meisters*, Beethoven-Studien 2 (Munich etc., 1906), 143–67.

134 Unger, "Beethovens Teplitzer Badereise" (as in fn. 126), 86–93.

135 Jaroslav Čeleda, Oldřich Pulkert, and Jan Šaroch, "Beethoven in Böhmischen Bädern," in *Ludwig van Beethoven im Herzen Europas*, eds. Oldřich Pulkert and Hans-Werner Kühn (Prague, 2000), 327–70, at 364–65. See also 1822 WoO 181a: „Gedenket heute an Baden!“, a commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Great Fire of Baden, LvBWV 2, 501.

136 For the example of Nestroy's stays in Ischl (1855–1861), see for example Walter Obermaier, *Nestroy-Stadt Bad Ischl* (Vienna, 2010), 36–57. Unfortunately, the book does not contain footnotes, but Obermaier, as co-editor, draws on earlier contributions to the "Nestroyana." On the Teplitz Castle Theater, see Čeleda/Pulkert/Šaroch, "Beethoven in Böhmischen Bädern" (as in fn. 135), 335.

These musical impulses galvanized the composer – Beethoven’s time at spa resorts was often spent composing intensively.¹³⁷

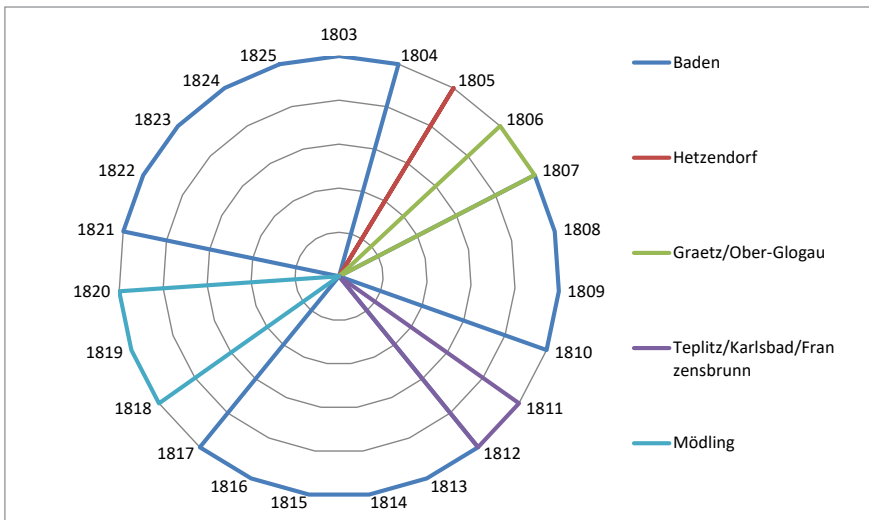


Fig. 5: Beethoven’s summer stays 1803–1825, after Theodor von Frimmel, “Beethoven im Kurort Baden bei Wien,” in *Neues Beethoven Jahrbuch* 4 (1930), 39–106; Kurt Smolle, *Wohnstätten Ludwig van Beethovens von 1792 bis zu seinem Tod* (Bonn, 1972). © Martin Scheutz

Baden, Mödling and the Czech resorts Teplitz-Schönau, Karlsbad and Franzensbrunn gave members of different denominations, people from various nations, estates, and professions the opportunity to meet in a low stakes environment. The so-called “Brunnenfreiheit” (“freedom of the springs”), for example, allowed Jewish bathers to meet middle-class and aristocratic guests taking the waters: records show that during Beethoven’s stay at Karlsbad, for example, the Jewish banker Eskeles and the Calvinist bankers Geymüller and Fries also visited.¹³⁸ The spa guest’s day would begin by drinking from the spring – in 1825, Beethoven ordered his nephew Karl in Baden: “morgen geh mit ihr [seiner Dienstin] wegen dem selterwaßer bejm Karolinen Thor.”¹³⁹ The daily routine continued with a stroll around the town and, from the 1780s, its “delightful” surroundings, during which lively conversations were held. The day concluded in the evenings with social activities buzzing with “secrets.”

¹³⁷ He expressed his “inclination to observe the ‘Nulla dies sine linea’” for example in a letter to Johann Andreas Stumpff sent from Baden on September 29, 1824 (LoB 1311, BGA 1885).

¹³⁸ Unger, “Beethovens Teplitzer Badereise” (as in fn. 126), 89.

¹³⁹ Jean and Brigitte Massin, *Beethoven. Materialbiographie, Daten zum Werk und Essay* (Munich, 1970), 368. (“tomorrow, go with her [his servant] for the seltzer water at Karoline Gate.”)

The new health resorts really began to take off in the 1810s and 20s, when they were heavily promoted by the regional princes and became known throughout Europe.¹⁴⁰ The spa towns, which were planned as royal residences, experienced a surge of building activity, as Baden nicely illustrates:¹⁴¹ a casino was built in 1786; paved streets and canals were installed between 1804 and 1816; and defortification saw the passing of the city gates (Theresientor in around 1804). In 1792, a park outside the Theresientor had already been opened for spa guests to stroll around and to “parade” the latest fashions and their class-based habitus.

In the context of middle-class criticism of the nobility, the traditional spa society, which until the middle of the 18th century was neatly divided into “citizens” and “nobles” or “persons of rank,” had gradually dissolved into upper-class “circles,” which cultivated a cordial “tone” inspired by Enlightenment ideas. The “limits on spa encounters” shifted as the old-fashioned hierarchical dining arrangements of the “public banquet” were abandoned and leisure activities (such as dance events), which had previously been organized along class lines, were opened up.¹⁴² In the 19th century, old salt towns as well as spa towns that had been of little significance in the 18th century, quickly transformed into new health resorts such as Ems, Wiesbaden, Baden-Baden or Karlsbad whose renown spread throughout Europe. Franzensbrunn/-bad was provided with a spa building in 1793 on the orders of Franz II (I). In the 1820s, on the initiative of court physician Franz Wirer (1771–1844) (later Ritter von Rettenbach), the spa town of Ischl was developed into a glamorous new salt health resort. As soon as Franz II (I) graced it with his bathing, it secured court favor.¹⁴³ Johann Nepomuk Hubert (1807–1887), Princess Mathilde Schwarzenberg’s family doctor, was instrumental in opening a health resort at Meran, which later became known as the “Sun Terrace of the Habsburg Monarchy.”¹⁴⁴ The spa doctors’ advertising brochures advanced some health resorts’ prestige throughout Europe.¹⁴⁵ As in the Bohemian spas, the Baden spa guests could call upon various doctors, such as the medical officer Carl Schenk (1765–1830).¹⁴⁶

140 Lotz-Heumann, “Kurorte im Reich” (as in fn. 22), 22–23.

141 Frimmel, “Beethoven im Kurort Baden” (as in fn. 133), 44, 53–55.

142 Lotz-Heumann, “Kurort als Heterotopie” (as in fn. 124), 203–55, quote at 212.

143 For example, Kristian Streicher, “Die Ischler Kurlisten des 19. Jahrhunderts als sozialgeschichtliche Quelle,” master thesis, University of Vienna, 2019, 10–12.

144 Johann Huber, *Ueber die Stadt Meran in Tirol, ihre Umgebung und ihr Klima. Nebst Bemerkungen über Milch-, Molken- und Traubenkur und nahe Mineralquellen* (Vienna, 1837; repr. Meran, 1985).

145 Lotz-Heumann, “Kurort als Heterotopie” (as in fn. 124), 123; for the example of the Pyrmont spa doctors, such as Johann Georg Ritter von Zimmermann or Heinrich Matthias Marcard, see Kuhnert, *Urbanität auf dem Lande* (as in fn. 119), 59–73.

146 D[r. Carl] Schenk, “Heilung einer Hepatalgie,” in *Triumph der Heilkunst oder durch Thatsachen erläuterte praktische Anweisung zur Hülfe in den verzweigungsvollsten Krankheitsfällen. Ein Reper-*

Johann Malfatti, Beethoven's doctor between 1809 and 1817, sent Beethoven to Teplitz and Karlsbad. Jacob Staudenheim, who looked after Beethoven between 1817 and 1824 in Vienna, certainly also gave Beethoven spa advice. The doctors who recommended cures to Beethoven were well paid¹⁴⁷ – the names of those consulted in Baden are barely known. According to the spa doctors' way of thinking, which was based on contemporary dietetics, "fountain parties" – an important aspect of the spa town's heterotopic status – were not supposed to work.¹⁴⁸ Beethoven did not, or rather was unable to, follow this prescription: "[...] statt daß andere sich bey dem *Bade* gebrauch erlustigen fordert meine Noth, daß ich alle Tage schreibe [...]"¹⁴⁹ Beethoven, with his daily routine of morning work and afternoon walks,¹⁵⁰ exemplified instead the bourgeois or noble spa guest's conquest of the landscape, which had been in evidence since the beginning of the 19th century, in his strolls through the extended English landscape garden.

In addition to the cure, spa guests' main concern was – as Beethoven put it – to meet "interessante Menschen,"¹⁵¹ in other words to exploit the expensive health resorts as a powerful network resource. Until well after the Congress of Vienna, members of ruling houses dominated the social life at the large health resorts, which they saw as aristocratic residences in the country. During Beethoven's 1811 stay in Teplitz, for example, Karl August von Sachsen-Weimar (1757–1828) and Friedrich Ludwig, Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1778–1819) both visited. During the same stay he met aristocrats such as Prince Nikolaus Esterházy, Count Razumovsky and Princess Theresia Lobkowitz.¹⁵² Archduke Rudolph wanted Beethoven near him in Baden so he could accompany him on the piano every week at a noble society

torium für Aerzte und Wundärzte, ed. Christian August Struve (Wrocław, 1803), 71–81; on the Baden doctors, see Frimmel, "Beethoven im Kurort Baden" (as in fn. 133), 50; Carl Schenk, *Die Schwefelquellen von Baden in Niederösterreich. Ein Handbuch über die Untersuchung der physisch-chemischen Bestandtheile, der Wirkungen, und des Gebrauchs der Badner Schwefelquellen nebst einer kurzen topographisch-historischen Beschreibung der Stadt Baden und ihrer Umgebungen* (Baden, 1817).

147 On Beethoven's physicians, see Knud Breyer, Art. "Ärzte," in Loesch/Raab, *Beethoven-Lexikon* (as in fn. 9), 55–57.

148 Lotz-Heumann, "Kurort als Heterotopie" (as in fn. 124), 355.

149 As he wrote to Ferdinand Ries, BGA 1740. ("[...] instead of enjoying as others do the pleasures of bathing, my finances demand that I should compose every day [...]" : LoB 1237).

150 Frimmel, "Beethoven im Kurort Baden" (as in fn. 133), 62; the English pianist and music teacher Charles Neate (1784–1877) describes Beethoven as a nature-loving person: "Nature was his sustenance, he seemed to positively thrive in it." (Frimmel as above).

151 Letter to his publisher Härtel of July 17, 1812, BGA 586; ("interesting people": LoB 375); Unger, "Beethovens Teplitzter Badereise" (as in fn. 126), 92; Čeleda/Pulkert/Šaroch, "Beethoven in Böhmisches Bädern" (as in fn. 135), 348.

152 Unger, "Beethovens Teplitzter Badereise" (as in fn. 126), 87; Čeleda/Pulkert/Šaroch, "Beethoven in Böhmisches Bädern" (as in fn. 135), 338.

(“Union”).¹⁵³ But numerous members of the lower nobility cavorted there, including the Baron Joseph von Pasqualati, who was an important figure for Beethoven. The health resorts served as meeting points for those interested in building enlightened societies. During Beethoven’s 1811 visit to Teplitz, the erudition of European university culture was manifest in a visit from idealist philosopher, temporary freemason and later incendiary speaker against Napoleon, Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1774–1819) from Berlin.¹⁵⁴ The complex interactions made possible by health resorts in their function as social heterotopia is underlined by Count Browne-Camus having him to stay, and Archduke Rudolph providing him with a spa apartment in 1813 – although he was expected to make music with each.¹⁵⁵ That spa towns were upper class meeting places was also highlighted by the clothing. While the bourgeois spa guests nominally rejected aristocratic “ostentatious clothing” (Kleiderpracht) and courtly etiquette, they still tended to imitate them.¹⁵⁶ In Baden in 1822, the publisher and composer Johann Friedrich Rochlitz (1769–1842) met the elegantly dressed Beethoven for a walk – the promenade was the most common spa practice besides drinking:

Doch hinderte ihn [Beethoven] dies nicht, (es war ein heißer Tag) bei einem Spaziergange im Helenenthal – und das heißt, auf dem Wege, den Alles, selbst der Kaiser und sein hohes Haus geht, und wo Alle auf meist schmalem Pfade hart an einander vorbei müssen – den feinen schwarzen Frack auszuziehen, ihn am Stocke auf dem Rücken zu tragen und blosarmig zu wandern.¹⁵⁷

Besides encounters with potential patrons and dedicatees, those with other artists were also important. In Teplitz in 1811, he contacted the singer Amalie Sebald (1787–1846) and the violin virtuoso Pelledro (who stayed in the same house as Beethoven). At the same location in 1812, he met the veteran bather Goethe.¹⁵⁸ The privy councilor and great writer saw in Beethoven “eine ganz ungebändigte Persönlichkeit, die zwar gar nicht unrecht hat wenn sie die Welt detestabel findet, aber sie freylich dadurch weder für sich noch für andere

153 As reported by Therese von Hauer between 1804 and 1808, BSZ, 426.

154 Unger, “Beethovens Teplitzer Badereise” (as in fn. 126), 87.

155 Frimmel, “Beethoven im Kurort Baden” (as in fn. 133), 46–48; on Archduke Rudolph renting the apartment for Beethoven, see at 59.

156 Lotz-Heumann, “Kurort als Heterotopie” (as in fn. 124), 227–28.

157 BSZ, 717. “But this did not prevent him [Beethoven] during a walk in Helenenthal – that is, along the route where everyone, even the emperor and his high house, has to pass each other on a mostly narrow path – from taking off his fine black tails to carry them over his back on a stick (it was a hot day) and walking with bare arms.”

158 Goethe visited Karlsbad 13 times alone (between 1785 and 1823); in total he made 22 visits to Bohemian baths, as well as others to Pyrmont, Berka, Wiesbaden and Tennstadt: Jörn Göres, “Einführung,” in Göres, *Goethes Badeaufenthalte* (as in fn. 129), 9–12, at 11, resp. list at 313–15.

genußreicher macht.”¹⁵⁹ The story, liberally embellished by Bettina von Arnim (1785–1859), that Beethoven, while walking in the countryside around Teplitz with Goethe, refused to make way for the Viennese court, is apocryphal,¹⁶⁰ but it nevertheless illustrates how easy it was to make contact with the European aristocracy at spa towns. When Beethoven later complained about Goethe, whom he held in high esteem, “Göthe behagt die Hofluft zu sehr[,] mehr als einem Dichter ziemt,”¹⁶¹ he only meant that the court atmosphere was uncondusive to creativity. During his first stay in Teplitz in 1811, he became acquainted with the lawyer and writer Christoph August Tiedge (1752–1841) and his companion, the writer Elisabeth von der Recke (1756–1833), as well as the biographer, soldier and later diplomat Karl August Varnhagen von Ense (1785–1858) and the woman he would eventually marry, the writer and prominent salon host Rahel Levin (1771–1833, from 1814 Varnhagen von Ense).¹⁶² Beethoven hatched a number of artistic plans with Varnhagen: he gave Beethoven some Uhland poems to set to music, and he and Rahel Levin were to translate an opera libretto for Beethoven – but none of these schemes ever bore fruit.¹⁶³

In the spa towns’ dense societies, an upper-class, international clientele of publishers, musicians, patrons and admirers were squeezed together, and were therefore of immense benefit to Beethoven’s professional advancement. Class segregation typically coexisted alongside social intermingling, and the various parties were all concerned with communicating directly with one another to procure and allocate services.¹⁶⁴ In 1825, the Parisian publisher Maurice Schlesinger (1798–1838) made an appearance in the spa town of Baden in search of printable music;¹⁶⁵ however, at the same location Beethoven also met his friend, Viennese publisher and composer Tobias Haslinger (1787–1842),

159 Peter Rummenhüller, Art. “Goethe,” in Loesch/Raab, *Beethoven-Lexikon* (as in fn. 9), 291–93, at 291. (“[Beethoven has] a thoroughly untamed personality, and while not completely wrong in thinking the world detestable, hardly makes it any more pleasant for himself or others.”)

160 Renate Moering, “Bettine von Arnims literarische Umsetzung ihres Beethoven-Erlebnisses,” in Bartsch/Borchard/Cadenbach, *Der “männliche” und der “weibliche” Beethoven* (as in fn. 35), 251–77, at 261.

161 Rummenhüller, “Goethe” (as in fn. 159), 292. (“Goethe is more comfortable in the court air than befits a poet.”)

162 On Tiedge see Clive, 368; on Recke 278–79; on Sebald 332–33; on Varnhagen von Ense and Levin 377–79. On books by Tiedge in Beethoven’s library, see Jäger-Sunstenau, “Beethoven – Akten” (as in fn. 128), 22; on the significance of Tiedge for Beethoven, see the recent Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, *Ludwig van Beethoven. Musik für eine neue Zeit* (Kassel etc., 2019), 104–115.

163 Bresch, “Beethovens Reisen zu den böhmischen Bädern” (as in fn. 130), 333.

164 The resources spa resorts made available is clear from Kuhnert, *Urbanität auf dem Lande* (as in fn. 119), 214–49; for the example of Goethe at the Bohemian spas, where the spa as network resource becomes particularly clear, see Christina Kröll, “Kultur – Geschichte – Literatur – Kunst,” in Göres, *Goethes Badeaufenthalte* (as in fn. 129), 81–94.

165 Massin/Massin, *Beethoven* (as in fn. 139), 366.

with whom he maintained a jocular correspondence and to whom he had dedicated the canon *O Tobias* in 1821.¹⁶⁶ Beethoven was also able to meet important exponents of his works in Baden in 1825, such as the Dutch rentier and amateur cellist Samson Moses de Boer (1771–1839),¹⁶⁷ a member of the Amsterdam Academy. In Baden, Beethoven met the Danish concertmaster and court composer Daniel Friedrich Kuhlau (1786–1832)¹⁶⁸ as well as Sir Georg Smart (1776–1867),¹⁶⁹ a member of the board of directors and founding member of the Philharmonic Society in London, who was important for the reception of Beethoven's music in Great Britain – Smart led the premiere of the Ninth Symphony in London on March 21, 1825. In 1824 in Baden, Thuringian harp and piano manufacturer Johann Andreas Stumpff (1769–1846), who was visiting from London, met Beethoven, who was again with the publisher Haslinger, and went for walks with him,¹⁷⁰ presumably viewing him as a guide to the local area.¹⁷¹ The spa towns of Beethoven's time were no longer perceived as royal residences, but rather as places where aristocrats and the bourgeoisie could engage in face-to-face communication, a world in which class had receded in favor of interest-led circles – a feature Beethoven exploited strategically.

The eccentric Beethoven as an artist in the interstice between social boundaries

The weighty 60-volume biographical dictionary of the Habsburg Monarchy (1891), written by Constantin von Wurzbach (1818–1893) (who by his own admission was “sick and tired of dictionaries” by the time he had finished), lists among the 24,254 entries not only 3,420 nobles, 900 physicians, and 589 musicians, but also 144 “eccentrics and otherwise by their abilities strange” people.¹⁷² The “eccentric” was a recognized and even accepted feature of Viennese cultural practice in the 19th century.¹⁷³ Beethoven's eccentricity

166 WoO 182 (canon in D minor) “O Tobias” of September 1821, LvBWV 2, 502; Clive, 151–52; Haslinger also wrote piano pieces (“Der Brand in Baden”).

167 WoO 35 (canon in A major) of August 3, 1825, gift for Samson Moses de Boer, LvBWV 2, 89–90. 168 TDR 5, 234–35; Clive, 200.

169 TDR 5, 246–48; WoO 192 (puzzle canon in F major) “Ars longa, vita brevis” of September 16, 1825 for Smart, LvBWV 2, 517.

170 According to the librettist Joseph von Seyfried (1780–1849) who visited Beethoven in Baden in September 1825, see Massin/Massin, *Beethoven* (as in fn. 139), 365.

171 Massin/Massin, *Beethoven* (as in fn. 139), 353–55; Clive, 359–61.

172 Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, vol. 60 (Vienna, 1891), IV–XVI; on the quotation, see Elisabeth Lebensaft and Hubert Reitterer, “Wurzbach-Aspekte,” in *Wiener Geschichtsblätter. Sonderheft 47/1* (1992), 1–13, at 1.

173 TDR 4, 448: Schindler speaks about the “drollest experiences with the great eccentric”; Caeyers, *Beethoven* (as in fn. 8), 647–48. On the eccentric type in literature, see Herman Meyer, *Der Sonderling in der deutschen Dichtung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990).

and unpredictability stood in a complex relationship to his longing for financial security. Throughout his life, Beethoven desired a permanent position in the court music establishment. As late as 1823, Prince Moritz Lichnowsky and Court Music Director (the so-called “Music-Count”) Moritz Dietrichstein made one final attempt to secure Beethoven a permanent position at court after the death of the court composer Anton Teyber (1756–1822) in November 1822.¹⁷⁴

Almost as a matter of course and following the path of the professional court musician, which he had striven for since childhood, Beethoven acquired wigs, powder, pomade and a dance master’s address when he arrived in Vienna, thus imitating the habitus and dress codes of the nobility.¹⁷⁵ Coming from the family of a Bonn court musician, he was familiar with aristocratic customs and was aware of the employment opportunities open to a musician in an aristocratic setting. Like numerous other pianists, Beethoven aspired to become the “Hauspianist” of a nobleman and patron of the arts – towards this end, he had to appear at Lichnowsky’s table dressed as a “domestic servant”¹⁷⁶ according to the codes of early modern *Tischgemeinschaft* (table fellowship).¹⁷⁷ In return for regular payment, Beethoven appeared as Lichnowsky’s client at his own regular house concerts as well as in other social circles (for example, in competition with Daniel Steibelt (1765–1823) at Count Fries).¹⁷⁸

Beethoven apparently presented himself as a permanent border crosser between the bourgeois and aristocratic worlds. Only the trial for the guardianship of his nephew Karl revealed that rather than a marker of his aristocratic provenance the name “van” merely designated his origin.¹⁷⁹ This meant that the Imperial Royal *Landrecht*, the court of nobility, was no longer competent but rather the Vienna magistrate, the civil legal authority. In another context,

174 Massin/Massin, *Beethoven* (as in fn. 139), 324.

175 Knud Breyer, Art. “Umgangsformen,” in Loesch/Raab, *Beethoven-Lexikon* (as in fn. 9), 796–98.

176 “‘Nun soll ich,’ sagte Beethoven, ‘täglich um halb 4 Uhr zu Hause sein, mich etwas besser anziehen, für den Bart sorgen u. s. w. – Das halt’ ich nicht aus!’” Wegeler/Ries, 33 (“‘Consequently,’ Beethoven said, ‘I would have to be home by half past three every day, change into something better, see that I was properly shaven, etc. – I can’t stand all that!’” Wegeler/Ries/Noonan, 36). See Julia Ronge’s and Martin Eybl’s chapters in this volume.

177 Andreas Gestrich, Art. “Tischgemeinschaft,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger, vol. 13 (Stuttgart etc., 2011), columns 592–95.

178 On these “sporting events,” exemplified through two piano athletes (Beethoven versus Wölfl) in an eccentric aristocratic world, see DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius* (as in fn. 8), 150–169.

179 On this wide field of Beethoven research, see Stefan Wolf, *Beethovens Neffenkonflikt. Eine psychologisch-biographische Studie* (Munich, 1995), 43 (after Salomon), 91. “The ambiguity of the ‘van,’ whose interpretation by contemporaneous Viennese society remains obscure even today, is nevertheless the most precise sign of this diffuse contact [between noblemen and citizens]” (Wolf, *Beethovens Neffenkonflikt*, 67). On December 11, 1818, Beethoven admitted that he did not possess a diploma of nobility and on December 18, 1818, the “Nephew Case” files were transferred from the Imperial Royal *Landrecht* to the civil magistrate court (Wolf, *Beethovens Neffenkonflikt*, 269).

Beethoven said, “nie habe ich derley Ehrenbezeugungen [Adel] gesucht. Doch wäre sie mir in diesem Zeitalter wegen Manches Andern nicht unlieb.”¹⁸⁰

Beethoven’s sometimes unusual behavior both as an “unlicked bear” (Cherubini)¹⁸¹ and as an enlightened citizen – emulating the “simplicity of English customs” – repeatedly violated the social norms of the Viennese aristocracy, but was nevertheless an integral part of his marketing: he presented himself as an artist who could effortlessly flit between the first and second Viennese societies and the bourgeoisie, and seek his advantage wherever he could. The Bonn musician gained respect “through disrespect.”¹⁸² Beethoven conceived his social conduct as fluctuating between indifference and deliberate provocation – but this approach also opened up social and economic opportunities for him. Only, the increasing social isolation imposed by his deafness exacerbated his misanthropic traits.

Conclusion

The period around 1800 was one of economic, political, and national upheaval for the nobility, during which they struggled to “stay on top,” as is clearly demonstrated by Beethoven’s patrons – whether their name was Lichnowsky, Lobkowitz, or Kinsky. The social habitus of the nobility was characterized by ambivalence: on the one hand, the first and second societies organized salons and house concerts to which upper class visitors were invited. On the other hand, the close marriage circles testify to the continued adherence to social boundaries. Beethoven moved in sharply differentiated circles, switching between various families. Initially he worked as a house pianist as a stepping stone to a permanent position at court. The profession of court musician, as understood in the 18th century, was undergoing a fundamental transformation. Even though the post remained throughout the 19th century, its importance for aspiring composers waned due to the rapidly developing music market, new opportunities for performance and, in the wake of the Congress of Vienna, dynamically developing bourgeois musical culture. Beethoven certainly took advantage of the emerging music market, but for a long time was simultaneously able to rely on a network of noble patrons from the first and second Viennese societies, as is confirmed by his rationally conceived, but sometimes overly assertive dedication strategy. Beethoven was supported above all by

180 Geck, *Beethoven* (as in fn. 8), 127. (“I have never sought such honors [a noble title]. But in this age, it would not be unwelcome to me because of many other things.”)

181 Breyer, “Umgangsformen” (as in fn. 175), 796.

182 Knud Breyer, Art. “Marketing,” in Loesch/Raab, *Beethoven-Lexikon* (as in fn. 9), 481–83, at 482 (quote).

Bohemian and Hungarian nobles, while the old “Austrian” court nobility (such as the Auersperg, Dietrichstein, Khevenhüller families) were scarce among his patrons. Although he presented himself as an eccentric genius and critic of the nobility in his later years,¹⁸³ Beethoven’s aristocratic patrons opened up numerous opportunities for him.¹⁸⁴ Rehearsal rooms, libraries, instruments and even apartments became available to Beethoven precisely because he was willing to submit to the patron-client system.¹⁸⁵ But the bourgeois currents in Beethoven’s environment became apparent, especially at the end of his life, in the unconventional man’s outspoken public pronouncements on the government or the “amorality” of the nobility.¹⁸⁶ One could see Beethoven at the beginning of his career as a musician “de type ancien,” i.e. as a Fürstendiener, a servant of the prince. By this – to borrow a term coined by Hillard von Thiessen discussing the history of diplomacy¹⁸⁷ – is meant a person who was not only a personal servant to the high nobility, but also in a quid-pro-quo relationship of exchange with their patron. In contrast to a diplomat “de type ancien,” however, a court musician’s professional competence superseded his social background: only those who had mastered music (as instrumentalists, singers, or composers) could hope to secure the position. Early in his career, Beethoven carried out the diversity of roles expected from a potential court musician: he served his aristocratic employers as a virtuoso, composer and general artist. During his lifetime, Beethoven was both a Fürstendiener, a court musician versed in ceremonies, and a bourgeois artist critical of the nobility. Beethoven lived in a mixed society and understood how to operate successfully in the various social milieus.¹⁸⁸

183 Caeyers, *Beethoven* (as in fn. 8), 652.

184 On Beethoven’s genesis as a “genius musician” in the wake of Haydn and Mozart, see “From Haydn’s Hands” in DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius* (as in fn. 8), 83–114.

185 For an overview, see Lodes, “Gaben und Gegengaben” (as in fn. 92), 54–67; piano teachers were “paid” in Vienna around 1800 with apartments: DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius* (as in fn. 8), 46.

186 Caeyers, *Beethoven* (as in fn. 8), 651–52.

187 Hillard von Thiessen, “Diplomatie vom ‘type ancien.’ Überlegungen zu einem Idealtypus des frühneuzeitlichen Gesandtschaftswesens,” in *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen. Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel*, eds. Hillard von Thiessen and Christian Windler (Cologne, 2010), 471–503, at 487–93: as an ideal-typical model: (1) personal employment relationship with the Prince, (2) professionalism of the diplomat based on “class rather than career,” (3) collaboration of numerous “semi-official or informal actors” in the embassy, (4) diplomats interpreted their embassy as a “life-cycle” activity (i.e. they were not lifelong diplomats), (5) “variety of roles and ties” – the diplomat also had to take care of his own family, friends, networks, (6) the ambassador was head of the household of his embassy. Court musicians sometimes composed under the name of their patrons for a fee, like the educated embassy staff who provided their expertise to the actual noble ambassador in the 18th century.

188 Lodes, “Jenseits der Einsamkeit” (as in fn. 55), 20–22.

Both the nobility and upper middle-class began to visit the health resorts around Vienna, which became not just a contact zone between the two classes, but also a laboratory for the nascent aristocratic-bourgeois society, where new modes of interaction could be tested in a protected space. The changed position of the (high) nobility during the Congress of Vienna became clear when their prestigious appearance, private activities and cultural life appeared before the eyes of the bourgeois public. In his diary, the Geneva banker Jean-Gabriel Eynard (1775–1863) noted both shrewdly and bitingly his impressions of the Vienna Congress and a new festive culture, but above all of the princes observed at close range: Franz II (I) had “ein denkbar unansehnliches Äußeres, er erscheint gebrochen und alt; er ist klein, schwächlig, hat einen gekrümmten Rücken und nach innen gebogene Knie. Er trägt immer denselben Gala-Anzug.” The emperor appeared to Eynard “wie ein harmloser kleiner Bürger aus einer Provinzstadt.”¹⁸⁹ While Beethoven could long rely on the incomes from his noble patrons, he was finally buried as a bourgeois composer in a solemn ceremony on March 29, 1827, conveyed from the Schwarzspanierhaus to the Dreifaltigkeitskirche der Minoriten, the Trinity Church of the Minorites, on Alserstraße and on to Währing Cemetery – to be interred in a row of bourgeois poets, artist colleagues and musicians, lying next to nobility!

Aristocratic Dedications and Spas as a Networking Strategy. Beethoven and the Nobility

The inhomogeneous nobility around 1800 was in a period of upheaval. Political, social and economic changes made the nobility appear to be an important, but not always reliable, support group for Beethoven. Bohemian and Hungarian nobles in particular supported Beethoven, while the old “Austrian” court nobility was comparatively scarce among Beethoven’s patrons – this is also clear from the official dedications of Beethoven’s music. The noble patrons opened up various fields of activity for Beethoven, who was sometimes quite critical of the nobility: rehearsal rooms, libraries, instruments or even flats became accessible to Beethoven through this patronage. The spas of the late 18th century such as Baden (nearby Vienna) or Karlsbad/Karlovy Vary were important for Beethoven; they can be understood as a kind of laboratory of a new supranational society. Beethoven was able to make good use of this new meeting space for his musical career.

189 Cited in Reinhard Stauber, *Der Wiener Kongress* (Vienna, 2014), 232. (Franz II (I) had “an extremely unsightly appearance, looking broken and old; he is small, slender, has a curved back and inwardly bent knees. He always wears the same gala suit.” He seemed “like a harmless little citizen from a provincial town.”)