Writing Under the Influence?: Salieri and Schubert's Early Opinion of Beethoven

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To Ludwig van Beethoven
From his worshipper and admirer Franz Schubert

In 1822, Schubert dedicated his Variations on a French Theme for Piano Four-Hands, Op. 10 (D624) to Beethoven. This dedication was his most public and extravagant proclamation of an abiding reverence for the older master that he held until his dying day. Indeed, if Ferdinand Schubert is to be believed, his younger brother's last wish was to be buried near Beethoven, which is exactly what happened (Deutsch 1946:825). A lifelong devotion is implied in Schubert's letters[1] and plainly stated in the recollections of family and friends.[2] The impress and challenge of Beethoven's music on Schubert's is also apparent from the start of his compositional career, and only intensified, I believe, as he matured and engaged with it ever more directly.[3] Beyond purely compositional matters, Schubert modeled his professional career on Beethoven's in crucial respects and benefited from his relations with many of the same performers, publishers, patrons, and critics who were involved with the older composer (Solomon 1979a; Gingerich 1996; Gibbs 2000). Contemporaries frequently made comparisons between their compositions; as we shall see, critics usually mentioned Beethoven when reviewing Schubert's piano and chamber works.[4]

While these circumstances are unsurprising—Beethoven was, after all, the preeminent composer of the time and the two men lived in the same city throughout Schubert's life—there is one sour note: Schubert's alleged hostility, early in his career, to Beethoven's music. In the *Beethoven-Handbuch*, for example, Theodor von Frimmel writes that "Under Salieri's influence, Schubert became alienated from Beethoven" (1926, 2:95–96; 1925:406).[5] Alfred Einstein asserts that "Schubert was deeply disturbed by Beethoven, as was every Romantic. As a young man (on June 16, 1816), he even made a very critical reference to Beethoven's 'eccentricity, which unites the tragic with the comic . . .'" (1947:89).[6] In fact, this single documentary source constitutes the evidence that has been advanced to support the idea of initial resistance, and for Maynard Solomon it exemplifies how "during Salieri's tutelage of Schubert . . . the young composer became for a short while so heated an opponent of Beethoven's music" (1998:98; cf. 353).[7]

The purpose of this essay is to explore the larger context of the nine-

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teen-year-old Schubert's journal entry in June 1816, in order to see if it really does indicate an "early repudiation" of Beethoven, to suggest other possible interpretations of the remark, and to ponder why the idea of early rejection has proved so attractive and therefore so often repeated (Solomon 1979a:114).[8] I shall use this specific biographical issue, which of necessity entails an extended exploration of Schubert's relationship with Salieri, as a case study that reflects more general difficulties in constructing the narrative of Schubert's life. That so little primary documentation about Schubert survives has not only allowed but also encouraged scholars to assert, extrapolate, or simply fabricate "facts" without sufficient warning about their speculative or fictive nature (Gibbs 1997:1–11).

Salieri and Schubert

The event precipitating Schubert's notorious diary entry was the jubilee, on June 16, 1816, honoring Vienna's Imperial Court Kapellmeister Antonio Salieri on the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival in the city. It was a festive celebration in which Schubert actively participated. Preceding a brief description of an evening concert that featured music by Salieri and his students, Schubert wrote the following:

> It must be beautiful and refreshing for an artist to see all his pupils gathered about him, each one striving to give his best for his jubilee, and to hear in all these compositions the expression of pure nature, free from all the bizarreness that is common among most composers nowadays, and is due almost wholly to one of our greatest German artists; that bizarreness that joins and confuses the comic with the tragic, the agreeable with the repulsive, heroism with howlings and the holiest with harlequinades, without distinction, so as to goad people to madness instead of dissolving them in love, to incite them to laughter instead of lifting them up to God. To see this bizarreness banished from the circle of his pupils and instead look upon pure, holy nature, must be the greatest pleasure for an artist who, guided by such a one as Gluck, learned to know nature and to uphold it in spite of the unnatural conditions of our age. (Deutsch 1946:64)[9]

Although Beethoven is not named, the reference to "one of our greatest German artists" has seemed quite clear to most commentators. But do these isolated comments warrant claims, against all other evidence, about alienation, repudiation, opposition, or resentment with respect to Beethoven or his music?

By the time of Salieri's jublilee, Schubert had known the Italian com-

poser for more than a decade. On September 28, 1804, the young musician was one of nine of the nineteen boys undergoing a musical examination whom Salieri deemed "most capable of learning the chant for the service of music in the Court Chapel" (Dürhammer and Waidelich 1997:66).[10] Four years later, he was judged one of the two best boy sopranos and chosen as a chorister for the Court Chapel (Deutsch 1946:10). This honor provided Schubert with a scholarship to an elite boarding school, the k. k. Stadtkonvikt (Royal and Imperial Seminary), where he studied from late 1808 until late 1813. Although admittance in no way guaranteed private instruction with Salieri, some qualified students were given this valuable opportunity. We are not sure exactly when Schubert began regular studies with the Kapellmeister, nor how often they met. The documentary sources, which I will survey first, can be augmented by anecdotal accounts provided much later by family and friends.

The first piece of primary evidence is a marginal note in Schubert's hand to an elementary exercise: "Counterpoint begun, 18 June 1812, first species" (Deutsch 1946:24), and there are corrections, most likely in Salieri's hand, to other exercises from around this time.[11] That same year, under Salieri's guidance, Schubert began setting a great many Italian texts, especially ones by Metastasio, as well as some Schiller poems in German.[12] The instruction apparently focused on part writing, phrasing, and proper text declamation, and instilled in Schubert a sensitivity to speech rhythms that later served him in composing *Lieder*. Schubert probably wrote his last works for Salieri around the turn of the years 1816–17.[13] It may be surprising to find him still producing what were in essence student essays at this time, well after the composition of his first *Lied* masterpieces in 1814 and 1815, including *Gretchen am Spinnrade* and *Erlkönig*. As Maurice J. E. Brown has remarked, Schubert was apparently capable of "shutting off his genius" so as to hone other skills (1958:216.).[14] Given that Schubert's initial *Lied* achievement was tied to texts by Goethe, it is worth noting that Josef von Spaun, one of the composer's closest friends, wrote to Goethe in the spring of 1816 in the hopes of arousing the poet's interest in a project to publish a series of songs. Spaun described Schubert as a nineteen-year-old composer whom "nature endowed from the tenderest childhood with the most pronounced leanings towards the art of music, gifts which Salieri, the Nestor among composers, brought to fair maturity with the most unselfish love of art" (Deutsch 1946:56). Although the scheme did not materialize as hoped (and Goethe apparently never responded to the letter), five years later, when Schubert published five songs on Goethe poems, Op. 5, the dedication was to Salieri.[15]

Matching what Spaun wrote to Goethe, Schubert repeatedly proclaimed his affiliation with Salieri in the manuscripts of some of his most ambitious

compositions from the 1810s. The title page of *Des Teufels Lustschloss* (D84; 1813–14), an opera that Schubert wrote and revised with Salieri's help, reads, "Pupil of Salieri, First Court Music Director in Vienna," and similar identifications are found for the later theatrical works *Fernando* (D220; 1815), *Claudine von Villa Bella* (D239; 1815) and *Die Freunde von Salamanka* (D326; 1815), as well as for instrumental works, such as the String Quartet in D (D74; 1813)[16] and the 10 Variations for Piano (D156; 1815). There may have been title pages of other works that mentioned Salieri but do not survive.

Schubert also trumpeted their relationship when applying for jobs. In 1816, he sought a teaching position in Laibach and listed his qualifications, including his musical education at the Seminary, as a choirboy in the Imperial Court Chapel, and under the guidance of Salieri (Deutsch 1946:53–54). Salieri's letter of recommendation, written in Italian, may not come across as a ringing endorsement, but it was intended simply to convey that after interviewing the candidates he considered Schubert the best among them, and therefore found it unnecessary to administer an examination confirming his musical abilities: "I, the undersigned, assert that I support the application of Franz Schubert" (Deutsch 1946:54).[17] In the end, one of the other twenty-one applicants got the job, and Schubert remained in Vienna. Further testimonials from Salieri came in later years. On September 21, 1819, Salieri wrote that:

> . . . Herr Franz Schubert has completely learned the art of composition and already furnished very good compositions both for the church and for the stage; and that he is therefore entirely suited to any chapel master's post, in regard to his thorough knowledge as well as his moral character, is herewith confirmed in praise of him. (Deutsch 1946:125–26)

Writing in 1821, Salieri offered a more detailed account of Schubert's experience:

> . . . Herr Franz Schubert, by reason of his renowned and much promising musical talent, which distinguishes itself especially in composition, has already been employed, and is to be further employed, in this branch by the Royal and Imperial Directorate of the Court Theater, to the general satisfaction, is hereby attested by Josef Weigl, Director of the Royal and Imperial Court Opera [and] Antonio Salieri, Royal and Imperial Kapellmeister. (Deutsch 1946:161)

A decade later, after Salieri's death, when Schubert sought the post of vice-Kapellmeister, he once again invoked Salieri's name in a letter dated April 7, 1826 (Deutsch 1946:520).

The first important public performance of a work by Schubert occurred when his Mass in F (D105) was given in the composer's parish church in Lichtenthal, on September 25, 1814, the centenary of the church.[18] In attendance was Salieri, who himself had written a piece especially for the event, and it is reported that afterward he embraced Schubert saying, "Franz, you are my pupil, and will do me great honor" (Kreissle 1869, 1:36).[19] Salieri may have helped to arrange a performance ten days later, on the Emperor's name-day, at St. Augustin in the inner city (Deutsch 1946:44).[20]

The association between Schubert and Salieri received public comment in both the local and foreign press in reviews and announcements of concerts and publications. The first significant performance of a secular Schubert composition—"an entirely new Overture by Herr Franz Schubert"—occurred in late February 1818 and was unanimously praised in both Viennese and foreign press, which identified the composer as a student of Salieri's. The *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung* stated that the "young composer, Herr Franz Schubert, a pupil of our much-venerated Salieri, has learned already how to touch and move all hearts" (Deutsch 1946:87).[21] The affiliation was maintained for some years to come and occasionally reaffirmed even after Schubert's death (Brusatti 1978:125).

A further document is of interest, for Otto Erich Deutsch believes it links Salieri to both Schubert and Beethoven. Around 1817 Schubert obtained the manuscript of Beethoven's song *Zärtliche Liebe* (WoO 123), which Deutsch suggests may have come from Salieri.[22] Schubert proceeded to write sketches on the back of the leaf for the Andante of his Piano Sonata in E♭, (D568, June 1817).[23]

As with so many areas of Schubert's biography, the limited primary evidence is supplemented by the retrospective accounts from Schubert's friends, written after his death, in many cases decades later. These reminiscences provide anecdotal information about when and how often Schubert and Salieri met, what the nature of the instruction was, and so forth. While the accounts sometimes contradict the documentary evidence and are frequently inconsistent in both large and small ways, they nonetheless provide information unavailable from any other source. Biographers must chose which to trust and may opt, even if unconsciously, for those stories that best serve larger narrative agendas, rather than for those with the most solid documentary support. One of the signal challenges of biography is to sort out primary from secondary sources, to give them appropriate weight, and to situate their reliability. Such self-evident tasks do not always receive sufficient attention from biographers and readers alike,

and this lack of discrimination has had a profound impact on Schubert's reception. While the stakes are comparatively low concerning Schubert's relationship with Salieri, they are considerably higher with respect to the fiercely contested issues concerning Schubert's personal life that have attracted so much attention in recent years. In every case, anecdotal accounts must be placed in a historical context, judged against any other relevant evidence, and treated with due caution and skepticism.

Ferdinand Schubert states that it was someone acquainted with Schubert's earliest vocal and instrumental works who "induced the first Court Music Kapellmeister Salieri to give [Schubert] lessons in composition. Schubert showed his extraordinary gifts to his master's astonishment, so that the latter, asked how Schubert was faring, replied: 'That one knows everything; he composes operas, songs, quartets, symphonies and whatever you will'" (1839; Deutsch 1946:913; Deutsch 1958:35; Kreissle 1869, I:28).[24] These kinds of amazed pronouncements—sometimes reliable, other times not, like Haydn's concerning Mozart's gifts, or Mozart's concerning Beethoven's—do a certain kind of biographical work by conferring extraordinary, almost supernatural powers, to a prodigy.[25]

Schubert's Seminary classmates often differ in their accounts of their friend's relations with Salieri.[26] Anton Holzapfel states that

> it was arranged . . . for Schubert to devote himself entirely to the study of music and for him to be allowed to have composition lessons twice a week with the Imperial Court Kapellmeiser Salieri, even while he was at the Seminary. This was a special concession on the part of the directors for it was contrary to the school rules for a pupil to go out by himself.

Holzapfel further relates that the lessons "took place at first only twice a week, but after leaving the Seminary Schubert took advantage of it assiduously" (Deutsch 1958:58).[27] Maximilian von Weisse, who in 1808 successfully auditioned with Schubert to join the Chapel Choir, recounts that "Schubert had lessons in composition with Kapellmeister Salieri on days when there was no school" (Deutsch 1958:171). Anselm Hüttenbrenner, a young composer from Graz who came to Vienna to study law and who also began taking lessons from Salieri, met Schubert around 1814, and they became good friends.[28] He recalls how "from time to time Salieri treated his pupils, Schubert among them, to ice cream, which was obtainable from a lemonade kiosk in the Graben" and states that "Salieri thought a great deal of Schubert" (Deutsch 1958:66). According to Ignaz Franz Edler von Mosel's biography of Salieri, he taught for many years in the morning, from nine to one, three days a week (1827:180).

The remembrances of the whens and wheres of Salieri's instruction, which suggest that Schubert had a considerable amount of personal contact, are ultimately of less interest than what supposedly was taught and how.[29] The surviving exercises and compositions give some indication of the curriculum, and here, too, friends elaborate. In an obituary for his former roommate, Johann Mayrhofer remarks that Schubert's technical deficiencies led him, shortly before his death, to seek instruction from the noted theorist Simon Sechter. Mayrhofer feels this fact "seems to indicate that the famous Salieri did not subject him to any strict schooling, although he looked through, praised or corrected Schubert's early essays" (Deutsch 1958:13). Beethoven's assistant-cum-biographer Anton Schindler, someone generally recognized today as a shady figure with respect to his recounting and manipulation of evidence, explicitly supported Mayrhofer's assessment, adding, "we also know for certain that Salieri never gave regular instruction in composition. If Schubert had undergone the requisite studies with Salieri, Sechter's lessons in counterpoint would have been unnecessary. Salieri only gave him instruction in the treatment of voices" (Deutsch 1958:12).[30] Yet Mayrhofer, who was ten years older than Schubert and who met him only in 1814, was not a classmate at the Seminary. Schindler's contact with Schubert came even later and was apparently minimal. Even Holzapfel, who was in a much better position to know, may have underestimated the extent of Salieri's instruction:

> I recall clearly that this instruction was but very scanty, a fact easy to understand in view of Salieri's character, with which older musicians were thoroughly conversant and that, on the whole, it consisted only in the superficial correction of small exercises in part writing, though most of it, and this may have been the most successful part, consisted in the reading and study of scores. At the beginning Schubert was obliged, first and foremost, to work through a large number of extremely dull old Italian scores and it was only later that he went through the whole of Gluck, from whose works Schubert often played things for us. (Deutsch 1958:59)[31]

While the extent and nature of the instruction is not entirely clear, it did involve elementary counterpoint, text-setting, and the exploration of other composers' music. In this final and important regard we may have to admit broadly defined notion of "teaching composition." Franz Liszt, who came to Vienna in 1822 at age ten to study with Salieri and Carl Czerny, later recalled that the former "was so graciously kind as to teach me, not the art of composing—which can hardly be taught—but to know the different clefs and procedures used in the scores of his day. I remain deeply

grateful to him" (Williams 1998:880).[32]

Josef von Spaun, perhaps Schubert's closest friend during these student years, states in his 1829 Schubert obituary that even after the young composer left the Seminary, Salieri

> showed a special partiality for him and for several years gave him almost daily instruction in composition, which took root in good soil. He gave him the scores of the older Italian masters to study and these the young artist went through with thoroughness and affection without, however, finding in them that full satisfaction which he derived from Mozart's operas, which he got to know from the scores at the same time, and from the works of Beethoven which aroused his very special enthusiasm. (Deutsch 1958:19)

Here, Beethoven enters most forcefully on our examination of Schubert and Salieri. As with the "double autograph" mentioned earlier, Beethoven is present behind the scenes and emerges even in the most tangential places. Ever since the 1820s, there have been countless biographies of Beethoven that omit any mention of Schubert, but one would be hard pressed to find any of Schubert in which Beethoven does not appear quite prominently.

The intrusion of Beethoven into Schubert's musical education is supported by other knowledgeable testimony. Leopold von Sonnleithner, an early and ardent supporter of Schubert's music, recalled that "Salieri was incapable of teaching a youth who was inspired and permeated by Beethoven's genius. Salieri understood singing and the older operatic form but of instrumental music (sonata, quartet, symphony) he had as little idea as he had of true church music" (Deutsch 1958:112). Similarly, Hüttenbrenner believed that "Schubert had too high an opinion of Beethoven for any other contemporary composer to be able to impress him. He had an extremely high regard for his teacher Salieri, for Hummel, Eybler, Abbé Stadler; but for Schubert they were after all only Dii minorum gentium" (Deutsch 1958:68). Benedikt Randhartinger, yet another Salieri pupil, recounted that Schubert's "idol was Beethoven, all other composers mattered little to him" (Deutsch 1958:98).[33] Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, who solicited some of these accounts and knew of others, introduces the issue of Schubert's instruction as follows: "Of those musicians who influenced Schubert's musical education (if in reality anyone but Beethoven can strictly be said to have had any influence at all), Anton Salieri, the Court Kapellmeister in Schubert's youthful days, has claim to the very first rank" (Kreissle 1869, I:22).

Spaun provides the most relevant information about what prompted

Schubert to eventually separate from his teacher, and here, too, Beethoven's influence is at issue.[34] Consistent with other reports, Spaun emphasizes Salieri's commitment to an older Italian style of composition and his antipathy not only to German music (including the "true church music," i.e. the countrapuntal scores of Bach and Handel that Sonnleithner mentioned), but also to the greatest German poetry. Continuing with the 1829 obituary quoted above, he remarks:

> This predilection of Schubert's [for the works of Beethoven], which Salieri did not seem to share, and the frankness with which his candid pupil expressed himself on the subject, caused Salieri to doubt whether Schubert would follow the path along which it was the master's intention to guide him and along which he intended to train him for opera. Added to this Salieri entirely disapproved of the very form of composition to which his pupil was irresistibly drawn, namely German song. The poems of Goethe, Schiller and others, which inspired the young composer and which he felt irresistibly compelled to translate into melodies, were unpalatable to the Italian, and he found in them only barbarous expression which were not worth the trouble of setting to music. Salieri begged Schubert in all seriousness no longer to concern himself with compositions of this kind but rather to husband his melodies until he was older and more mature. On the other hand he gave him short Italian stanzas to set to music; these left the intensely ardent composer, who scarcely understood the language, cold and his efforts in this line had but little success. (Deutsch 1958:20)[35]

All of these, of course, are retrospective reports and we should not discount that Schubert's Viennese supporters, some writing years after the events, may have underestimated the Italian Kapellmeister's influence and importance in favor of the greater and more famous German. There would be no reason, however, to suppress information about initial resistance to Beethoven; indeed, it might make for a better story. Yet the apparently unanimous accounts of Schubert's continual devotion to Beethoven is borne out in his writings, music, and actions, and is therefore consistent with the testimony, however belated, of his friends.

Salieri and Beethoven

We need not explore Beethoven's relationship with Salieri in great detail, although it does provide some further context for Schubert's remark. While Beethoven also studied with the Kapellmeister, his principal teachers, the ones who had the most influence at least, had come earlier in his career,

beginning with Christian Gottlob Neefe in Bonn during the 1780s, and continuing with Haydn, Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, and others during his first years in Vienna in the early 1790s (Nottebohn 1873; Kramer 1975). It is not known exactly when Beethoven began working with Salieri, nor for how long the association continued (Thayer 1921, 1:160–61; Kramer 1973:22–24). At least one biographer has argued for the improbably extended period of 1793–1809 (Braunbehrens 1992:216). The latter date is most likely based on a familiar anecdote, related by Ignaz Moscheles (b. 1794), another Salieri pupil. Writing to Schubert's prospective biographer, Ferdinand Luib, in February 1858, Moscheles noted: "I cannot recall seeing Schubert at Salieri's, but I do remember the interesting circumstance that once I saw a sheet of paper lying at Salieri's on which in great letters written by Beethoven were the words: 'The pupil Beethoven was here!'" (quoted in Thayer 1921, 1:161, 2:64). This is further example of a familiar anecdote from which perhaps incorrect inferences may have been made; namely, that Beethoven studied with Salieri for a long time and that they enjoyed a warm relationship. In 1858, Anselm Hüttenbrenner related a story concerning the end of relations between Beethoven and Salieri involving *Fidelio* that would contradict Moscheles' story. Hüttenbrenner states that "Salieri told me the composer [Beethoven] had submitted *Fidelio* to him for an opinion: he had taken exception to many things and advised Beethoven to make certain changes; but Beethoven had *Fidelio* performed just as he had written it—and never visited Salieri again" (Thayer 1901–11, 2:511; 1921, 2:64).[36] No matter what version of the opera (1805 or 1814), the two did have further contact over the years.

The manuscript evidence indicates that Beethoven worked most closely with Salieri toward the turn of the century. This was when Beethoven set Italian texts, some of which survive with Salieri's annotations (Kinsky and Halm 1955; Hess 1959; Nottebohm 1873:207–32). In late March 1795, Salieri directed a benefit concert at which Beethoven played one of his piano concertos (probably Op. 15) and Salieri conducted Beethoven's music on a variety of other occasions over the next twenty or so years (Angermüller 2000, 2:292–93).[37] At the beginning of 1799, Beethoven wrote a set of keyboard variations on the duet "La stessa, la stessissima" (WoO 73) from *Falstaff*, Salieri's most recent opera.[38] Around this same time Beethoven dedicated his Three Violin Sonatas, Op. 12, to Salieri.

While there is little reason to believe that Beethoven continued lessons much after 1800, he may have sought Salieri's occasional counsel; in any case, Salieri was an important and powerful force in Vienna's musical life. More pertinent to the topic at hand, there is little evidence that particularly cordial relations continued, as some biographies suggest. Moscheles's story notwithstanding, Beethoven's few surviving comments

about Salieri in letters over the next two decades are hardly flattering. In one, he complains of Salieri's presentation of a charity concert that conflicted with the most prominent *Akademie* of Beethovens' career—the famous one of December 22, 1808, which saw the premiere of the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies, among other compositions. In this instance, Beethoven felt that "Herr Salieri, being my most active opponent, played me a horrible trick" (Anderson 1961: no. 192).[39] Eight years later, he made a snide comment about "Salieri, the Court Kapellmeister, who is all-powerful at court and a patriarch of his good intentions for German vocal music and German singers" (Anderson 1961: no. 766). Salieri's anti-German sentiments were well known.

But as was often the case with Beethoven and his fluctuating relations with associates, there apparently were times of more genial contact. Together with other prominent musical figures (including Hummel, Spohr, Mayseder, Weigl, and Meyerbeer), Salieri participated in performances of Beethoven's *Wellington's Victory* in December 1813, at benefit concerts for soldiers wounded in battle at Hanau.[40] Beethoven subsequently wrote a letter to the *Wiener Zeitung* thanking all involved, including "a certain Kapellmeister, Salieri by name, who did not disdain to give the beat to the drums and cannonades" (Anderson 1961: appendix, no. 6, 1437).[41] Some five years later the two composers penned a notice in the *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, which praised Johann Nepomuk Mälzel's new metronome (Anderson 1961: appendix no. 13, 1441–42).[42] From Beethoven's conversation books in the 1820s we know that he followed the course of Salieri's final illness with some interest, and also apparently enjoyed hearing the gossip about Salieri's unmarried daughters and about the persistent rumors of Salieri murdering Mozart. There is no information about Beethoven's reaction to his death.[43] In short, while Schubert's long relationship with Salieri was warm, even if it became strained over certain aesthetic issues, Beethoven, as with his other teachers, proved the more recalcitrant student and difficult colleague.

The Context of Schubert's Diary Entry of June 16, 1816

The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Salieri's arrival in Vienna began with an early Sunday morning church service and culminated in the musical event in which Schubert participated that evening.[44] Surrounded by his four daughters, all dressed alike, Salieri was honored by an array of students past and present, some of whom he had given instruction in composition, others in voice. As Schubert wrote in his dairy,

> Herr Salieri celebrated his jubilee yesterday, having been 50 years in Vienna and nearly as long in the Imperial service; he was awarded

> a gold medal by His Majesty and invited many of his pupils, male and female. The works written for the occasion by his composition students were performed from top to bottom, according to the order in which they came under his tuition. The whole was framed by a chorus and an oratorio *Jesu al Limbo* [sic] both by Salieri. The oratorio is worked in a genuinely Gluckish manner. The entertainment interested everybody. (Deutsch 1946:64)

In the first published biography of Salieri, Ignaz Franz Edler von Mosel lists the twenty-six students who participated (fourteen women and twelve men), and makes a point of mentioning that although two of Salieri's most prominent students, Hummel and Moscheles, were away for Vienna at the time, they nevertheless sent compositions (Mosel 1827:182; Angermüller 2000, 3:109–13). Beethoven himself was in Vienna, although apparently in poor health and under doctor's orders not to travel; he apparently did not send anything to Salieri (Anderson 1961: no. 640).[45]

Schubert, for his part, composed a brief cantata, *Beytrag zur fünfzigjährigen Jubelfeyer des Herrn von Salieri, ersten k.k. Hofkapellmeister in Wien* (D407). The five-minute composition is in three sections: an unaccompanied vocal quartet (TTBB) is followed by a tenor solo with piano, and ends with a three-part vocal canon.[46] The music is initially solemn and in a style not unlike some of Salieri's own music, but eventually becomes light-hearted *Biedermeier* barbershop similar to Schubert's popular part-songs from the time, for example those of Op. 11. As he did on a number of other celebratory occasions, Schubert wrote the words himself. The text provides yet another indication of his identification with Salieri, as well as of his personal indebtedness:

> Gütigster, Bester!
> Weisester, Grösster!
> So lang ich Thränen habe,
> Und an der Kunst mich labe,
> Sei beides Dir geweiht,
> Der beides mir verleiht.
>
> So Güt' als Weisheit strömen mild
> Von Dir, o Gottes Ebenbild,
> Engel bist Du mir auf Erden,
> Gern' möcht' ich Dir dankbar werden,
>
> Unser aller Grosspapa,
> Bleibe noch recht lange da!

[Oh you, sagacious,
Eminent, gracious!
The tears I have shed,
The art by which I'm fed,
I dedicate to you,
Who gave them both to me.

Kindness and wisdom flow from thee,
As God's own image you are to me,
As an angel you are good,
Fain I'd give you gratitude.

Grandfather to us all you are,
Not for long from us depart!]

We are now in a position to offer a contextual reading of Schubert's diary entry, in which he evinces his satisfaction with the celebratory occasion and with how "beautiful and refreshing" it is for a teacher to be surrounded by his students and hear "pure" music, including Salieri's own "Gluckish" composition *Gesu àl limbo.* Brigitte Massin has observed that Schubert associates happiness with a community dedicated to the shared artistic goals, and indeed the event resonates with our idealized conception of later Schubertiades (1993:118). It should also be pointed out that this social event may have involved a good amount of alcohol that went to the nineteen-year-old's head. The diary entry, unlike those around it, is rambling, sloppy, and contains both deleted words and phrases. Kreissle calls the entry "somewhat confused" (*etwas verworrenen*; 1865:103; 1869, 1:105). We cannot be sure whether it was written the same evening, but its lack of clarity and its poor penmanship are worth noting.

Schubert apparently kept this diary only for less than a week in June 1816—the first entry is dated June 13, and then he wrote each day until June 17; on September 8, 1816 he wrote a series of aphorisms. Most of the June entries deal with musical and personal events, such as playing Mozart's music, taking a walk with his brother Karl, and getting paid for a work.[47] Some commentators have commented on the classicizing sentiments Schubert expressed in his remarks about Salieri's jubilee, especially when they are placed in relation to the first entry, written just three days earlier extolling Mozart. Around this time, Schubert had great sympathy for the Classical tradition, and not just for works by Salieri's own beloved teacher Gluck. Mozart seems to have loomed particularly large in Schubert's thinking at this time. The diary begins:

> A light, bright, fine day this will remain throughout my whole life. As from afar the magic notes of Mozart's music still gently haunt me. How unbelievably vigorously, and yet again how gently, was it impressed deep, deep into the heart by Schlesinger's masterly playing. Thus does the soul retain these fair impressions, which no time, no circumstances can efface, and they brighten our existence. They show us in the darkness of this life a bright, clear, lovely distance, for which we hope with confidence. O Mozart, immortal Mozart, how many, oh how endlessly many such comforting perceptions of a brighter and better life have you brought to our souls! This Quintet is, so to speak, one of the greatest of his lesser works. I too had to show myself on this occasion. I played variations by Beethoven, sang Goethe's "Rastlose Liebe" and Schiller's "Amalia." (Deutsch 1946:60)

Mozartian intoxication is also evident in some of Schubert's music from this period. Of course, Beethoven's musical influence at this point in Schubert's career is just as apparent, if not more so, and on the occasion Schubert describes, he played an unidentified set of Beethoven's variations. His most recent symphony, finished just six weeks earlier, was the Fourth in C Minor (D417), which many commentators see as owing clear debts to Beethoven, particularly to Beethoven's compositions in the same key.[48] But the entry extolling Mozart, especially in relation to the one three days later regarding Beethoven's worrisome influence, has been seized upon by many commentators to oppose Mozart and Beethoven, rather than Classicism and certain modern trends. Sir George Grove's assessment in the first edition of the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* juxtaposes the jubilee entry ("which can only refer to Beethoven") with the one on Mozart: "Mozart was at the time his ideal composer; this too is plain from the symphonies, but here also he leaves us in no doubt" (1890, 3:322).[49] A typical more recent observation comes from John Reed: "Temporarily at any rate, Mozart had replaced Beethoven as the god to be worshipped" (1997:22).[50]

In addition to the cherished idea of artistic communion and the Classical musical values represented at Salieri's jubilee, I would speculate that Schubert's attachment to Salieri possessed further personal and professional dimensions consistent with the sentiments expressed on the title pages of his compositions, in his job applications, through the later dedication of the Op. 5 *Lieder*, and in the words he crafted for the celebratory cantata. Certainly Schubert's career benefited from his association with Salieri. Moreover, given a stern father at home, one who apparently was determined on Schubert's joining his older brothers in the family business of teaching school, his role as artistic father-figure may have had more

complex psychological components.[51] Salieri took his mentoring of young musicians seriously, going far beyond buying them ice cream on the Graben. Perhaps his own early debt to Florian Gassmann, as well as a desire to instill his Italianate dramatic values over those of Beethoven (or even of Rossini, the far too popular Italian competition), motivated some of his generosity. Schubert's gratitude is later echoed by Liszt, Moscheles, and many other musicians and composers. Salieri was kind and supportive to Schubert and other talented students; he was also famous, powerful, and professionally helpful.

We have seen that in the biographical writing of Schubert's life, limited documentary evidence is supplemented by the reminiscences of the composer's intimates. Another element has fundamentally shaped most writings on the composer since the beginning of the twentieth century. As early as 1905, when Otto Erich Deutsch first published collections of Schubert documents and anecdotes, the bulk of the evidence of Schubert's life has been conveniently assembled and, to a certain extent, predigested. Deutsch's two magisterial compilations—*Schubert: A Documentary Biography* and *Schubert: Memoirs by his Friends*—provide most of the important and relevant documents about Schubert, even if in an often incomplete and not always reliable format. In addition to offering essential primary and secondary sources, Deutsch adds another crucial component: his own commentary. His commanding knowledge of Viennese musical life justly deserves praise; it is remarkable, given the historical circumstances under which he worked, as well as the technological limitations with which he had to contend, that relatively little of great documentary importance has surfaced since his collections appeared so many years ago. Deutsch refrained from explicit interpretation (he never wrote a biography of Schubert) and strove to present just the facts. But his commentary is, of course, a kind of interpretation in itself and the apparent objectivity has meant that Deutsch's opinions often go unquestioned. In his commentary on the Salieri diary entry Deutsch accurately observes that the word:

> "Eccentric" [sic—translation, of course, adds another layer of interpretation] (*bizarr*) was Amadäus Wendt's word for "Beethoven's manner" in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1815, cols. 387–9). Judgments of this kind were thus in the air; but we may suppose that in those days Schubert was under the influence of Salieri, who may possibly have said something of the kind himself, in his broken German, in the course of his address early in the evening. (Deutsch 1946:64)[52]

Deutsch suggests that the views expressed in Schubert's diary may in

fact be more Salieri's than his student's, for they are consistent with the Kapellmeister's longstanding anti-Germanism. Anselm Hüttenbrenner, another pupil, wrote an extended tribute upon Salieri's death in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, in which he remarks Salieri "labored with all zeal against the constant and glaring changes of key, so common of late years, and likened certain modern composers to people who jump out of the window to get to the street" (Thayer 1989:94).

The critical view proffered in Schubert's diary not only relates to the Classical/Romantic opposition observed by Grove, Reed, and many other commentators, but also addresses more specifically the mixture of the comic with the tragic that some contemporaries found "bizarre." Donald Francis Tovey, no doubt (and once again) with Schubert's diary entry in mind, remarked, "Schubert, in the year of his death, had not yet attained the power of Shakespeare and Beethoven in blending tragedy and comedy; though he had long overcome his early resentment against Beethoven's use of that power" (1949:125). In Einstein's gloss of Schubert's diary he comments on the young composer's "reservations" about features in Beethoven's music that other contemporaries found "original." Einstein understands that Schubert professed attraction to Beethoven's Second Symphony and suspects a similar affection for the First and Fourth. "But what did he think of the Eroica, the Seventh or Eighth, or even the Pastoral . . . We have no evidence of his reaction, but in his heart of hearts he must have rejected such works . . ." Einstein mentions other "bright, straightforward, and companionable" pieces, such as the Septet, Op. 20, the early violin sonatas (those dedicated to Salieri), the String Quartet in A Major, Op. 18, No. 5, and so forth, which he speculates must have appealed to Schubert, but not the Op. 59 String Quartets and other later pieces. "This constant alternating between attraction and repulsion prevented Schubert from becoming Beethoven's direct successor, let alone from deliberate imitation" (1951:14–15). Yet in the absence of verbal accounts of Schubert's opinion about any but a handful of specific Beethoven compositions, one has to speculate as to how certain works by the older composer left their mark. *Pace* Einstein, the Eroica, Seventh, and Pastoral have been felt by other commentators to have profoundly influenced Schubert.[53]

I would suggest another way of thinking about Schubert as Beethoven's "direct successor" that goes beyond the music. Schubert's famous comment to Spaun—"Secretly, in my heart of hearts, I still hope to be able to make something out of myself, but who can do anything after Beethoven?" (Deutsch 1958:128)—captures a crucial dilemma (even if it is Spaun's invention and, in any event, supposedly uttered at an early age). It is not just the concrete musical quotations of, allusions to, and modeling after Beethoven (of which there are more than for any other composer) that

emerge in Schubert's compositions, but also crucial aesthetic and professional implications. Beethoven showed Schubert what music could be and do, as well as offering an example of what, where, and with whom to perform. His own professional problems notwithstanding, Beethoven was a model for how to create not just a musical masterpiece, but also a musical life, a career in Vienna in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Beethoven was the living example of someone dwelling and working in the same time and place, associating with many of the same performers, publishers, patrons, critics, and audiences. We limit our understanding of Beethoven's influence on Schubert (and others) if we look only at the notes. Einstein speculates that Schubert might not have been attracted to the "Razumovsky" Quartets, Op. 59. But even if we concede the point in purely compositional terms, the fact that Schubert tried to issue his own trio of large quartets, Op. 29 (only No. 1 in A Minor appeared), dedicating and having them performed by Beethoven's "fiddler," Ignaz Schuppanzigh, shows an aesthetic ("long and difficult" quartets, as the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* referred to Beethoven's) and professional model (same performers and concert venue) that very much inspired Schubert. Finally, any complaints about Beethoven's blending of the comic and tragic resonates with charges leveled against Schubert's own mixtures—such as of the elevated and the social or popular—that have marked his reception from the beginning. In short, the diary entry, whether it reflects the views of Schubert, Salieri, or of more general contemporaneous opinion, raises important musical and aesthetic issues current around 1816.

All this said, when reading the diary entry carefully, one sees that in fact Schubert says nothing against Beethoven directly.[54] Rather, Schubert's comments may indicate little more than an identification with a benign mentor shepherding his flock. The picture is offset by thoughts of a great German artist (an implicit contrast to our mediocre Italian composer?), whose followers create *bizarr* music. The great artist himself goes unnamed—his name need not be taken in vain—but his epigones are criticisized, perhaps echoing Salieri's well-known views. The diary entry presents a rhetorical study in antitheses. Two leading figures are set in opposition (neither is named) and their followers are invoked; the observations seem contrived rather than grounded in experience.

As Deutsch correctly notes, *bizarr* was a common word in Beethoven reception,[55] yet one could add that it was also applied to Schubert.[56] Schubert may have wondered how to walk the fine line between the revered Classical tradition and the "great German artist." The best known anecdotal trace of this concern is the alleged remark to Spaun during their student days together about doing "anything after Beethoven." That was the challenge—to follow Beethoven's example if not necessarily his

style. In fact, during the coming years Schubert would see comparisons between him and Beethoven raised in the most prominent critical arenas. Reviewing the Sonata in G, Op. 78 (D894), the critic for the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* proclaimed: "The composer, who has made for himself a numerous following by not a few excellent songs, is capable of doing the same by means of piano pieces." But he promptly warned Schubert about the dangers of using a unique genius as a model—a warning that resonates with Schubert's own diary entry and the problem facing all of Beethoven's followers:

> Beethoven appears to us to be in a class by himself alone, as it were, especially as he showed himself in his middle and later period, so that in truth he should not by any means be chosen as an absolute model, since anyone who desired to be successful in that master's own line could only be he himself. (Deutsch 1946:693–94)

This comment, interestingly, mirrors Schubert's own comment in his diary with respect to the dangers of being a follower of Beethoven. Schubert frequently faced the challenge of his music being judged by Beethovenian standards. The prestigious Leipzig journal often made the comparison, beginning with its initial notice of Schubert in 1820: "In this first dramatic essay [Schubert's *Die Zwillingsbrüder*] seems to attempt to fly as high as Beethoven and not heed the warning example of Icarus" (Deutsch 1946:139). The evaluations sometimes worked to Schubert's benefit, as when a critic from the same journal lauded the "freedom and originality" of the A minor Piano Sonata, Op. 42 (D845), which can "probably be compared only with the greatest and freest of Beethoven's sonatas. We are indebted for this uncommonly attractive and also significant work to Herr Franz Schubert, who is, we hear, a still quite young artist of and in Vienna" (Deutsch 1946:512).

Granted, these reviews were all still some years in Schubert's future, but the dangers inherent in following the greatest living composer were no doubt already on Schubert's mind. The recollections of Spaun, Sonnleithner, Hüttenbrenner, Randhartinger, and others argue that at no time did anyone replace Beethoven, nor did any other figure wield such authority. An isolated outburst that Schubert made following what must have been a heady and inspiring (and perhaps slightly drunken) evening celebrating his mentor, one that avoids any mention of Beethoven's name, came to assume disproportionate importance in Schubert's biography. This unwarranted emphasis underscores the paucity of authentic verbal utterances from the composer, which leads to privileging the few pages from

his 1816 diary. Schubert's only other known diary, or rather fragments from it, dates from 1824 and survives only in copies by Eduard von Bauernfeld that may well be incomplete and inaccurate (Deutsch 1946:336,554). Given so little from Schubert himself, a problem compounded by the fact that so few of his letters survive, each word assumes extraordinary weight.

As I have tried to show, the context of Schubert's remark about the *bizarr* qualities of the music of Beethoven's followers is complex and the reasons behind the entry are overdetermined. His comment reflects not only a prevalent critical perception of Beethoven at this time, but also the well-known views of Salieri, a figure who held considerable personal and professional importance for the nineteen-year-old Schubert. It seems quite a stretch for Schubert's diary entry to serve as the basis for positing overt hostility on his part toward Beethoven, especially when every other primary and secondary source, his every other action, and a good amount of musical evidence suggest just the opposite. While we need to exercise considerable caution when using the later memoirs of friends and family, we should note in this instance that they are not only undivided in their declarations of Schubert's lifelong reverence for Beethoven, but also that some of the most knowledgeable individuals (Spaun, Sonnleithner, and Hüttenbrenner) specifically frame the issue at hand as Schubert's preference for Beethoven over Salieri.

Schubert's diary entry is taken out of context in order to assert a larger argument for which there is really no other credible support. The speculative basis for interpretations of his observation on contemporary musical life is forgotten and what remains is the "fact" that the young Schubert initially repudiated Beethoven. One can only speculate why biographers and commentators would want to make this claim. No doubt the reasons vary, with some perhaps generating a narrative construction that benefits from having a shy, youthful Schubert rebelling against a mature, mighty Beethoven.[57] On firmer ground, and not without justification, Grove, Einstein, Reed, and others believe that Schubert was looking to Classical models at this time in his career (or perhaps we should say, development). And while this is accurate in some respects, Schubert, I think, looked to many places at once. Schubert's early symphonies owe clear debts to those by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven (Newbould 1992). For his *Lieder*, Schubert turned to Zumsteeg and other prominent *Lied* composers from earlier in the century. It is around this time as well that Schubert became familiar with Rossini's music and imitated some of the Italian's style into his own scores. Salieri's revered Gluck held a particularly strong appeal as well. Schubert alludes to some of these models in his own writings and various friends mention it in their testimony; more importantly all are clearly audible in his music.

Schubert was voracious in his musical appetites, just as long as the music was of high enough quality to provide him with opportunities for growth. (Thus Michael Haydn and now largely forgotten *Lied* composers played their relevant part as models in certain genres.) And while on the night in June 1816 that honored his personal, but transitory, mentor Schubert may have had little sympathy with some of the modern trends that Beethoven's music represented, his one comment in no way indicates that Beethoven himself had fallen from favor and was for any period anything less than the dominant musical figure in Schubert's life.

Notes

The origin of this essay came from a comment Chris Hatch made to me over coffee (just one of hundreds of caffeine-laced observations over the past twenty years) concerning a passage in a biography I was writing of Schubert. As I have found so often, Chris got me thinking about and exploring new ideas. I am grateful for his guidance and friendship. Many thanks as well to Robert O. de Clercq for his astute comments on an earlier version.

1. In comparison with other nineteenth-century composers, relatively few of Schubert's letters survive. Though some have been discovered in recent decades, most of his surviving letters are collected in Deutsch (1946 and 1964). He rarely speaks of other composers, but there are infrequent mentions of Beethoven that underscore Schubert's reverence for the master; see, for example, Deutsch (1946:265,339).

2. Most of the reminiscences appear in Otto Erich Deutsch (1958), for an excellent survey of the published record concerning the biographical relationship between the composers, see Solomon (1979a:114–25); see also Dürr (1977:47). Nohl (1928) is riddled with errors.

3. There are far too many discussions of Beethoven's influence on Schubert's music to be cited here; among the most pertinent for the early stage of Schubert's career are Nettheim (1991:330–31), Cone (1970), Rieppel (1998), Frimmel (1925), Orel (1941:18), and Eschmmann (1934). Of particular relevance is Temperley (1981–82).

4. Most published reviews of Schubert's music that appeared during his lifetime are collected in Waidelich (1993); many of them are translated in Deutsch (1946); see also Mahling (1981).

5. Frimmel mentions that Schubert's friend Eduard von Bauernfeld remarked on Schubert's early objections to Beethoven, but I have been unable to find this reference. In any case, Bauernfeld, who was five years younger than Schubert, only became acquainted with him in 1825.

6. Schubert's diary entry is quoted below . Einstein later wrote that, "Beethoven remained a disturbing influence on him [Schubert] throughout his life. . . . It is disconcerting to hear a judgment such as this from the mouth of a young man, even though we may excuse it because of the writer's youth and the fact that he was deeply influenced by his revered teacher" (1951:14).

7. Solomon has upgraded Schubert's animus from the way he expressed it in the first paperback edition of the book, which stated Schubert "became for a time an opponent of Beethoven's music" (1979b:73).

8. Solomon begins this article by describing what he perceives as Schubert's initial resistance to the older composer: "In his diary for 16 June 1816, the nineteen-year-old Franz Schubert declared his independence from Beethoven and what he rightly understood as a fusion of tragic and comic components in Beethoven's art" (1979a:114).

9. "Schön u. erquickend muss es dem Künstler seyn, seine Schüler alle um sich her versamelt zu sehen, wie jeder sich strebt, zu seiner Jubelfeyer das Beste zu liefern, in allen diesen Compositionen blosse Natur mit ihrem Ausdruck, frey aller Bizarrerie zu hören, welche bey den meisten Tonsetzern jetzt zu herrschen pflegt, u. einem unserer grössten deutschen Künstler beynahe allein zu verdanken ist, von dieser Bizzarrerie [sic], welche das Tragische mit dem Komischen, das Angenehme mit dem Widrigen, das Heroische mit Heulerey, das Heiligste mit dem Harlequin vereint, verwechselt, nicht unterscheidet den Menschen in Raserey versetzt statt in Liebe auflöst zum Lachen reitzt, anstatt zum Gott erhebt, diese(s) Bizzarrerie aus dem Cirkel seiner Schüler verbannt, u. dafür die reine, heilige Natur zu blicken, muss das höchste Vergnügen dem Künstler seyn, der von einem Gluck geleitet, die Natur kenen lernt, u. sie trotz der unnatürlichsten Umgebungen unserer Zeit erhalten hat" (Deutsch 1964: 8,5:45). A facsimile of this diary is found in Schubert (1928: n.p.).

This diary entry has long played a role in accounts of Schubert's life as the entire passage appeared in the first substantial biography of the composer, written by Heinrch Kreissle von Hellborn (1865:103–4); the most complete English translation is by Arthur Duke Coleridge (1869, 1:105–6).

10. This document is not in Deutsch (1946); a facsimile is given in Dürhammer and Waidelich (1997:66). See also van Hoorickx (1989:117). Ernst Hilmar has speculated that Schubert's father approached Salieri directly about an audition (1988:15).

11. See Mann (1968), Orel (1941) and Angermüller (1974, 2:i).

12. On a number of occasions Schubert set the same text as Salieri (e.g. D148, D320, D510); for a comparison see Litschauer (2001:78-80).

13. Schubert set Metastasio's *Vedi quanto adoro* (D510; December 1816) and twice set Carlo Goldoni's *La pastorella al prato* (D513; 1817?; TTBB) and (D528; January 1817; soprano and piano); the latter text was also set by fellow student Karl Freiherr von Doblhoff and published in 1820 with a dedication to Salieri. Kreissle states the instruction ceased in 1817 (1865, 1:27).

14. A similar situation arose late in Schubert's life when he decided to study counterpoint with Simon Sechter.

15. The songs are *Rastlose Liebe* (D138), *Nähe des Geliebten* (D162), *Der Fischer* (D225), *Erster Verlust* (D226) and *Der König in Thule* (D367); the title page reads "hochachtungsvoll gewidmet von Franz Schubert." One might speculate on why exactly Schubert chose to dedicate German songs set to Goethe poems to the notoriously anti-German composer.

16. On this title-page Schubert wrote "écolier de Msr. de Salieri," to which his teacher himself added "premier Maître de chapelle de la cour imp.: et Royale de

Vienne." This suggests that Salieri may have suggested or requested that Schubert identify himself as his pupil. Brown notes that Salieri was known to identify himself as "Élève de Gluck" (1958:213).

17. Letter of April 9, 1816. Salieri's view of Schubert is also recorded in his Seminary grades; in October 1813 it is reported that, "Schubert, an excellent youth, is praised by Imperial Kapellmeister Salieri for his superior musical talent and as the composer of several good musical pieces" (Deutsch 1946:37).

18. The date is often given incorrectly in the Schubert literature; see Benedikt (1997:64-66).

19. Kreissle got the information from Josef Doppler.

20. The information comes from Ferdinand Schubert. Kreissle reports that "Therese Grob cannot remember this second performance" (1869, 1:36). Rita Steblin astutely points out, however, that "as a woman she could hardly have taken part in the Court Church performance" (2002:63).

21. See Wadelich (1993: nos. 6, 8, 12; see also nos. 14, 93).

22. Walther Dürr doubts this is the case, exactly because of Schubert's comment about Beethoven's "Bizarrerie" in his diary from the previous year (1977:47).

23. The single leaf has an interesting later history in that Johannes Brahms acquired the "double autograph" in 1872 and added his own name. He gave the "triple autograph" to the archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in 1893; see Deutsch (1933:21–27; 1907:136).

24. Albert Stadler provided a similar account, writing that, "in 1812–14 Schubert received direct instruction in composition from Salieri. Later on this association stopped altogether. Salieri is said to have declared that there was nothing more he could teach him" (Deutsch 1958:145). Stadler could have known Ferdinand's report, which first appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1839 (Vol. 10, No. 10: 37–39; No. 11: 41–44). In an 1829 letter to Bauernfeld, Spaun stated that Ferdinand "misrepresented" Schubert's relations with Salieri (Deutsch 1946:895–95; 1958:30).

25. The famous remark of Schubert's first teacher, Michael Holzer ("If I wanted to teach him something new, he already knew it") may likewise never have been uttered, but it is forever recounted as proof of Schubert's god-given talents. In 1858, Josef von Spaun related a similar comment from Schubert's school days: after just two lessons, Wenzel Ruzicka supposedly remarked, "I can teach him nothing, he has learnt it from God himself" (Deutsch 1958:34,128, cf. 145,212,362). These benedictions serve to legitimate Schubert's natural genius at the same time as they tend to obscure the scope of his actual training with Salieri and others, as well as his reliance on the practical models of Mozart, Beethoven, and other composers.

26. For background concerning Schubert's friends see Hilmar and Jestremski (1997) and Clive (1997).

27. George Franz Eckel states that Schubert was "allowed to leave the house alone, as an exception to the strict school rule, in order to take private lessons with Salieri in thorough-bass and composition" (Deutsch 1958:50–51).

28. Hüttenbrenner states that Schubert had already been studying with Salieri for "several years" (Deutsch 1958:178). Hüttenbrenner's recollections of Schubert are found in Deutsch (1906).

29. On Salieri's teaching style see Rice (1998:14,19–21) and Angermüller (1970); for brief biographical portraits of Salieri's students in composition and voice, see Angermüller (1974, 2:i,302–23). Anselm Hüttenbrenner also comments on Salieri's teaching method in his memorial tribute in the Leipzig *Allegemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1825:796).

30. Schindler wrote this in response to Leopold von Sonnleithner's obituary of Schubert published in the *Monatsbericht der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in February 1829 (Deutsch 1958:10–12). Mayrhofer's account, which Schindler mentions, was published the same month in the *Neues Archiv für Geschichte, Staatenkunde, Literatur und Kunst* (Deutsch 1958:13). Schindler later commented, "his old mentor Salieri had left perceptible gaps in this subject [counterpoint] as had Haydn, in days gone by, with Beethoven" (Deutsch 1958:315). Schubert apparently had just one lesson with Sechter shortly before his death.

31. Holzapfel could have known Spaun's published account from 1829.

32. Lina Ramann comments that Liszt studied Beethoven scores with Salieri (1880:38–39). Regarding Salieri's considerable kindness toward Liszt, including a remarkable letter to Prince Esterházy written in support of the young musician, see Walker (1983:73–76).

33. Randhartinger may not be the most reliable source, some of his accounts come secondhand, some long after the facts, and are self-serving (he was a composer and successful musician), but in this matter he is in agreement with many others.

34. Another report on the cause of the fallout between the two is less well known for it does not appear in Deutsch (1946; 1958). Kreissle reports that Josef Doppler gave the reason as Salieri's cutting out and correcting those passages in Schubert's Mass in B "that reminded him of Haydn and Mozart. . . . Others, on the contrary, are of the opinion that Salieri's proposals to Schubert to write music for the Italian stanze induced him to quit the master" (1869, 1:29).

35. Earlier in this obituary Spaun commented that Schubert's "youthful fire and originality deviated from the forms which the venerable musician had hitherto honored as the only legitimate ones" (Deutsch 1958:19). Years later Spaun gave a similar assessment: "Schubert often spoke with gratitude of Salieri, and the instruction was certainly useful, but when Salieri repeatedly took Schubert seriously to task for occupying himself with poems in the barbarous German language and requested him not to compose anything more at all in German but, on the other hand, to set to music insignificant Italian poems, Schubert lost his patience and with redoubled zeal followed the direction which his master condemned but which was assuredly the right one for him" (Deutsch 1958:130). Schubert's dedication of Goethe songs, Op. 5, is somewhat curious in light of Spaun's accounts.

36. The information comes from a letter to Ferdinand Luib dated March 7, 1858 that is not included in Deutsch (1958). See Deutsch (1906).

37. Other concerts included 1808 *Prometheus* (Thayer 1921, 3:60–61); Salieri programmed works by Beethoven at concerts given for the benefit of the Witwen und Waisen der Tonkünstler-Societät, of which he was director and conductor. The program given on December 22 and 23, 1797 included WoO 28; on April 2, 1798, Op. 16; and on March 30 and 31, 1817, *Christ on the Mount of Olives* and the Seventh Symphony; see Angermüller (2000, 2:337–38, 2:342, 3:127–28).

38. Salieri's name does not appear on the title page of the first edition of Beethoven's variation set. Steven Moore has speculated that the final variation, a Ländler, is "probably a gibe at Salieri's efforts to regale the Viennese by aping Singspiel." See Moore (1991:295).

39. Letter dated January 7, 1809. See also Albrecht (1996, 3:133).

40. See *Wiener Zeitung* (December 20, 1813) for a description of the concert.

41. This piece was apparently not published. See Thayer (1921, 2:259).

42. See Vienna *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (February 14, 1818): 58–59.

43. See Köhler and Herre (1968/1970/1978, 4:252 [positions]; 4:259 [suicide attempt]; 5:40 [Salieri's daughters]; 5:5,136, 7:114 [Mozart's death].

44. See Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 18 (July 1816): 514.

45. Angermüller notes Beethoven's "conspicuous" absence (1974, 2:i,299).

46. The work exists in two versions—the other is for TTB with piano and omits the following tenor solo and canon (D441) (Brown 1958:217). Massin speculates that perhaps Schubert made the work a trio because Hüttenbrenner was absent and could not sing with Assmayr, Mozatti, and Schubert (Massin 1993:117).

47. Schubert reports that, "Today I composed for money for the first time" (Deutsch 1946:65).

48. See, for example, Newbould (1992:86–109).

49. This passages has been reprinted in Grove (1951:129).

50. See also Newbould (1997:61).

51. It is pointless to speculate too much given the paucity of information that survives. Likewise, one could hazard a Freudian/Bloomian reading of the diary entry itself, as evidence of Oedipal resistance and a strong misreading of Beethoven.

52. Many scholars have accepted Deutsch's suggestion; see Brown (1958:218) and McKay (1996:63).

53. Many points are addressed by Brian Newbould (1992); concerning the *Eroica* see also Griffel (1997:196–97), Chusid (1997), and Gibbs (2000:157); concerning the Seventh Symphony, see Temperly (1981–82) and Brown (1958:185).

54. Indeed, in one of the earliest commentaries on the passage, Richard Heuberger stated that it is "difficult to say" to whom this refers: "In Salieri's circles this sharp expression might have been spoken about Beethoven, who had himself stayed far away from the jubilee. Schubert, however, saw in Beethoven his musical god and he could not have meant him." (1902:30); facsimiles of two pages from the diary are given on pages 31 and 101.

55. See Kunze (1987) and Senner (1999–2001); William Meredith will contribute an essay entitled "Bizarr Beethoven" to the third and final volume of the latter collection that traces the historical use of this word in musical writings of the time and its application to Beethoven. I am grateful for his sending me an early version of that essay.

56. See, for example, the review of Schubert's *Rosamunde* in *Der Sammler* on December 30, 1823 (Waidelich 1993: no. 231; Deutsch 1946:313).

57. Schubert's image has consistently been constructed in relation to Beethoven's; see Gibbs (1997:48–52).

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